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THE

ANNUAL REGISTER,

OR A VIEW OF THE

HISTORY,

POLITICS,

AND

LITERATURE,

For the YEAR 1808.

LONDON:

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PREFACE.

THE Hiſtory of the period contained in this Volume of the Annual Regiſter, is chiefly remarkable for the political phenomenon of a people, abandoned by their Government riſing to vindicate their natural rights, and oppoſe the deſigns of artifice and oppreſſion.

Victorious over every confederacy which had hitherto been formed againſt him, the ruler of France had acquired a power unequalled ſince the fall of the Roman Empire; a power which he hardly deigned to call into action; for he conceived the bare dread of it would be ſufficient to ſtifle every idea of attempting to diſpute his will—to awe into trembling ſilence every inclination to complain of his daring proceedings. The patriotiſm and ſpirit of independence which his machinations roufed in the boſom of Spain muſt have greatly ſurpriſed him. From the ſupineneſs, with which ſome other

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nations had ſubmitted to have their eſtabliſhments overthrown, or new Sovereigns impoſed on them, by Buonaparte, he thought when he had once gotten the Royal Family and their immediate adherents into his toils, that the Spaniſh people would be humbly content to receive any maſter whom he choſe to ſet over them. He evidently miſtook the diſpoſition of the Spaniards, and perhaps deſpiſed them, or he would, according to the dictates of his uſual ſagacity, have prepared ſuch means for effecting his purpoſe in the firſt inſtance, as might have terrified them into ſubmiſſion.

The efforts of this people were doubtleſs great and noble; and the heroic ſtruggle which they maintained againſt the enemy muſt inſpire poſterity with reſpect for the firmneſs and gallantry of the Spaniſh character: the unexampled conſtancy and firmneſs diſplayed by the inhabitants of Zaragoza, during the ſiege of that city, are worthy of the higheſt admiration; and the conduct of ſeveral of the armies in the field is entitled to applauſe. At the cloſe of the year, indeed, the proſpects of Spain were clouded; and there appeared but ſlender hope of her being able to ſurmount the difficulties in which ſhe was plunged. In proportion as her firſt ſucceſſes raiſed the expectations of political ſpecula-

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tors too highly in her favour, her ſubſequent reverſes depreſſed their eſteem for her more than juſtice could warrant. It was rather wonderful that ſhe had for a time checked the tide of aggreſſion; than that ſhe was not capable of completely turning the ſtream of it.

Connected with the popular movements in Spain were thoſe of Portugal: an Engliſh army was immediately employed in the latter country to aſſiſt the Patriots. The operations of that army form a principal feature in the Hiſtory of the year to the eye of a Briton: the victory at Vimiera and the convention of Cintra, were circumſtances as powerfully in contraſt, as the ſentiments of joy and regret which they called forth.

Although the affairs of the Peninſula throw thoſe of other nations comparatively into the ſhade, yet many events occurred in other parts of Europe, both intereſting and important. The tranſactions in Sweden claim notice; and ſeveral recent publications have afforded the means of throwing ſome new light on them, and of accounting for meaſures hitherto veiled in myſtery, or only obſcurely explained. The nominal ſovereignty of the Pope was this year deſtroyed by the union of the Roman States with the kingdom of Italy; Tuſcany,

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whoſe Prince had already been expelled from his throne, was incorporated with the French empire; and the crown of Naples was transferred from Joſeph Buonapartè to Joachim Murat, who had married the ſiſter of the Gallic chief.

Several negotiations took place between Great Britain and other Powers: theſe were poſſibly commenced without much real probability of attaining the objects propoſed; and were conſequently brought to a concluſion without diſappointment.

The Volume for 1809 will certainly appear early in the Winter, and arrangements have been made, on which the publiſhers truſt they may ſafely rely, for a more ſpeedy production of the Volumes in arrear.

THE

ANNUAL REGISTER,

For the YEAR 1808.

THE

HISTORY

OF

EUROPE.

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CHAP I.

Extraordinary situation of Great Britain at the commencement of 1808. *Prussian declaration. Correspondence between the Austrian and British governments, relative to the offer of the former to mediate a general peace. Embarrassment of the American republic in respect to its maritime trade. It lays an embargo on all vessels belonging to its own citizens, in the ports of the United States. Partial alarm in Great Britain concerning the state of commerce. Petitions of the manufacturers for peace. Meeting of parliament. Substance of his majesty's speech. The address moved in the house of lords by the earl of Galloway, and seconded by lord Kenyon. The duke of Norfolk moves an amendment, which is ultimately negatived. Speeches of viscount Sidmouth, lord Grenville, and the earls of Buckinghamshire and Lauderdale, on the address, which is supported by the earl of Aberdeen and lord Hawkesbury. Lord Grenville moves another amendment, which is also rejected, and the address is carried. A protest against that part of it, approving the expedition to Copenhagen, entered on the journals of the house, and signed by the dukes of Gloucester and Norfolk, the earls of Moira and Lauderdale, earl Grey, viscount Sidmouth, and lords Holland and Erskine. The address moved in the lower house by viscount Hamilton and seconded by Mr. Charles Ellis. Speeches of lord Milton, Mr. Ponsonby, Mr. Milnes, Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Canning, Mr. Windham, and other members. The address adopted. On the report being brought up, a new debate arises, in which Mr. Macdonald, Mr Eden, Mr. Canning, Mr. Yorke, Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Hibbert, and Mr. Windham take a part. The address finally ordered to be presented to his majesty.*

SOON after the commencement of the year 1808, Great Britain was placed in the unprecedented situation of having every state on the continent, except Sweden, in hostility to her, and of perceiving her commercial intercourse with America suspended. The king of

Pruſſia, in December 1807, iſſued a declaration, notifying that he was compelled, by one of the articles of the treaty of Tilſit, to ſhut the ports of his dominions againſt the Engliſh trade, and that he had broken off all correſpondence with the court of London. In this document, his Pruſſian majeſty did not diſſemble his regret at being compelled to ſanction a proceeding ſo injurious to the intereſts of his ſubjects. The paper, indeed, almoſt amounted to an open avowal that he was no longer maſter of his own actions.

The rupture of the friendſhip between England and Auſtria aroſe in the following manner. In April 1807, the emperor of Auſtria made an offer to become the mediator of a general peace, and equally invited the cabinets of St. James's, of Peterſburgh, of Berlin, and of the Thuilleries, to adopt the ſame conciliatory views. In order to facilitate the opening of negotiations by his good offices, he alſo propoſed any place in his dominions, which might be reciprocally convenient to the different parties, and not too near the theatre of war, for the meeting of a congreſs.

An anſwer was immediately returned to this offer, that his Britannic majeſty would willingly accede to ſuch negotiations, whenever the conſent of the other powers intereſted in them ſhould be obtained to do the ſame; and that his majeſty would loſe no time in communicating with ſuch of thoſe powers as were connected with him in the bonds of amity and confidential intercourſe, for the purpoſe of aſcertaining their views; and if thoſe views ſhould be favourable to the emperor's propoſal, of concerting with them the mode in which ſuch negotiations ſhould be opened, and of agreeing upon the principles it might be expedient previouſly to eſtabliſh, as the baſis of a general diſcuſſion and arrangement. With reſpect to the place which ſhould be ſelected as the ſeat of the conferences, it was ſtated that his majeſty would not object to any which, in addition to the indiſpenſable qualification of being ſufficiently remote from the influence of the war, ſhould have that of affording to him, in an equal degree with all the other potentates concerned, the opportunity of a prompt and uninterrupted correſpondence with his plenipotentiaries.

Notwithſtanding this explicit reply, it ſeems that the Auſtrian emperor conceived his propoſition to be diſregarded by the Engliſh cabinet *; and no further ſteps were taken in the affair, until after the concluſion of the treaty of Tilſit, when the prince of Starhemberg, the emperor's ambaſſador at the Britiſh court, received inſtructions to induce his majeſty's ſervants to enter into a negotiation with France, ſo that the continental peace might be connected with and confirmed by a maritime peace. As no official notes were preſented on this occaſion, it is impoſſible to enter into the ſubject of the propoſal ſaid to have been made by the prince of Starhemberg; and in the abſence of all teſtimony, it is but fair to conclude that the verbal communications of the Auſtrian envoy to the Engliſh government, offered no ſatisfactory grounds to encou-

* Auſtrian Declaration, dated February 18th, 1808.

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rage a hope of terminating the differences between the Britiſh and French cabinets.

1807. On the 20th of November, the prince of Starhemberg tranſmitted a note to Mr. Canning, informing him that he had received poſitive orders from his court, to make to the Britiſh miniſtry the moſt earneſt repreſentations on the importance of putting an end to the ſtruggle between England and France, the effects of which might produce the moſt fatal conſequences to the reſt of Europe; and requeſting, on the part of the emperor, that his Britannic majeſty would give a formal aſſurance of his readineſs to enter into a negotiation for a maritime peace. Mr. Canning ſtated in reply, that as his majeſty had repeatedly and recently declared his deſire to negotiate for a peace on ſecure and honourable terms, and had communicated that deſire to the Auſtrian government in the moſt regular and authentic manner, the king could not receive without ſurpriſe an application to renew an aſſurance on that point; but in compliance with the wiſhes of a friendly power, expreſſed with ſo much anxiety, that his majeſty was willing to declare once more, that he was then, as he had at all times been, prepared to enter into conferences for effecting ſuch a peace as ſhould ſettle, on equal terms, the reſpective intereſts of the powers engaged in the war, be conſiſtent with his majeſty's fidelity to his allies, and provide for the tranquillity and ſecurity of Europe.

On the firſt of January 1808, the prince of Starhemberg acquainted the ſecretary of ſtate for for foreign affairs in another note, that obeying the orders of his court, in conforming to the wiſh of that of the Thuilleries, he was charged to propoſe that the Engliſh miniſtry ſhould immediately ſend plenipotentiaries to Paris, to treat for the eſtabliſhment of a peace between all the powers at war with Great Britain; and he mentioned that, to avoid any ſpecies of delay, he was authoriſed by France to give paſſports to the miniſters whom the cabinet of ſaint James's might appoint for that purpoſe.

In Mr. Canning's anſwer to this communication, it was obſerved that the prince of Starhemberg had omitted to explain whether he had been commiſſioned by his imperial maſter, or by the government of France, to propoſe that Engliſh plenipotentiaries ſhould be ſent to Paris. If the prince had acted under the immediate orders of his court, his majeſty was concerned that ſo little reference ſhould have been had, in framing the preſent propoſal, to the correſpondence which had already taken place between the courts of London and Vienna. In the month of April laſt, his majeſty had accepted the emperor's mediation, and he could hardly have expected that the ſame offer ſhould be repeated, without any notification of the acceptance of thoſe conditions which were at that time declared indiſpenſable preliminaries to negotiation; and his majeſty obſerved with ſurpriſe, that this propoſal extended only to the powers combined with France in the war againſt Great Britain, and not to the allies of Great Britain in the war with France. If the prince of Starhemberg were merely charged by his court to convey to the Britiſh cabinet what-

ever propoſition the French government might think fit to intruſt to him, it was remarked that when he profeſſed to ſpeak in the name of another power, the ſtatement of ſome preciſe authority, and the production of ſome ſpecific and authenticated document, could alone juſtify the court to which he addreſſed himſelf, in founding a public and important meaſure upon ſuch a communication. His majeſty was beſides called upon to ſend plenipotentiaries to Paris to negotiate for a peace, without the ſlighteſt alluſion to the baſis of treating, though the experience derived from the laſt negotiation with France, had placed the neceſſity of ſuch a previous ſettlement beyond controverſy. His majeſty was willing to treat with France: but he would treat only on a footing of perfect equality. He was ready to treat with the allies of France: but the negotiation muſt equally embrace the intereſts of the allies of Great Britain. As ſoon as the baſis of negotiation ſhould be ſatisfactorily aſcertained, and an unexceptionable place for the conferences agreed upon, his majeſty would be prepared to name plenipotentiaries to meet thoſe of the other powers engaged in the war; but he would not again conſent to ſend his miniſters to a hoſtile capital. It was particularly declared that this expoſition of his majeſty's ſentiments was addreſſed to the miniſter of the Auſtrian emperor; but that, as the prince of Starhemberg had not given requiſite proofs of being charged to enter into any explanations on the part of the French government, he was not authoriſed to take any ſteps in the name of his majeſty, with the cabinet of the Thuilleries. Mr. Canning's note was dated the 8th of January, and on the 12th the prince of Starhemberg applied for paſſports. Shortly afterwards he quitted the country, and the emperor of Auſtria, in the month of February, publiſhed a declaration announcing, that the connexion which had hitherto ſubſiſted between Auſtria and Great Britain was diſſolved.

The Americans were greatly embarraſſed by the increaſed rigour with which the French commercial decrees were carried into execution; and towards the latter end of the year 1807, they either confidently anticipated ſome meaſure of ſevere retaliation againſt France, on the part of Great Britain, or actually received an account of the laſt orders in council promulgated by the Engliſh cabinet. To avoid the difficulties which were likely to attend the maritime trade of its citizens, the republic determined, for a time at leaſt, to abandon foreign commerce. On the 22d of December in that year, the congreſs paſſed an act laying an embargo on all ſhips belonging to Americans, in the harbours of the United States, but permitting the departure of any foreign veſſel, either in ballaſt or with merchandiſe, when the maſter of ſuch veſſel was appriſed of this proceeding of the legiſlature.

The manufacturers in Great Britain contemplated at this period the poſſible decline of mercantile purſuits with much alarm. In ſeveral diſtricts of the kingdom public meetings were held for the purpoſe of petitioning for peace. Theſe petitions however were not congenial with the feelings of the people in general, and were diſcouraged

couraged by the moſt reſpectable members of the oppoſition. The queſtion for petitioning was, indeed, carried in ſome places, particularly at Leeds; but the majority of the nation appeared to be thoroughly convinced that the preſent time was inauſpicious to pacific views.

Parliament was opened by commiſſion on the 21ſt of January. In the ſpeech read on this occaſion, it was mentioned, that ſoon after the negotiations at Tilſit, his majeſty was appriſed of the intentions of the enemy to combine the powers of the continent in a general confederacy to ſubjugate this kingdom, or impoſe on it an inſecure and ignominious peace. For this purpoſe, it was determined to force into hoſtility againſt his majeſty, ſtates which France had hitherto allowed to maintain or purchaſe their neutrality, and to employ the whole naval force of Europe, eſpecially the fleets of Portugal and Denmark, againſt different points of his majeſty's dominions. The ſeveral meaſures purſued with reſpect to Denmark and Portugal were then detailed. His majeſty expreſſed regret that an imperious duty had compelled him to reſort to force againſt the former, and ſatisfaction that the fleet of Portugal had been reſcued from the graſp of France, and employed in conveying to its American poſſeſſions the hopes and fortunes of the Portugueſe monarchy. The ſucceſs of the enemy in exciting hoſtilities between his majeſty and his late allies, the emperors of Ruſſia and Auſtria, and the king of Pruſſia, was next noticed; and it was obſerved that the emperor of Ruſſia had attempted to juſtify his proceedings by an enumeration of wrongs and grievances which had no foundation, but that no cauſe had been aſſigned by the emperor of Auſtria or the king of Pruſſia, for the meaſures which they had adopted. The ſpeech then proceeded to ſtate that, owing to the intrigues of France, his majeſty had not been able to terminate the war with the Porte: that the king of Sweden had reſiſted every attempt to induce him to abandon the alliance of Great Britain: that the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, between England and America, which was ſigned in December 1806, had not taken effect, as the preſident of the United States had refuſed to ratify that inſtrument: that for an unauthoriſed act of force committed againſt an American ſhip of war, his majeſty had not heſitated to offer immediate and ſpontaneous reparation; but that an attempt had been made by the American government to connect with the queſtion which had ariſen out of that act, pretenſions inconſiſtent with the maritime rights of Great Britain—pretenſions which his majeſty was determined never to admit; ſtill he hoped the American government would be actuated by the ſame deſire to preſerve the relations of peace and friendſhip between the two countries, which had ever influenced his majeſty's conduct, and that any difficulties in the depending diſcuſſion might be effectually removed. Parliament was farther informed that the French decree for blockading this whole kingdom, had been in the firſt inſtance met by a meaſure of mitigated retaliation, but this having proved inſufficient for its object,

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it had been found neceſſary to adopt others of greater rigour, which would require the aid of both houſes to give them complete effect. After deſcribing as a ſubject of congratulation the augmented receipts of the permanent and temporary revenue, this unuſually long ſpeech concluded in theſe words. "If ever there was a juſt and national war, it is that which his majeſty is now compelled to proſecute. This war is in its principle purely defenſive: his majeſty looks but to the attainment of a ſecure and honourable peace; but ſuch a peace can only be negotiated on a footing of perfect equality. The eyes of Europe and of the world are fixed upon the Britiſh parliament. If, as his majeſty confidently truſts, you diſplay in this criſis of the fate of the country, the characteriſtic ſpirit of the Britiſh nation, and face unappalled the unnatural combination which is gathered around us, his majeſty bids us to aſſure you of his firm perſuaſion, that, under the bleſſing of Divine Providence, the ſtruggle will prove ultimately ſucceſsful and glorious to Great Britain. We are laſtly commanded to aſſure you, that in this awful and momentous conteſt you may rely on the firmneſs of his majeſty, who has no cauſe but that of his people, and that his majeſty reciprocally relies on the wiſdom, the conſtancy, and the affectionate ſupport of his parliament."

The earl of Galloway moved the addreſs in the houſe of lords, and adverted to moſt of the topics of the ſpeech. He applauded the conduct of miniſters in ſending the expedition to Copenhagen, and contended that the ſucceſs of it had verified every prediction of government; for an arſenal over ſupplied with every material of equipment, magazines replete with ſtores, aſcertained to have been purchaſed by the agents of France, and thoſe demonſtrations which could not eſcape the eye of a ſeaman, that the fleet was on the eve of being fitted out, had been diſcovered. Had miniſters neglected to avail themſelves of the naval ſuperiority of this country to ſecure the Daniſh fleet, what would have been the reſult? Would any man doubt that the ſpeech would have directed parliament to prepare againſt a naval confederacy, compoſed of a force equal to forty ſail of the line, and deſtined againſt this country? Would not, in that caſe, the nation have been indignant at the negligence of government? Next to ſecuring the fleet of Denmark, the noble lord conſidered the meaſure of inducing the court of Portugal to emigrate to the Brazils, as likely to produce the moſt beneficial conſequences. With reſpect to the hoſtility of Ruſſia, he thought ſome good might be extracted out of that evil; he hoped that we ſhould become independent of her for ever. If the legiſlature of England would grant a liberal bounty to encourage the growth of hemp and flax, we might hereafter rejoice in our quarrel with Ruſſia. He truſted that a Britiſh force would aid the king of Sweden in the Baltic; for that independent monarch merited every eulogium. His lordſhip rather diſſented from the opinions of his majeſty's ſervants concerning America. Though he did not intend to diſpute the principle of reſpect due to national ſhips of war, as applicable to the ſtates of Europe, yet

yet as merited by America, if all the details relative to the affair of the Chesapeak were before their lordships, he conceived they would question it. He was however happy to learn, by the tenor of the speech, that government did not mean to concede one point more to that illiberal and prejudiced people. We must make a stand somewhere; and where could we do it better than in defence of our seamen and trade, which America demanded? As to peace, France gave us the best proofs of its impracticability, by telling the world that her only aim was to humble the naval pride of Britain. His lordship observed that though the continental powers might arm against us at the will of Buonapartè, he believed their hearts were with us; and he impressed on the house the importance of unanimity, an example of which he trusted their lordships would give by agreeing to the address.

Lord Galloway's motion was seconded by lord Kenyon, in a long speech generally praising the conduct of administration. The duke of Norfolk moved as an amendment to the address, that the paragraph approving the expedition to Copenhagen should be omitted; for though he did not wish to be understood as condemning that transaction, he could not bring his mind to sanction it, without some evidence of its propriety, and no information was promised on the subject by government. In these sentiments he was followed by lord Sidmouth, who lamented that ministers had not abstained from introducing topics into the speech and address, upon which a difference of opinion was likely to prevail. He said that he could not, consistently with his duty to his sovereign, or his respect for his own character concur in approving what had taken place at Copenhagen, without further information. It had been averred that the hostile designs of Denmark had been proved. In what were those hostile designs indicated? Were they shown in the conduct of that power when the British fleet entered the Baltic? At that time the army of Denmark was in Holstein, prepared to resist the French or any other power that should attempt to violate its neutrality. Was the Danish navy ready either to make or repel an attack? He was told, that the quantity of naval stores collected in the arsenal of Copenhagen was a proof of the hostile intentions of that court. These, it was said, were collected on account of France, and for French purposes. But these could not have been the motives for the expedition to the Baltic. When did this perfect understanding between Denmark and France take place? Was it before or after the treaty of Tilsit? The definitive treaty between France and Russia was signed on the 8th of July, and lord Gambier entered the Baltic on the 3d of August. This circumstance was sufficient to prove, that ministers did not act upon any information they had obtained of the secret engagements between France and Russia, and in which they would have it to be understood that Denmark had concurred. To justify therefore the attack upon Copenhagen, it ought to have been made clear that the danger was a danger of great magnitude, and such as could not be warded off by any other means; for certainly the calamity inflicted was not proportioned

tioned to the calamity apprehended. He could not give his aſſent to the opinion, that if Holſtein were occupied by the French, Zealand would be at their mercy. Nothing but ſuch a froſt as would render the Great Belt paſſable by an army, could have endangered the ſafety of that iſland. Even ſuppoſing that the French had been able to get over to Zealand, and obtain poſſeſſion of the Daniſh fleet, he would not ſo derogate from the valour, the activity, and the exalted character of the Britiſh navy, as to admit that any well-grounded apprehenſion was to be entertained from the addition of ſixteen ſail of the line to the maritime ſtrength of the enemy. The ſhips were much inferior to thoſe of Britain, France, or Spain: but it was not ſhips, but men that this country wanted. He ſhould have been more diſpoſed to approve what had been done in the Baltic, if miniſters had acted conſiſtently. If they had attacked Cronſtadt, taken poſſeſſion of the Ruſſian navy, and by ſuch an enterpriſe made us the undiſputed maſters of that ſea, ſuch an act would have accorded with the magnanimity of juſtice. There were ſome parts of the addreſs, however, from which lord Sidmouth could not withhold his entire approval. He could not ſpeak in terms of adequate praiſe of the emigration of the court of Liſbon. It was a meaſure, he obſerved, which reflected immortal honour on the ſovereign of Portugal, and which promiſed the greateſt advantages to England, not immediately indeed, but ultimately. In regard to the diſpute with America, he thought our government had acted wiſely in not inſiſting on the right of ſearching ſhips of war. His lordſhip then took occaſion to commend the behaviour of a noble viſcount (Milton) in Yorkſhire, who had exalted his character by diſſuading the people from petitioning for peace. The way to reſtore peace was to adopt a plan of expenditure, that ſhould enable us to carry on the war, and to convince the enemy of the hopeleſſneſs of purſuing it with a view of ruining our finances. It was in vain to look for a ſecure peace, unleſs a military ſyſtem ſhould be adopted that would be available in peace as well as war.

The earl of Aberdeen defended the expedition to Copenhagen. There wanted, he ſaid, no greater proof of the inability of the Daniſh government to reſiſt the power of France, and the determination of the latter to compel it to join in hoſtility againſt this country, than its acceding to the northern confederacy in the year 1801, and alleging as a reaſon for that proceeding, that it was unable to reſiſt the power of Ruſſia. Much had been ſaid againſt the unprecedented nature of this expedition; but there was a precedent of a very recent date, in the conduct of the late miniſters to Turkey; and he did not conceive it more probable that the Turkiſh fleet ſhould ſail into the Engliſh channel than the Daniſh.

Lord Grenville retraced and enlarged on all lord Sidmouth's arguments againſt the expedition to the Baltic. He inſiſted that the equity of that tranſaction reſted completely on aſſumptions in the firſt inſtance, which were afterwards magnified into aſſertions, and at length introduced by miniſters as facts into his majeſty's ſpeech. It had

had been argued that the proceeding in queſtion had a precedent in the expedition to Conſtantinople; the object of that undertaking, however, was not to ſeize the Turkiſh fleet, but to compel the execution of treaties. As to the other points of the ſpeech, he could not help lamenting, that, on the ſubject of peace, it ſhould have been ſo worded as to create a belief that peace would be rejected. Though he was the laſt man to call in queſtion the right of the people to petition, he objected to petitions for peace as particularly injurious, not becauſe they imparted to the French ruler any new fact with reſpect to the ſituation of the country, but becauſe they tended to convey to the enemy an exaggerated view of that ſituation, which operated rather to retard than accelerate peace. He however could not conceive any thing more prepoſterous than the two propoſitions aſſumed by miniſters; firſt, that we ſhould not enter into a negotiation unleſs the baſis of it were previouſly ſettled; and ſecondly, that we ſhould not avail ourſelves of the mediation of any power, not perfectly impartial. Concerning the firſt, he averred that in the whole hiſtory of the negotiations of this or any other country, there was no precedent to ſuſtain it; and the experience derived from the laſt negotiation with France warranted a different concluſion, for it was manifeſt that it proved how unimportant it was to obtain the previous ſtatement of a baſis. The ſecond propoſition was peculiarly untenable, becauſe a mediator was not accepted as an umpire, but merely as a medium for facilitating our communications with the enemy. If the mediator were partial to the enemy, what injury could reſult to us? We were not bound by his ſentiments, though we might avail ourſelves of his interpoſition. There might be reaſons for rejecting the mediation of Ruſſia, and that we had the right to make that rejection, if adequate reaſons exiſted, he did not deny; but he muſt cenſure the advancement of new doctrines, which were equally irreconcilable with practice and principle.

It appeared to him, that miniſters had formed an erroneous idea of the advantages likely to be derived from the emigration of the Portugueſe government to the Brazils. The ſimple queſtions were, what had we loſt, and what had we gained by it? We had loſt two of the moſt important ports for us on the whole coaſt of the continent, Liſbon and Oporto; and what had we gained? Sir George Staunton had ſtated, that when he was at Rio de Janeiro, the ſhops were glutted with Engliſh goods. What then were we to obtain from the preſence of the prince of Brazils in that ſettlement? How were the Brazils to be made more productive for this country, than they had been, by any other means than thoſe which would tend to the conſummate ruin of our own colonies? The increaſed culture of the Brazils, far from being of ſervice, muſt be hurtful to England. It was not to be conceived how the transfer of the Portugueſe court to that territory, could extend the market for our goods, which it had already afforded; indeed, he was rather of opinion, that it would turn out more advantageous to France than to Great Britain. Paſſing on to our relations with America, lord Gren-

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ville declared that the greateſt additional calamity for us, and the greateſt benefit to France that could well be imagined, would be a war with that republic. Though ſuch was alſo the language of miniſters, they had abſolutely altered the law of the land to promote hoſtility. The ſpeech, he remarked, had ſtudiouſly ſeparated the two queſtions involved in our controverſy with America; namely, that of the affair of the Cheſapeak, and that relating to our orders in council. But did any man ſuppoſe, that thoſe queſtions would be ſeparated in America? No: nor could they be ſeparated in diſcuſſion here. In examining the orders in council, they ought to be conſidered in three points of view; firſt, as they affected our commerce; ſecondly, as they affected the conſtitution; and laſtly, as they affected our negotiations with America. When all the papers relative to this important queſtion were laid before the houſe, it would be for it particularly to enquire, whether his majeſty's government could conſtitutionally enact ſuch prohibitions, as thoſe orders in council contained; next, whether the time choſen for iſſuing thoſe orders was not peculiarly exceptionable, as they muſt ſerve ſo much to inflame the minds of the Americans, already ſtrongly excited againſt us; and alſo whether we had any right thus to annihilate the whole trade of America? Lord Grenville ſaid, he was informed that America had received the moſt ſatisfactory aſſurances from the French government, that its blockading decree would not be acted on againſt American ſhipping. In point of fact, it appeared that it was never ſo acted on. Then the whole foundation upon which our orders in council reſted was done away, and miniſters by their indiſcreet precipitancy had put unneceſſary fetters upon our own commerce, as well as a total and unjuſt prohibition on that of America. His lordſhip ſaid, he firmly believed that the firſt extravagant commercial decree of France, and all the reſt of the ſame character which had ſince followed, were mere experiments upon the wiſdom and diſcretion of the Britiſh government; and theſe experiments had unfortunately been too ſucceſsful, by irritating miniſters to come forward and execute decrees, which had it not been for their aid, muſt have been a mere dead letter, except in the ports of France. The French decrees could have availed nothing, if his majeſty's ſervants had acted prudently, but they had placed this country in that ſtate with reſpect to America, in which France would otherwiſe have been. Lord Grenville concluded with an impreſſive appeal to the houſe on the neceſſity of an immediate enquiry into the ſtate of Ireland, in order that meaſures might be adopted to conciliate the population of that country; for compared to the queſtion of Ireland, every other ſubject which called for attention—every topic that had been alluded to in the courſe of the debate, was trifling—was in fact little elſe than driving nails into the ſheathings of a ſhip, when her main timbers were on the point of ſtarting.

Lord Hawkeſbury had no heſitation in ſaying, his majeſty's government had received intelligence, that there were ſecret engagements entered into at Tilſit to employ the navies of Denmark and Portu-

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gal againſt this country, though the evidence required by noble lords to prove this fact, was of a deſcription which could not be produced. If government were to communicate private information, there would be an end of all confidence, and at this time, when Europe was under the controul of France, the lives of individuals friendly to this country, would inevitably fall a ſacrifice. That intelligence was, however, corroborated by a variety of other channels wholly unconnected with each other: firſt, by the teſtimony of the Portugueſe cabinet, to which it was propoſed to make common cauſe with the continent againſt England, and to unite its fleet with that of France, of Spain, and of Denmark, to enable the confederacy to make a general attack on theſe iſlands: ſecondly, by the evidence of different perſons in Ireland, where it was promiſed to the diſaffected, that the combined fleets of Spain, Portugal, and Denmark, ſhould make a deſcent both on Ireland and this country; and even the time when the deſign was to be carried into execution was pointed out. As to the intentions of Denmark towards Great Britain, it was well known that, upon a compariſon of the two evils, ſhe conſidered a war with France more diſadvantageous to her, than a war with England. It had been ſtated that it would have been conſiſtent, if miniſters had directed an attack on Cronſtadt and the Ruſſian fleet; but there were abundant reaſons for not doing ſo. Would it have been wiſe to proceed to Cronſtadt, and ſeize the Ruſſian fleet, while ſixteen ſail of the line were left behind the Britiſh forces? The Ruſſian fleet beſides was not ſo ready for ſea, nor ſo well calculated in any reſpect as that of Denmark to carry the deſigns of the enemy into execution. Much had been urged againſt the orders in council, but while a negotiation with America was pending, it was better to abſtain from any diſcuſſion on thoſe points, which would only tend more to inflame the minds of the two countries. Lord Hawkeſbury lamented the uncalled-for mention of the ſtate of Ireland. The conceſſions alluded to, he ſaid, could not now be thought of; and indeed if they were made, they would only lead to new demands.

The earls of Buckinghamſhire and Lauderdale argued ſtrongly againſt the expedition to the Baltic; and the latter declared the late orders of council to be highly unconſtitutional, as they confiſcated property, and diſpenſed with the navigation act, without the authority of parliament. The duke of Norfolk's amendment was then put and negatived without a diviſion.

Lord Grenville moved another amendment. The addreſs, he obſerved, implied an approval of rejecting the mediation of Ruſſia. Inſtead of which, he propoſed to inſert words to ſtate, that their lordſhips could not give any opinion on the ſubject, until the neceſſary information was given them. This motion was alſo negatived without a diviſion, and the original addreſs agreed to; but againſt that paragraph of the addreſs, which contained ſentiments approving of the expedition to Copenhagen, a proteſt was entered on the journals of the houſe, ſigned by the dukes of Glouceſter and Norfolk, the earls

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of Moira and Lauderdale, earl Grey, viſcount Sidmouth and lord Holland.

The addreſs was moved in the houſe of commons by viſcount Hamilton, and ſeconded by Mr. Charles Ellis. The former contraſted the happineſs and liberty which England enjoyed by her ſpirited exertions againſt France, with the miſery and oppreſſion endured by the ſtates that had ſubmitted to that encroaching power. We alone, he truly ſaid, had avoided becoming the victims of the credulity, the irreſolution, and the delay, which had overwhelmed all other countries. He truſted that at ſuch a criſis, encompaſſed as we were by external perils, we ſhould never be curſed with the greateſt of all evils, a timid and feeble government. Viſcount Hamilton pronounced a panegyric on the expedition to Denmark; and challenged the annals of Europe to produce an inſtance of a warlike enterpriſe, in which ſo much intreaty had been reſorted to before ſucceſs, and ſo much forbearance manifeſted after it. What his majeſty's miniſters had planned with deciſion, they had carried into effect with a force which could leave the Danes no hope of triumphing in a conteſt; and he confeſſed that he could no more conſider the Daniſh government as juſtified in ſacrificing the lives of ſo many valiant men in uſeleſs reſiſtance, than he could admire the heroiſm of the prince, who, himſelf eſcaping from the dangers by which he was environed, coolly devoted his capital to deſtruction, and its inhabitants to ſlaughter. His lordſhip then touched on the other topics of the ſpeech, but the remarks which he made, were nearly the ſame as thoſe thrown out by the ſupporters of adminiſtration in the houſe of lords. Mr. Charles Ellis alſo deſcanted on the ſame ſubjects with much point and force; and aſſerted, that by exerting our marine ſtrength in every poſſible direction, we might ſhow the enemy, that a predominant navy gave a power ſcarcely inferior to that of a conquering army; we might controul the haughty mind of the French ruler, and inſpire him with that reſpect for this country, which alone would inſure permanent tranquility.

Lord Milton did not oppoſe the addreſs, but expreſſed his regret, that when Ruſſia offered her good offices to mediate a peace, his majeſty's miniſters had not thought fit to accept them. He could not be ſuſpected of any diſpoſition at this moment to encourage a diviſion of opinion on the ſubject of peace or war, after recent occurrences of conſiderable publicity, in which he had taken a decided part. At the ſame time, when he heard highly coloured deſcriptions of the ſtate of the country, he could not avoid obſerving, that had the perſons who made the aſſertions contained in them, attended more to the caſe, they would have abſtained from them. Locked up as we were from the continent, cloſed as every market was to our manufactures, how was it poſſible that our commerce could thrive or be in a flouriſhing condition? With reſpect to the attack on Copenhagen, he muſt think that to aſſail a neutral country as we had done, was, *primâ facie*, unjuſtifiable, although he admitted that the tranſaction might

might be warranted by circumſtances of which he was then ignorant.

Mr. Ponſonby ſaid, it was impoſſible for him to give a direct opinion on the intercourſe between the cabinet of London and the courts of Peterſburgh and Vienna. Were he to ſpeak generally on the ſubject of peace or war, he would ſay that peace was, beyond all doubt, the firſt intereſt of England; but he could not decide poſitively on this particular ſubject, in the abſence of the papers, which would ſhew, whether or not peace could have been obtained, compatibly with the honour of the country. To France he hoped England would never bow her head. At this particular juncture he was fully aware how much it became her, to ſtand firmly on the high ground to which ſhe was entitled, by her dignity and her reſources. With regard to the affair of Copenhagen, if he might deſcribe what appeared to him to be the intention of his majeſty's miniſters on this ſubject, it was to obtain from parliament an unqualified approbation of their conduct, without laying before it any evidence of the urgency of the motives by which they had been impelled. In the whole courſe of the preſent war, it had been the high boaſt of this country, that her proceedings had been uniformly juſt, forbearing, and moderate. The maintenance of ſuch a character for honour, dignity, and fidelity, muſt in a long conteſt be the ſureſt pledge of ſucceſs. If therefore government did not mean to produce any papers to throw light on the inducements for the expedition to Copenhagen, it was impoſſible for him to concur in that part of the addreſs commending it. He, however, pledged himſelf to move, on a future day, for the production of thoſe papers, in order that the matter might be regularly diſcuſſed.

Mr. Milnes admitted, that had the powers of Europe been ſuffered to enjoy their independence, or if Denmark could have remained independent, it would have been impolitic in us to adopt the meaſure which had been ſo much complained of. He thought miniſters had uſed a wiſe diſcretion in judging of the neceſſity of the act in queſtion. He quoted the opinion of Vattel to ſhew, that when the ſecurity of a nation was threatened, its government ſhould act on reaſonable preſumption. He contended that the ſtate of Europe proved it was impoſſible for Denmark to preſerve her neutrality; for ſurely it was not to be ſuppoſed that France would ſpare her alone, after having virtually ſubjected all other nations on the continent to its controul.

Mr. Whitbread denied that the paſſage which was quoted from Vattel, could apply to the defence of a proceeding ſo cruel and unjuſt in its principle, as the expedition to the Baltic, and which he feared would prove baneful in its conſequences to this country. By the attack we had gained fifteen uſeleſs hulks; but had excited an inextinguiſhable hatred in the breaſts of the ſubjects of Denmark, and had given her whole maritime population to France. Miniſters aſſerted that they had ſome intelligence of the hoſtile deſigns of Denmark; from his heart he believed they had none. If that power had been diſpoſed to league with Ruſſia and France, was it not ra-

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tional to ſuppoſe that ſhe would have concentrated her army in Zealand to reſiſt the attack of a nation againſt which ſhe had combined? Upon this point they had aſſertion againſt aſſertion; and he believed the word of the prince royal of Denmark, in preference to that of his majeſty's ſervants. Miniſters, he ſaid, had taken credit for the emigration of the court of Liſbon: he could not admit their claims in that reſpect, although he thought the event would in time be beneficial to the country. It was not until the appearance of an article in the Moniteur, declaring the houſe of Braganza to be dethroned, that the prince determined to ſeek his American dominions. It was with concern he obſerved, that there was no alluſion whatever in the ſpeech to a proſpect of peace. He feared that many opportunities had been loſt of concluding one, and ſtill thought that a peace, compatible with the honour and intereſt of Great Britain might be obtained. Peace, in his opinion, was neceſſary to the ſalvation of the country; but he would rather that the country ſhould periſh, than ſubmit to a diſhonourable peace. We had fought fifteen years againſt France, and by doing ſo had reduced all the ſtates of Europe, except Sweden, to a ſubſerviency to that country, to a power the greateſt the world ever ſaw, and wielded by an individual as able as the world ever produced.

Mr. Canning made an able and animated reply to the obſervations from the oppoſite ſide of the houſe. He declared that miniſters never would expoſe the ſecret intelligence received by them relative to Denmark; and therefore it was impoſſible to give the information required by gentlemen who diſapproved of the expedition to Copenhagen. Though the conduct of his majeſty's ſervants might be held up in a few ſpeeches in that houſe, to the execration of the country, they would run that riſk and incur that penalty, rather than have the ſecret torn from their boſoms. Was it poſſible, at a time when there was no capital on the continent where the power of Buonapartè could not drag the offender againſt him to execution, that ſuch a period ſhould be fixed on for divulging the ſources of ſecret intelligence? Was this country to ſay to the agents, who had ſerved it from fidelity, or from leſs worthy motives, "you ſhall ſerve us but once, and your lives ſhall be the forfeit of your undertaking?" He contended that the arrangements at Tilſit, and the meaſures which enſued, without any document, fully juſtified the proceedings of government. He ſhould be glad to know what motive could be aſcribed to miniſters for acting as they had done, except a conviction of the neceſſity of the caſe. If any doubts could be entertained of the deſigns of Buonapartè, thus far he could tell gentlemen, that the communications from the Portugueze cabinet related as well to the navy of Denmark as that of Portugal. With reſpect to the late ſuppoſed negotiation for peace, no tangible overture had been made by the French or the Auſtrian government. The prince of Starhemberg, with that generoſity of character for which he was ſo diſtinguiſhed, had made an offer of his perſonal ſervices to inſtitute and eſtabliſh a

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pacific intercourſe. But that was not a mode of negotiation which could be ſatisfactory to a country like this. Concerning the differences with America, it had been held proper frankly and voluntarily to diſavow the unauthoriſed act of hoſtility towards the Cheſapeak. The provocation which the officer who had committed that act had received, went far to excuſe him; but the right of ſearching ſhips of war had never been enforced long, or to any extent, and in latter times it had not been enforced at all. It was therefore thought fit to abandon this unfounded pretenſion unequivocally. As to the orders of council, retaliating the reſtrictions of the French government upon our commerce, he maintained our right to go as far as France, and that it was only by making France feel the effects of her own injuſtice, we could hope to bring her to more reaſonable conduct.

Mr. Windham conſidered that part of the addreſs which related to the attack of Copenhagen, without evidence to ſupport the neceſſity of the meaſure, as one of the moſt outrageous proceedings that ever was attempted in parliament; and proteſted that even if miniſters could make out a clear caſe, that if the fleet and ſtores had not been ſeized as they were, they would inevitably have fallen into the hands of Buonapartè; ſtill he ſhould ſay, rather let him have them under the circumſtances in which he muſt have taken them, than England, under the circumſtances in which ſhe had obtained them. The chancellor of the exchequer replied to Mr. Windham with nearly the ſame arguments as thoſe of Mr. Canning. Lord Henry Petty, Mr. Bathurſt, and Mr. Sheridan, commented with diſapprobation on the meaſure which had been ſo much objected to, and on the other parts of the addreſs; but they threw out little in addition to the remarks made by others. The addreſs was then carried without a diviſion.

When viſcount Hamilton brought up the report on the addreſs, another debate aroſe reſpecting it, and particularly on the expedition to Copenhagen. Mr. Macdonald contended that there was not time between the concluſion of the treaty at Tilſit, and the ſailing of admiral Gambier, for miniſters to have received the intelligence as ſtated by them. This point was more particularly urged on miniſters by Mr. Eden. The treaty, he obſerved, was ſigned on the 7th of July, and it was not till the 8th of Auguſt that the intelligence of that event reached this country. Admiral Gambier ſailed from England on the 29th of July, and he wiſhed to be informed, whether his majeſty's ſervants had received their ſecret advices in ſufficient time to make preparations for the armament? Mr. Canning replied that the ſubſtance of the ſecret articles, contained in the treaty of Tilſit, had been confidentially communicated to government long before the date alluded to by Mr. Eden; and as to the inference attempted to be drawn from the advanced ſtate of preparation, in which the armament was placed prior to the treaty of Tilſit, it was notorious that the armament was then in a ſtate of equipment, for an entirely diſtinct object; but as ſoon as the ſecret intelligence arrived, it was employed in the ſervice againſt Denmark.

Denmark. Mr. Yorke enlarged on the impropriety of publiſhing ſecret information received by miniſters; and mentioned that he could declare from opportunities which he had of perſonally knowing the fact, that during the American war, in conſequence of the production of the papers relative to the ſailing of the Toulon fleet, on the motion of Mr. Fox, the French had been enabled to cut off a ſource of intelligence, which this country had poſſeſſed in Holland ſince the reign of queen Anne. Was there not enough on the face of ſuch papers to enable an enemy to trace the parties from whom they came? Mr. Whitbread, on the other hand, proteſted that he believed many of the evils with which this country had been afflicted, were owing to the ſyſtem that had prevailed too generally for the laſt fifteen years, of holding back from the public the papers and documents which had been, upon almoſt every important occaſion, vainly moved for in that houſe. Mr. Whitbread did not attempt to prove his opinion to be juſt; nor indeed was it capable of proof. It is only ſurpriſing that he ſhould have made a remark ſo utterly irreconcilable with common ſenſe and experience.

On the ſubject of peace, Mr. Hibbert ſaid, if we could not now make out our caſe to be that of defenſive war, we muſt at leaſt admit that we continued the conteſt merely for the chance of events, that might enable us ſome time or other, God knew how or when, to treat on terms of more advantage. But the chances of war ſhould be coupled with its inevitable evils in our calculations; and it would be politic alſo to conſider what might be the chances of peace. Did peace preſent no probabilities either at home or abroad, which might better our ſituation, and render us the fitter to cope with future difficulties? Might not peace looſen ſome of thoſe bonds, in which the nations of Europe were enſlaved, and lay the foundations of new alliances againſt new encroachments? Mr. Windham even ſtated his ſentiments to be, that honour in any peace which ſhould then be concluded, might be conſidered as totally out of the queſtion; ſafety was all we need look for, and that was all which he would aſk. No notice was taken by miniſters of this ſingular aſſertion. The addreſs was then agreed to, and ordered to be preſented to his majeſty.

CHAP. II.

Debates on the expedition to Copenhagen. Lord Hawkeſbury's motion in the houſe of peers for thanking the officers concerned in the buſineſs: It is oppoſed by earl Grey and lord Holland; and ſupported by the earl of Moira, and the lords Mulgrave and Auckland: The motion carried. A motion of the ſame nature made in the lower houſe by lord Caſtlereagh: It is reſiſted by Mr. Windham, Mr. Brand, and Mr. Tierney; but advocated by the chancellor of the exchequer, and adopted by the houſe. Mr. Ponſonby moves for the production of various papers relative to the expedition: Arguments of Mr. Ponſonby, Mr. Windham, and Mr. Whitbread in favour of

of the queſtion; and thoſe of Mr. Canning, Mr. Milnes, Mr. Foſter, Mr. Morris, Mr. Lyttleton, Mr. Luſhington, Mr. Giddy, lord Caſtlereagh, and lord G. L. Gower, againſt it: The queſtion loſt. The duke of Norfolk's motion in the houſe of lords for papers: It is oppoſed by marquis Welleſley: Speech of lord Hutchinſon, in which he details his converſations with the emperor Alexander on ſubjects connected with the Ruſſian war: Sentiments of the earls of Buckinghamſhire, Moira, Jerſey, Darnley, earl Grey, viſcount Sidmouth, and lord Erſkine for the motion—anſwered by the earl of Limerick, and the lords Hawkeſbury, Mulgrave, Boringdon, and Harrowby: The motion rejected. Unſucceſsful appeal of lord Sidmouth reſpecting the eventual reſtitution of the Daniſh ſhips of war. Mr. Sheridan moves for copies or extracts of diplomatic correſpondence on circumſtances ariſing from the Daniſh war: Reply of Mr. Canning: Thepapers refuſed. The earl of Darnley's motion for an addreſs to his Majeſty, cenſuring miniſters for their conduct in the expedition to the Baltic, loſt; and a counter addreſs propoſed by lord Eliot adopted. Mr. Sharp, in the houſe of commons alſo moves for an addreſs of cenſure on miniſters, which is negatived, and a reſolution of thanks to them is voted. In the upper houſe, the earl of Suffolk ineffectually moves for the correſpondence between Mr. Garlicke and Mr. Canning, from November 1806, *to July* 1807. *Lord Folkſtone, in the lower houſe, makes a motion for the reſtoration of the Daniſh fleet, under certain circumſtances: It is negatived. Lord Sidmouth, in the houſe of peers, moves ſeveral reſolutions concerning the merchant veſſels of Denmark detained in Engliſh ports, before the commencement of hoſtilities at Copenhagen: The reſolutions are ſupported by earl Stanhope and the lords Erſkine and Ellenborough; and combated by the Lord Chancellor and lord Hawkeſbury: They are rejected.*

THE juſtice of the expedition to Copenhagen was a ſubject which was much diſputed by the public in general, and gave riſe to frequent and long diſcuſſions in both houſes of parliament. The inveſtigation of the matter was, indeed, ſo often repeated, that parliament became diſguſted with it, and the public grew weary of reading debates, which threw little additional, if any, light on the queſtion. On the 28th of January, lord Hawkeſbury in the houſe of peers moved a vote of thanks to the officers employed in the expedition. He premiſed that his motion did not at all relate to the policy of the attack, but merely to the execution of the ſervice, which, he contended, had been able and meritorious. The queſtion was oppoſed by lord Holland and earl Grey. They admitted that the officers had done all that was expected or could be required from them; but they obſerved that the object of the expedition to the Baltic was neither of ſufficient magnitude, nor attended with ſufficient difficulty, to entitle thoſe engaged in it to the thanks of the houſe. As to any difficulty in the enterpriſe, the houſe had the authority of miniſters that there was none. Had they not ſaid in one of their declarations, that they ſent ſuch a force to the Baltic, as rendered any reſiſtance impoſſible? Where, ſaid lord Holland, was the danger, where the difficulties that

were to be encountered and overcome in the performance of the ſervice? Had it in it any of thoſe brilliant traits which excite admiration and command reſpect? Had it in it any thing that redounded to the glory of the country, or to render its name and character more eſteemed and memorable? Had it been propoſed only to thank the army, he might, although in ſome degree objecting to the meaſure on the grounds before ſtated, have been induced to give it no oppoſition; but when it was intended alſo to thank the navy, he felt himſelf compelled to oppoſe the queſtion, becauſe there was no opportunity for the diſplay of naval ſkill. He could not ſufficiently impreſs on the houſe the great importance of not rendering the high and peculiar honour of the thanks of parliament too common: in order to maintain its value, it ought to be reſerved for great occaſions, for brilliant exploits and ſplendid victories, as in the Roman republic triumphs were never granted but for the grandeſt achievements.

In reply lord Mulgrave ſtated, that it was the eminent diſplay of ſkill and ſcience, combined with the magnitude and importance of an object, which peculiarly deſerved the high honour in queſtion. In the attack on Copenhagen ſkill and ſcience had been eminently diſplayed, in the diſpoſitions made for the attainment of the purpoſe deſired. As to any diſtinction between the merits of the army and navy, he could not perceive on what ground it could be offered. The moſt able diſpoſitions were made by lord Gambier in the management of the fleet under hi command; that part of it entruſted to rear-admiral Keats, was extended for two hundred miles, to cut off the communication between Zealand and the continent. By theſe means the Daniſh army in Holſtein was prevented from paſſing into Zealand; a ſervice of the greateſt importance to the ſucceſs of the expedition. In any caſe where the army and navy were conjointly employed, to vote thanks to one and not to the other, muſt tend to excite a jealouſy between the two branches of our forces. It had, beſides, always been the practice to unite them in a vote of thanks, where they had been employed together.

The earl of Moira and lord Auckland ſupported the motion, becauſe they conſidered the only queſtion before the houſe to be, whether the officers had well performed the duty aſſigned to them; and as they were ſatisfied on that point, they thought it would not become their lordſhips to refuſe their thanks on this occaſion. The reſolutions moved by lord Hawkeſbury were then carried.

On the ſame day, lord Caſtlereagh made a motion in the houſe of commons on the ſubject. It was reſiſted by Mr. Windham, Mr. Brand, and Mr. Tierney. The firſt of theſe gentlemen remarked that the moderation and temper with which the officers had conducted themſelves, ſerved to mitigate the harſhneſs of the enterpriſe. It was certainly right to keep the merits of the army and navy diſtinct from the merits or demerits of miniſters; but he conceived that national thanks implied national rejoicing; and national rejoicing did not belong to the preſent occaſion,

ſion. It was on this principle that he had heard with pain and diſguſt the firing of the Park and Tower guns on the day when the news of the ſurrender of Copenhagen arrived. It was a call for exultation, when ſorrow for the neceſſity of uſing force, and ſympathy for the ſufferings brought upon the Danes, were in the mouths of his majeſty's miniſters, and in the hearts of the Britiſh people. He was, however, prepared to go the length of ſaying, that as a mere military and naval proceeding, the achievement was not one entitled to the thanks of the houſe. The army and navy had done all they could; but what was done did not deſerve the propoſed remuneration. This ſort of grant was the worſt ſpecies of miniſterial corruption, inaſmuch as it went to the deſtruction of that fund of honorary rewards, in which the pooreſt man of the country, if the caſe were properly explained to him, or even without any explanation, on the pure impulſe of feeling, would be ſenſible that his intereſt was more materially involved and affected, than in the moſt waſteful expenditure of the produce of the taxes. A penſion, if unworthily beſtowed on one, would remain a recompenſe of no leſs value to another; but a title of honour, or a vote of thanks, would ſink in value both as to the paſt and the future, upon every miſapplication of the grant of either.

The chancellor of the exchequer ſaid, that it had been urged that no ſervice was entitled to the thanks of parliament, except it was the cauſe of a general and triumphant feeling completely unmixed with any regret, and that there could be no merit under any circumſtances, either in a retreat or a defeat, to entitle it to ſuch an honour. He begged leave, in oppoſition to this doctrine, to remind the right honourable gentleman, that admiral Cornwallis received the thanks of the houſe for the judgment and bravery which he diſplayed in preſence of a ſuperior force, when no engagement, and conſequently no victory took place. The very circumſtance of the ſervice now under conſideration being painful to the feelings of thoſe employed in it, he thought an additional reaſon why it ſhould not paſs unrewarded; and if any thing more than another could add to the merit of the officers employed in the expedition, it was their having obtained a cheap and bloodleſs victory, in compariſon of what it would have been had they ſtormed the town, at the ſame time that they had taken care not to hazard the object which they had in view. Mr. Tierney remarked that the vote of thanks to admiral Cornwallis was for having, with a very inferior force, ſaved the fleet under his command by the ſkilfulneſs of his manœuvres, and the courage he diſplayed. That was clearly a ſervice entitled to thanks; but if his fleet had been ſo vaſtly ſuperior as not to have given him an opportunity of ſhowing that profeſſional ſkill, there would have been no grounds for the vote. The ſame diſtinction was taken by the oppoſition, as in the houſe of lords on the merits of the army and navy, and combated by miniſters on the ſame principles. The houſe divided on the motion; but it was carried by a large majority.

On the 3d of February, Mr. Ponſonby made a motion, the pur-

poſe of which was to aſcertain how far miniſters had been juſtified in adviſing his majeſty to employ his forces in this expedition. With this view, the honourable member wiſhed that a number of papers ſhould be produced, particularly thoſe that related to the tranſactions of Denmark at the cloſe of the year 1800, and the ſubſtance and dates of all information tranſmitted by his majeſty's miniſter at the court of Copenhagen, during the year 1807, reſpecting the naval force of Denmark, and eſpecially reſpecting any meaſures taken for augmenting the ſame, putting it in a better ſtate of preparation, or for manning the fleet. The motion was advocated by Mr. Windham and Mr. Whitbread. The arguments of theſe gentlemen and Mr. Ponſonby were to the following effect.

That ſo little hoſtility was entertained by Denmark towards England at the time the expedition ſailed, that many of the Daniſh captains hearing, amongſt other rumours, that it was as likely that the Britiſh force was deſtined againſt Denmark as againſt any other place, conſulted the Daniſh conſul on the ſubject. The conſul applied to the chamber of commerce at Copenhagen, a branch of the public government. He received for anſwer, that there was not the ſmalleſt ground for anxiety or alarm on the part of the Daniſh mercantile intereſt, for that no circumſtances exiſted, which tended to diſturb the neutrality of Denmark, or to place her at variance with Great Britain. At this period there were three hundred and fifty Daniſh ſhips in Britiſh ports, with cargoes amounting to two millions ſterling. Was it poſſible to ſuppoſe, that when a third of the commercial property of Denmark was in our hands, that ſhe could meditate enmity againſt us? At that time, too, a great part of the Daniſh army was encamped in Holſtein, where French troops were alſo aſſembled, a circumſtance which proved that ſhe had no intention to yield to France. Denmark poſſeſſed conſiderable countries on the main continent of Europe; but ſhe had ſtill more valuable poſſeſſions in Norway, beſides the Daniſh iſlands, on one of which her capital was ſituated, and foreign colonies. Had France therefore required Denmark to give up her fleet, that it might be employed againſt Great Britain, ſhe would have anſwered, "If you make me chuſe between the hoſtility of England and the hoſtility of France, I prefer the latter, for if I quarrel with England, ſhe can take from me all my foreign poſſeſſions; ſhe can injure my marine, and employ Sweden to attack me in Norway. It is therefore better for me keep that which you cannot take from me, than to ſacrifice it by a war with England." It had been ſaid that France, having taken Jutland and Holſtein, might have marched an army acroſs the Great Belt, when frozen, and have ſeized the Daniſh fleet; but ſuch had been the alterations of the climate, effected by draining moraſſes and cutting down foreſts, that no troops had paſſed the Great Belt for an hundred and fifty years; and, during the laſt ſixty years, no inſtance had occurred in which that arm of the ſea had been ſo bound up by froſt, that a general would have ventured to march an army acroſs it. Had the Belt not been frozen over, the French would have

have had no chance whatever of getting into Zealand. The Danes themſelves could have kept them out. The next conſideration was how far France was to receive aſſiſtance in the execution of her projects from Ruſſia? Immediately after the peace of Tilſit, it had been ſaid that Ruſſia had thrown herſelf into the arms of France, and had thereby given a preponderance to that power in the north of Europe. To thoſe who believed this, it muſt have been ſtrange to ſee the Daniſh marine taken poſſeſſion of by this country, and the Ruſſian ſhips permitted to rove about at pleaſure; but from a long review of the intercourſe between the Britiſh ambaſſador and the Ruſſian miniſters, taken by Mr. Ponſonby, he inferred that down to the 4th of November, 1807, it appeared the emperor Alexander entertained a favourable diſpoſition to this country.

It was contended that it ſeemed very extraordinary, when the Ruſſian miniſters demanded an explanation of our proceedings in the Baltic, the Engliſh ambaſſador ſhould have been inſtructed to ſay, that his majeſty's ſervants had long been in poſſeſſion of data, which left no doubt of the intention of the French government relative to the marine of Denmark; but if the emperor of Ruſſia had been as hoſtile as he was repreſented to be, would not the Engliſh ambaſſador have ſaid, "Why do you aſk me this queſtion, when you yourſelves have created the neceſſity; when you yourſelves have been the chief inſtigators and promoters of the project, which my government have taken theſe ſteps to defeat?" It was ſingular that in a diſpatch from this country to lord G. L. Gower, dated the 27th of September 1807, when Ruſſia had offered to mediate between Great Britain and France, Mr. Canning ſhould have written that one of the conditions on which that offer could be accepted, was "the frank communication of the articles of the treaty of Tilſit, ſecret as well as avowed." At that time the right honourable ſecretary profeſſed to know the ſubſtance of the ſecret articles, and yet a knowledge of them from Ruſſia was inſiſted upon as the *ſine quâ non* of the acceptance of her offer. It was ſtill more extraordinary, if the emperor of Ruſſia were the chief inſtigator of the deſigns againſt Great Britain, that his Britannic majeſty ſhould have applied to him to compoſe the differences between England and Denmark, and that Mr. Canning ſhould have ſtated in his diſpatch to lord G. L. Gower, "that his majeſty was perfectly willing that the pacification with Denmark ſhould be wholly the work of the emperor of Ruſſia."

Miniſters had repreſented the neceſſity of anticipating the views of France, as the juſtification of their conduct. They had attacked Denmark becauſe France entertained three projects: the firſt, of ſhutting the Sound againſt Great Britain; the ſecond, of excluding her manufactures from the continent; and the third, of taking poſſeſſion of the Daniſh fleet. By their meaſures they had ſecured to France two of her objects; for it was certain, after our entering Zealand, that Denmark would ſhut the Sound, and exclude our manufactures from that part of the continent. By what miniſters had done, they had provoked hoſtility without taking away

away the power of revenge. If it were right to do ſo much, it would have been proper to do more. Might we not have kept Zealand? With the aſſiſtance of Sweden and of our own reinforcements, what chance would France and Denmark, united, have had to get back this important poſſeſſion? To abandon it was the height of weakneſs. But even if we had not kept Zealand, could we not have diſmantled the arſenal, and deſtroyed the docks? Could we not have blown up the Crown Batteries, and Cronenberg Caſtle, and ſecured to ourſelves the quiet paſſage of the Sound? The conduct of miniſters ſhewed how weak it was to do ill by halves.

Mr. Ponſonby's motion was oppoſed by Mr. Canning, Mr. Milnes, Mr. Foſter, Mr. Morris, Mr. Lyttleton, Mr. Luſhington, Mr. Davies Giddy, lord Caſtlereagh, and lord G. L. Gower, on the ſubſequent grounds. They ſaid his majeſty's miniſters were called to account—not for diſaſter and diſgrace. They had been called to anſwer on an accuſation of ſucceſs, to explain the elements, and juſtify the motives of an eminent ſervice ably performed. With reſpect to the diſpoſition of Denmark, from the moment of the armed neutrality in 1780, there had been a feeling on her part towards this country, not of direct hoſtility, but certainly not of very cordial friendſhip. Every body knew what had been her conduct at the end of two former wars. In inciting the armed neutrality of 1780, Denmark had been an active agent; and in 1800 ſhe again entered into a league againſt Great Britain. Did this behaviour teſtify the good intentions of Denmark, or her means of reſiſting the influence of ſuperior powers? Was it not probable, from the experience of the paſt, that Denmark would be induced by inclination, or compelled by force, to join in the league projected by Buonapartè, of which the Portugueſe cabinet had appriſed his majeſty's miniſters? Had not Denmark received intimation of the dangers that impended over her? Had not the bulletin publiſhed by Buonapartè after the battle of Friedland, given her notice of her approaching fate, when it ſtated "that the blockade of the Britiſh iſlands would then ceaſe to be a vain word?" What ports but thoſe of Denmark could this proſpective threat apply to, for what others were neutral? To Denmark alone this intimation referred, and accordingly ſhe was found ſhrinking into her ſhell as France approached, and neglecting to make any addition to her means of defence. She had declared the French decree of the 21ſt of November 1806 to be innocent, while ſhe remonſtrated ſtrongly againſt the mild retaliation of Great Britain in the order of council, dated the 7th of January 1807, as unjuſt. When the king of Sweden acquainted the crown prince of the inſidious offers made to him by France reſpecting Norway, and proffered the aſſiſtance of twenty thouſand Swediſh troops for the defence of Denmark, his propoſal was refuſed, and when the Daniſh government communicated this propoſal to the Engliſh cabinet, the fact of Buonapartè's offer concerning Norway to the king of Sweden was entirely concealed. Could we then rely on the frank and full declaration of Denmark?

As

As to the Daniſh army collected in Holſtein, what was the hiſtory of that force? The greateſt danger to which Denmark was expoſed from France was in 1803, when France occupied Hanover with a large body of troops. Then not a man was in Holſtein beyond the peace garriſon. In this ſtate the boaſted cordon of Holſtein remained—till the period that France ſeemed diſpoſed to moleſt Denmark?—No—till the army of England and Sweden were in force in Hanover; then and not till then, the Danes increaſed their military power in Holſtein. He muſt be an ingenious arguer who could deduce from this circumſtance, that England had been the object of the ſympathy of Denmark, and France of her apprehenſion. After the battle of Jena, the territory of Denmark had been violated by a French detachment in purſuit of a Pruſſian corps, and a ſlight ſkirmiſh took place with the Daniſh troops, in which a Daniſh general was taken and mal-treated. This had been done while the Daniſh army was ſtationed to cover the neutrality of Holſtein. Was this event followed by the advance of that army? No ſuch thing. The inſult was immediately ſucceeded by the retreat of the Danes; which conduct produced a remonſtrance on the part of the Engliſh government. The hoſtility of Denmark to England was manifeſt, not only from the acts of the government, but from the temper of the people; for in the very ſtreets of Copenhagen, a ſhort time before our attack, an Engliſhman could not walk without the riſk of being inſulted, and told that the policy of his country had always been to ſhed the blood of others in furtherance of her own intereſt excluſively. The deſign of the French ruler to force Denmark into the confederacy he had projected was evident; as in one of thoſe extraordinary converſations, in which that perſon was accuſtomed to indulge himſelf with foreign ambaſſadors at his levees, he addreſſed himſelf to the Portugueſe miniſter, and aſked him, whether he had tranſmitted to his court the demand that the navy of Portugal ſhould be ready to unite with the other navies of Europe on the 1ſt of September? Having ſaid this, he immediately turned round to the Daniſh miniſter, and aſked him whether he had made the ſame communication to his court?

In anſwer to the charge that miniſters had not gone far enough, it was mentioned, that as ſoon as they diſcovered that Denmark could not be brought to any amicable arrangement, the practicability of holding Zealand as a military poſt was taken into conſideration; but the reports of the officers who had been deſired to direct their attention to this ſubject, proved that the force neceſſary for the defence of that iſland was far greater than this country could ſpare. It was alſo thought that it would have been improper to adviſe his Swediſh majeſty to furniſh, for this purpoſe, a detachment from his army, to make up the deficiency of ours, as the removal of that force would have weakened Sweden too much, in the event of an attack from Ruſſia. It was alſo proved from the report of admiral Keats, on the probability of the enemy tranſporting troops from Holſtein to Zealand, that it would be impoſſible to keep up a blockade in the winter months

months ſufficiently cloſe to prevent communication.

It had been aſked why miniſters had not put their queſtions directly to Ruſſia, reſpecting her conduct, and why they had not attacked her alſo if that conduct was hoſtile? Becauſe they had flattered themſelves, that by purſuing a courſe rather conciliatory, they might bring back Ruſſia to her true policy, and therefore they abſtained from any acts that might drive her irrecoverably into the arms of France. There was a great party, or rather the majority of the better order of people, in Ruſſia, who were anxious for Britiſh connexion; but whatever might be the partialities of ſuch perſons, they muſt all feel for the honour and glory of their country, and therefore it would not have been deſirable to deſtroy, by an unprofitable attack upon the national feelings, the naſcent popularity of this country. Beſides, an attack upon Cronſtadt might have been productive of glory, but would not have diminiſhed the maritime means that could have been brought againſt England, and which conſtituted her danger. Would it have been politic or ſafe to have paſſed the harbour of Copenhagen, which contained twenty ſail of the line, that would inſtantly become the inſtruments of the enemy's vengeance againſt us, in order to execute a barren bravado againſt Cronſtadt, where we could obtain but three or four rotten hulks? There were at that time alſo in the ports of Ruſſia five hundred Britiſh ſhips, and ſix thouſand Britiſh ſeamen; objects too important to be hazarded on ſuch an occaſion. It was mentioned that the late adminiſtration had directed Mr. Garlicke, the Engliſh miniſter at Copenhagen, to declare to the Daniſh government, that his majeſty could never, in the event of its ſubmitting to the controul of France, ſuffer either the whole or any part of its navy to be placed at the diſpoſal of that power. Moreover the conduct adopted in reſpect to Denmark was not without precedent or example. In the year 1806 the late miniſters had taken meaſures to ſecure the Portugueſe navy, in caſe the French ſhould invade Portugal, and if the Portugueſe government could not be prevailed upon either to reſiſt the enemy or to emigrate to the Brazils. It had been argued that, by our behaviour at Copenhagen, we had irreparably wounded the national pride of the Danes. The cabinet of Denmark, however, contemplating the dangers that were gathering round it, had entertained the project of reducing its navy by ſale, and the Ruſſian miniſter had actually entered into a treaty for the purchaſe of part of it. As to the influence of national pride, therefore, it could not be very active.

Mr. Canning denied that the expedition to Copenhagen had excited the enmity of Ruſſia. All accounts, he ſaid, agreed in repreſenting that the mind of the court of Ruſſia was alienated from this country, and the reaſon for that alienation might eaſily be conceived. The expectation of aſſiſtance from England, no matter whether well or ill founded, was the cauſe, not of the peace of Tilſit, but of the temper in which it was concluded, when the military diſaſters had rendered that peace neceſſary. Out of twenty diſpatches received from our ambaſſador with the

the emperor, there was not one in which he did not ſay, "ſend aſſiſtance or Ruſſia will fail you; make a diverſion which will take part of the weight of the war off Ruſſia, or ſhe will withdraw from it." Mr. Canning likewiſe obſerved, that of all perſons, he did not think that his majeſty's miniſters ſhould be accuſed of injuſtice by the captors of Alexandria; of miſmanagement by the attackers of the Dardanelles; as inglorious by the conquerors of Conſtantinople! Lord G. L. Gower, who had been the Engliſh ambaſſador at Saint Peterſburgh, alſo aſſerted that the hoſtile ſpirit of Ruſſia did not ariſe from the attack on Copenhagen, but that it was a conſequence of the preſſure of the French after the defeat at Friedland; for if his imperial majeſty could be obliged by that defeat to abandon Pruſſia, which, four days before, he had pledged himſelf never to do, it was hardly to be expected he would continue very friendly to the intereſts of England. In ſix hours after his imperial majeſty's return to Peterſburgh, the very firſt perſon to whom he gave audience was his miniſter of marine: the very firſt place he viſited was Cronſtadt, and the firſt directions he gave, were for the equipment of the fleet, and the repair of the fortifications of that place; and this ſome time before the attack on Copenhagen occurred. Many perſons in this country ſeemed to be of opinion that the expedition to the Baltic was generally execrated on the continent; but the contrary was the caſe, particularly in Ruſſia. A great majority of people of conſequence in that country rejoiced at the event, and they conſiſted not merely of what was called the Engliſh party, but others who thought that Ruſſia ought not to have entered into a war with France, and who ſeemed to wiſh to inſulate their country from the reſt of Europe. Theſe perſons ſaw with alarm a French army in Poland, and another on the frontiers of Turkey, and they were happy at the check which the expedition to the Baltic gave to the views of Buonaparte, for they dreaded his hoſtility through Denmark.

Such were the principal arguments uſed by both parties in this long and keen debate. On a diviſion of the houſe, Mr. Ponſonby's motion was rejected by a majority of 145; there being 108 for it, and 253 againſt it.

On the 8th of February in the houſe of lords, the duke of Norfolk moved that an addreſs ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, praying he would be graciouſly pleaſed to direct that there be laid before the houſe, ſuch proclamations as had been iſſued by our naval and military commanders before Copenhagen, previouſly to their attack upon that city. This motion being agreed to, the noble duke proceeded to move for papers of a more ſpecific nature, which related to the hoſtile intentions of Denmark, and the ſecret arrangements entered into at Tilſit, that were ſaid to be hoſtile to the intereſts of this country. Without the production of theſe documents, the duke of Norfolk declared, it was utterly impoſſible for miniſters to make out a caſe that ſhould appear juſtified by the neceſſity, under which they pretended to have acted, and which formed the chief apology for their conduct.

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The motion was oppoſed by marquis Welleſley. Why aſk for official documents, ſaid he, when their lordſhips might adduce the progreſs of events, the relative ſituation of Denmark and France, and then again the relative ſituation of England with either, or with both? To demand further proofs than the circumſtances of the caſe exhibited, would be to ſlur and inſult the national character. In fact, ſuch a parliamentary proceeding would be to caſt a reproach on the country for having defeated the enemy, aud fruſtrated his deſigns by anticipation. From a long train of argument, lord Welleſley drew the concluſion that Denmark muſt be ſubſervient to the purpoſes of France. The ſtate of the continent neceſſarily aſſimilated her intereſt to that government; and, in truth, ſhe held her moſt productive territories merely by its permiſſion. Not only her dominions, but the chief ſupport of her importance—her commerce was at the diſpoſal of the ſame power; for in time of war eſpecially ſhe muſt be deprived of her intercourſe with the moſt opulent ſtates, unleſs the concurrence of France ſhould ſanction her proceedings. He did not conceive it poſſible for the Danes to have defended Zealand againſt the French, if ſuch had been their inclination. The ordinary ſtate of the Belt in the winter ſeaſon was to have the paſſage intercepted by floating ice, which was carried off by the current, and diſperſed by the wind, or occaſionally melted during a warm interval, ſo as entirely to diſappear. There were no tides in the Belt, and the courſe of the ſtream accompanying the wind, nothing was more frequent than for veſſels in that channel to be driven off from their ſtations. In this ſituation of things, the enemy might with facility effect his purpoſe of tranſport from the adjacent territory. The large extent of coaſt was another circumſtance to be conſidered, ſo that without the neceſſity of ſuppoſing a favourable ſtate of the elements, it could readily be imagined that the occupation of the continental dependencies of Denmark would ſoon be followed by the conqueſt of her inſular poſſeſſions. It might be enquired if the Daniſh army would be inactive during theſe hoſtile proceedings? What was its ſtrength? It was ſtated at twenty-five thouſand men on paper; but he believed in effective force it did not exceed eighteen thouſand. How could this irregular levy encounter the victorious troops of France, poured into the country in numbers at pleaſure, proportioned to the degree of reſiſtance to be expected? As to the defence of Zealand, that iſland did not afford a ſufficient quantity of proviſions for the maintenance of its own inhabitants; and hence, even for the ordinary demand, it was compelled to obtain the principal articles of ſubſiſtence from Holſtein and Jutland. If numerous forces were collected in the iſland, while the French held the continental dependencies, they muſt ultimately fall a ſacrifice to their neceſſities. Whatever might be the diſpoſition of England to aſſiſt them in this emergency, it might be phyſically impoſſible; the inclemency of the ſeaſon would probably prevent acceſs, at the time when communication was abſolutely neceſſary for their ſupport. Reflecting

flecting then on all theſe points, it was his firm conviction that it was the purpoſe, and in the power of France, to ſeize the Daniſh fleet, and that Denmark had no adequate means of reſiſtance. What would have been the conſequence, had France obtained the co-operation of the Daniſh marine? It would not have been a ſolitary acquiſition, it would have been added to the navy of Ruſſia, and the ſubjection of the Swediſh fleet would have precipitately followed; and thus the whole floating ſtrength of theſe three powers would have been under the controul of our enemy, making forty ſail of the line placed in a commanding point for the attack of the vulnerable parts of Ireland, and for a deſcent upon the coaſts of England and Scotland. In oppoſition to this formidable navy, the admiralty could not have aſſigned any competent force, without weakening our ſtations in the Mediterranean, in the Atlantic, and in the Indian ſeas, at a time when it was moſt neceſſary to maintain our ſuperiority in all theſe places.

Lord Hutchinſon combated the opinions of marquis Welleſley. He thought that even ſuppoſing the French to have been in poſſeſſion of Holſtein and Jutland, ſtill Zealand might have been defended with effect againſt the French arms. Adverting to the hoſtility of Ruſſia—"My lords," obſerved he, "it was my lot to be employed on a very important miſſion, and I think it the more neceſſary to ſay a few words reſpecting that miſſion, in conſequence of partial extracts from my letters having been communicated in another place, by which I have been held out as giving opinions that were never delivered by me. The Ruſſian army in Poland never amounted to more than ſeventy thouſand men, with the exception of two detached diviſions amounting to about thirty thouſand. The French troops were eſtimated at one hundred and fifty thouſand. From the diſaſters ſuſtained by the former, and after the unfortunate battle of Friedland, the loſs of the Ruſſians was forty thouſand men: they loſt alſo eighteen hundred and ninety-eight officers, and twenty-nine generals. I was then perfectly convinced that Ruſſia muſt make peace with France. I believe alſo that the emperor of Ruſſia was ſincere in his deſire to mediate, if poſſible, a peace between this country and France; but at all events, I then believed that the relations of peace and amity might have been preſerved between Great Britain and Ruſſia. The treaty of Tilſit was ſigned on the 7th of July. On the 23d of Auguſt, I had a converſation with the emperor of Ruſſia at Kamincoſtroff. His imperial majeſty aſked me whether I had not admitted to count Strogonoff, three days after the battle of Friedland, that it was neceſſary for him to make peace? I told him that I had done ſo, that I was of that opinion then, which ſubſequent events had confirmed; that I thought myſelf bound in juſtice to him and to myſelf, publicly to avow it, which I ſhould continue to do as long as I lived. His imperial majeſty ſaid, we are, then, both agreed on the neceſſity there was to make peace. I anſwered in the affirmative. His imperial majeſty proceeded to ſtate that he had offered his mediation to England; that he attached no falſe vanity

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(*gloriole* was the French word) to the acceptance or rejection of his mediation; but that it was his moſt ſincere and anxious wiſh that England ſhould make peace, as he was ſure that it was his intereſt, and alſo that of Europe, and ours, that we ſhould give peace to the world. I ſaid to his imperial majeſty that he had not given ſufficient time for England to accept or reject his mediation, becauſe a much longer period than a month muſt elapſe before any anſwer could be received; and though the diſpoſition of my mind inclined towards peace, neither I nor any other man in England would accept it but on conditions the moſt reaſonable and honourable; that as far as we were concerned, the events of the war had been highly favourable. To which his imperial majeſty replied, that the time allowed was of no importance, becauſe we might take three or four months, if we pleaſed, to accept or reject his mediation: but his anxious wiſh and deſire was, that we ſhould make peace. He obſerved that he had a perfect knowledge of the feelings and character of the people of England; that he had been made acquainted by Buonapartè with the conditions of peace propoſed to be offered, and that he had no doubt that even I myſelf ſhould conſider them to be highly reaſonable and honourable. Some confidential converſation followed which I do not think myſelf at liberty to diſcloſe, but from what then paſſed, as I have already ſtated, I was juſtified in believing that the relations of peace and amity might have been preſerved between the two countries. It has been ſtated in another place, that I had given an opinion that if the attack on Copenhagen had not taken place, Ruſſia would not have gone to war with this country. My lords, I never gave ſuch an opinion, nor do I now mean to ſay, that if the attack had not been made, there would have been no war with Ruſſia, but I mean to ſay, that the reſult of that expedition did materially change the relations between Great Britain and Ruſſia, and give riſe to ſentiments of a very hoſtile nature at the court of Peterſburgh. Intelligence of the reſult of the attack on Copenhagen arrived at Saint Peterſburgh on the 27th or 28th of Auguſt. On the 4th of September I ſaw the emperor a ſecond time at Kamincoſtroff. His imperial majeſty began the converſation by aſking me "what I thought of our attack upon Copenhagen?" I replied, that I was entirely ignorant of the circumſtances which had occaſioned that attack, but that I hoped the adminiſtration in England could juſtify themſelves, and prove to the world that the Danes were on the eve of joining all their forces to the French, to make common cauſe againſt England. His imperial majeſty told me in reply, that it was impoſſible for me to be of that opinion, if I would recollect the repeated converſations that had taken place between us, on the ſubject of Denmark, at Bartenſtein, in which he told me that he had uſed every effort in his power, to bring forward the crown-prince of Denmark, and to induce him to join the coalition againſt France; the anſwers of the prince had always been explicit and uniform, that he had maintained for many years a ſyſtem of neutrality, in which he was determined

mined to perſevere, as the people whom he governed had flouriſhed and proſpered under it; and that no conſideration ſhould ever induce him to depart from it. His imperial majeſty added, that I muſt be acquainted with the deciſion of character which belonged to the crown-prince, that nothing was ſo difficult as to ſhake his determinations, or to induce him to change any line of conduct that he had once adopted; and that he was ſure no connexion exiſted between the French and Daniſh government previous to our attack on Copenhagen. I then ſaid that I believed lord G. L. Gower had delivered to his imperial majeſty's miniſter a note on the ſubject; to which his imperial majeſty anſwered that he had, but that the contents of it were nugatory, as it contained no ſufficient explanation, or offer of ſatisfaction. His imperial majeſty then proceeded to ſtate the great concern which our unjuſtifiable aggreſſion had given him; that the French government had never done any thing ſo ſtrong —that it juſtified every thing they had done or might do hereafter. If ſuch proceedings were admiſſible, there was an end of all thoſe relations which had uſually influenced the conduct of nations towards each other; that every body was at liberty to do juſt what he pleaſed, and that he might attack Sweden to-morrow. His imperial majeſty then told me in the moſt peremptory language, tone, and manner, that he would have ſatisfaction, complete ſatisfaction for this unprovoked aggreſſion. That it was his duty as emperor of Ruſſia to demand it, and that he would have it; and he aſked me, whether even I myſelf would venture to differ with him on that ſubject? He then ſaid that he was bound to Denmark by the moſt ſolemn treaties and engagements, which treaties and engagements he was determined to adhere to and fulfil. His imperial majeſty then ſaid, that he ſuppoſed we meant to make an attack on Cronſtadt; he did not know what the event of that attack might be, but this he knew, that he was determined to reſiſt it to the laſt man, and to prove himſelf not entirely unworthy of filling that high ſtation, to which it had pleaſed Providence to call him. I told his imperial majeſty that I had ſtrong reaſon to hope and believe, that no attack would be made on Cronſtadt. His imperial majeſty ſaid he was prepared for ſuch an event, and had taken his determination upon it, which was that which he had before ſtated to me. He then cloſed the converſation by repeating with much emphaſis, that "*he would have ſatisfaction for Denmark.*" My lords, ſaid lord Hutchinſon, after ſuch a declaration, is there any man who can ſay that the attack upon Copenhagen has not had a conſiderable effect upon the diſpoſition of the emperor of Ruſſia? I muſt even think that it formed a principal part of the immediate cauſe of war with Ruſſia; and I will aſk if this was not a good cauſe? The reaſon it was not immediately declared, I have authority for believing, was that Ruſſia had two fleets at ſea, and in ſome meaſure in our power."

The earls of Buckinghamſhire, Moira, Jerſey, Darnley, and Saint Vincent, with viſcount Sidmouth and lord Erſkine, ſupported the motion. They argued that the

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war with Denmark was a new war, and upon what pretence could miniſters aſk for the ſupport of that houſe, while they refuſed it the information which upon all occaſions of war had never been denied? They contended that there was no one reaſon to ſuppoſe that the Danes were hoſtilely inclined towards us, and even admitting they were, that this would not juſtify the expedition. It was admitted that Buonapartè might have wiſhed to ſeize the Daniſh fleet; ſo he had deſired to obtain the Portugueſe navy; but had he gotten poſſeſſion of it? Where, it was demanded, was the fortitude of this government, when it could be frightened into an act equally incompatible with its honour and intereſts by the exiſtence of ſixteen miſerable, paltry ſhips in the port of a neutral power? If we had any thing to fear from the Danes, was it enough to have warded off the danger for one year, for had we not left them in poſſeſſion of their docks, in which they might ſoon build other ſhips, and had they not the ſame number of ſeamen they ever had, with which to man them? The conduct of miniſters in this affair was contraſted with that of the great king of Pruſſia, under circumſtances ſomewhat ſimilar. During the ſeven year's war, he had ſuddenly marched an army into Saxony, and taken poſſeſſion of Dreſden, the capital of the elector: but he had not felt that he had done enough to ſatisfy the world, by declaring that he had procured copies of the treaty actually entered into by the king of Poland, then elector of Saxony, for the partition of his dominions; for having afterwards obtained poſſeſſion of the original treaty, he publiſhed it at every court in Europe to render his juſtification complete. Earl Saint Vincent declared, ſuppoſing for an inſtant Zealand and the Daniſh navy to be in the poſſeſſion of Denmark, and the French to be in poſſeſſion of Holſtein, that he ſhould think it more practicable to invade this country from Boulogne, than Zealand from Holſtein. He alſo mentioned that having been employed by the late government in the expedition to the Tagus, he was prepared to ſay, that there was no reſemblance whatever between the meaſures which would have been purſued in that caſe, and what had been followed in the preſent. Earl Grey obſerved that Mr. Garlicke, the Britiſh miniſter at Copenhagen, had uniformly deſcribed the crown-prince as of a diſpoſition and ſpirit to reſiſt every idea of compulſion. This was the character of all Mr. Garlicke's diſpatches, ſo long as he had any opportunity of knowing their contents. He (earl Grey) did in one of his letters figure a poſſible caſe in which the prince might yield to French influence, and he gave directions accordingly; but in the next ſentence he expreſſed his conviction, that ſuch directions were unneceſſary.

Theſe remarks were anſwered by lords Hawkeſbury and Mulgrave. They ſtated that the crown-prince himſelf confeſſed in 1801, that Denmark had no alternative but to yield to the demands of Ruſſia. How then could it be ſuppoſed that ſhe could now be able to oppoſe not only Ruſſia but France? In reſpect to the defence of Zealand, admiral Keats with all his activity and ſkill, while ſtationed there,

could not prevent a conſiderable number of Daniſh troops getting over from Holſtein. The Belt being but ſixteen miles wide in the broadeſt place, and much narrower in others, it became very difficult for the ſquadron to remain there during the long dark nights. It had been ſaid on a former night (by lord Grenville), that the paſſage of the Belt was as difficult as that between France and England; but beſides that it was much narrower, there was another moſt natural circumſtance, which had been entirely loſt ſight of. It had been forgotten to compare the reſources of England with thoſe of Zealand. There had never been a doubt, that if the object of France was merely to puſh over a body of ten, fifteen, or twenty thouſand men into this country, it might be done; but it was very ſeriouſly doubted if France could be capable of landing ſuch a force as could make an impreſſion on England. The caſe was different as to Zealand, if the French could puſh over twenty thouſand men, they would probably be maſters of the iſland; for though the Danes would fight with great courage at ſea, their army had the character of being one of the worſt in the north of Europe. It would not have been neceſſary for France to have invaded Holſtein: her bare menace would have been ſufficient to influence the determination of Denmark. The taking of the Daniſh fleet added ſecurity to this country in two ways. It firſt prevented the veſſels from being applied to the purpoſes of invaſion; and ſecondly, it prevented the neceſſity of employing a great number of ſhips to watch them, which could only be had by withdrawing them from other ſervices, and thereby weakening our ſecurity ſomewhere elſe, either in our colonies or our commerce. A great deal had been ſaid about the abſurdity of allowing the Ruſſian ſhips to navigate the ſeas at pleaſure, at the time that this ſerious attack had been made on the Daniſh marine. The fact was, that orders had been diſpatched to our officers not to permit a Ruſſian fleet to go into an enemy's port. It was not want of caution that had permitted the entrance into the Tagus of a Ruſſian ſquadron, but want of wind and favourable weather, by which ſir Sidney Smith was prevented from reaching the Tagus until two days after that ſquadron had gotten in. On the whole, if miniſters had refrained from wreſting from the approaching graſp of a formidable enemy, an engine which would have given him a large addition of power, they would indeed have deſerved the moſt ſevere reprehenſion; they would have merited all the obloquy that had that night been beſtowed on them, for having purſued an oppoſite and ſucceſsful courſe.

The earl of Limerick and the lords Borington and Harrowby alſo ſupported miniſters in this debate, which terminated in the rejection of the duke of Norfolk's motion by a majority of 57.

Another diſcuſſion aroſe in the houſe of peers, when lord Sidmouth, on the 18th of February, moved the following reſolution: "That it is highly important to the honour of this country, that, under preſent circumſtances, no meaſures be taken with reſpect to the ſhips of war now in the poſſeſſion of his majeſty, in conſequence

of the capitulation of Copenhagen, which may preclude the eventual reſtoration of them to the government of Denmark, agreeably to the ſpirit of the requiſition referred to in the proclamation iſſued on the 16th of Auguſt laſt by the commanders in chief of his majeſty's forces by ſea and land employed on that occaſion, and renewed in their letter of the 1ſt of September to the commander in chief of the land forces of his Daniſh majeſty." The noble lord obſerved that we had in the firſt inſtance offered to take the fleet in depoſit—an arrangement to which the court of Denmark could not poſſibly liſten, without compromiſing its honour and expoſing itſelf to the reſentment of France. He however conceived we were bound to adhere to the principle upon which we had ſet out, not leſs by honour and policy, than by the ſtrict interpretation of the law of nations. He had learned that the Daniſh ſhips were ordered to be fitted out for the ſervice of this country. He was anxious to prevent ſo precipitate and impolitic a meaſure. We did not want ſhips. We had enough to contend with the united navies of the world. He confeſſed that he looked with great expectations to the impreſſion which would be made on the ſtates of the continent by adopting the reſolution which he propoſed. It would tend to conciliate the Danes, and to draw them by degrees, into their former cloſe and friendly connexion with us; and bring back the emperor of Ruſſia to his natural ties with England. This motion was reſiſted on the principle, that it would be pledging the country to make reſtitution of what there was no pretence to reſtore, after the hoſtilities which had ſince taken place between this country and Denmark; and that it would be an acknowledgment that we had acted improperly on an occaſion where our conduct could be ſtrictly juſtified on the principles of ſelf-preſervation, by the law of nations, and the circumſtances of the caſe. We had made every offer that could be deviſed to conciliate the Danes, before our army debarked, and met not only with a refuſal to enter into a negotiation, but this refuſal was repeated after the army landed. Even before the bombardment commenced, the ſame offers to negotiate were made again, and again rejected, with a declaration that the Danes would make common cauſe with our enemies. If the Danes had ſhown any diſpoſition to keep on amicable terms with this country, there might be ſome ground for the preſent motion; but having acted in the manner they had done, they had certainly forfeited all claim to ſuch treatment as was intended to be held out to them. The reſolution was loſt by a majority of 54.

On the 25th, Mr. Sheridan moved:—1. for copies or extracts of any correſpondence which paſſed between his majeſty's miniſters and the Daniſh chargé d'affaires, or his ſecretary reſident at the court of London, from the date of the capitulation of Copenhagen, to their departure, together with the minutes of any verbal communications between the ſame: 2. Copies or extracts of all correſpondence which paſſed, after the capitulation of Copenhagen, between his majeſty's miniſters and the

the court of Stockholm relative to the retaining poſſeſſion of the iſland of Zealand by a Swediſh army, or in concert with his majeſty's forces; and alſo copies of any correſpondence which might have paſſed between the courts of Copenhagen and Stockholm relating to the ſame, and communicated to his majeſty's miniſter reſiding at the court of Stockholm.

Mr. Sheridan ſaid he took it for granted, that it was not ſimply the attack upon Copenhagen, which had alienated the emperor of Ruſſia from his attachment to this country, but that it was owing to ſomething which occurred poſterior to that attack, that he had ranged himſelf in the liſt of our enemies. He ſuſpected that the emperor's hoſtility had ariſen from the communication imparted to the court of ſaint Peterſburgh of the foul, treacherous, and baſe propoſals which were made after the capitulation of Copenhagen by miniſters to Mr. Riſt, the Daniſh agent in this country, to ſubmit to any terms which they might think proper to dictate, on pain of having Norway wreſted from Denmark and given to Sweden. If he could truſt to the papers which he held in his hand (ſome numbers of the Moniteur) purporting to be the ſubject of a converſation which paſſed between Mr. Canning and Mr. Riſt, and copies of a correſpondence which paſſed between the courts of Copenhagen and Stockholm, it appeared that at the very time miniſters were ſoliciting the mediation of the emperor of Ruſſia between Great Britain and Denmark, they were threatening to deſpoil Denmark of Norway; and after having engaged to evacuate Zealand, conformably with the capitulation, they offered to co-operate with a body of Swediſh troops in retaining poſſeſſion of it. Flagrant and wicked as he conſidered the firſt attack on Denmark, to have violated the capitulation would certainly have been ſtill more baſe and criminal; and therefore he hoped to hear an explicit declaration from his majeſty's miniſters, that they never at any time harboured an idea of committing ſuch acts.

This motion was oppoſed by Mr. Canning, becauſe he ſaid it would be extremely dangerous to reveal the correſpondence of our ally, the king of Sweden. Earl Temple obſerved that miniſters were accuſed of intending to break or evade a ſolemn capitulation. He therefore aſked was there, or was there not, any negotiation with Sweden, or any foreign power, to occupy Zealand, after our troops were bound to evacuate it, purſuant to the terms agreed upon? No anſwer was given to this queſtion; but a majority of 99 ſanctioned the refuſal of the papers.

On the 3d of March, the earl of Darnley moved that an addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, cenſuring the expedition to the Baltic. The addreſs, which contained moſt of the arguments which had been alleged againſt the meaſure, was ſupported by lord Holland, and combated by lords Eliot and Boringdon. The motion was loſt, and lord Eliot moved an addreſs approving the expedition, which was carried by a large majority.

Another tedious debate occurred in the commons, on the 21ſt of March, on the motion of Mr. Sharp,

Sharp, for an addreſs to his majeſty, generally inculpating miniſters for their conduct in this affair. It is but juſtice to Mr. Sharp to ſtate that he made a moſt eloquent and maſterly appeal on this occaſion; but the diſcuſſion afforded no new trait of reaſoning; indeed, it was impoſſible that a ſubject, which had been abſolutely exhauſted, could produce any novelty. The debate, however, was prolonged until ſix o'clock the next morning, when the addreſs was rejected, and a reſolution of thanks to miniſters voted, on the ſuggeſtion of Mr. Wortley Stuart. The queſtion was again brought forward, in the houſe of peers, on the 24th, by the earl of Suffolk, who moved for the correſpondence between Mr. Garlicke and the ſecretary of ſtate, from November 1806 to July 1807, reſpecting the deſigns which, in conjunction with Ruſſia, Denmark was ſuppoſed to have entertained againſt England. This motion was alſo negatived, as was one in the houſe of commons, made by lord Folkeſtone on the 29th, to the ſame effect as that made by lord Sidmouth in the upper houſe, reſpecting the eventual reſtitution of the Daniſh fleet.

The laſt time that a topic immediately connected with the expedition to the Baltic was ſubmitted to parliament was on the 17th of May; and this was a motion made in the houſe of peers by lord Sidmouth, relative to the Daniſh merchant ſhips, detained previouſly to the commencement of hoſtilities. The noble lord ſtated that on the 25th of Auguſt 1807, many days before information had been received that the Engliſh commanders had proceeded to extremities, and at a time when it was not pretended that there was any inimical intention on the part of Denmark, orders were iſſued by the board of admiralty, in conſequence of the directions from one of his majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate, to detain and bring in proviſionally all Daniſh merchant veſſels; and that theſe orders were not confined to the channel, but ſent to all our naval officers commanding in chief, in every part of the world. On the 2d of September a ſimilar order was iſſued under the authority of his majeſty in council; accompanied by a mandate that no ſhips belonging to any of his majeſty's ſubjects ſhould clear out for any of the ports of Denmark; and that a general embargo ſhould be laid on all ſhips and veſſels belonging to the ſubjects of that country, as well as on all perſons and effects on board them. It appeared that the account of the commencement of hoſtilities was not received in England till the 4th of September; and it was admitted that before that time there was no ground for imputing a hoſtile diſpoſition to Denmark. In conſequence of theſe orders, three hundred and twenty ſhips were ſeized and detained; and after the iſſue of directions for general repriſals on the 4th of November, the whole were condemned as prize to the crown. The value of theſe ſeizures in our own ports, excluſive of thoſe which took place in other parts of the world, the noble lord calculated at more than 2,000,000l. ſterling. Amongſt the ſhips and cargoes detained under the inſtructions of the 25th of Auguſt and the 2d of September, were many which had been wrong-

wrongfully brought into Britiſh ports by our cruiſers and privateers, the maſters and crews of which were too generally actuated by a ſpirit of rapacity, by which individuals were cruelly injured, and the country diſgraced. Theſe to a conſiderable amount had been ordered to be reſtored by decrees of the high court of admiralty, or of the ſupreme court of appeal; but, owing to the ſubſequent hoſtilities, the benefit of theſe decrees was withheld, and the property, the reſtitution of which had been directed by judicial authority, was condemned by the ſame courts as prize to the king. Other ſhips and effects which were under adjudication at the commencement of hoſtilities, and which, as appeared from the proceedings concerning them, muſt alſo have been decreed to be reſtored, ſhared the ſame fate; thus was advantage taken of an original wrong, and the fruits of it became the property of the crown. To juſtify a meaſure of ſuch ſeverity, it was abſolutely neceſſary to ſhow that it was occaſioned by an antecedent aggreſſion on the part of Denmark; for it could not be contended that the ſeizure of merchant ſhips and of commercial property was called for by the urgent and imperious duty of ſelf-preſervation. The noble lord therefore moved: "1. That it appears to this houſe that ſhips and other property, to a large number and amount, belonging to ſubjects of his Daniſh majeſty, have been ſeized and detained under orders and inſtructions, iſſued before information was received by the Britiſh government of the commencement of hoſtilities with Denmark, and at a time when there was no alleged or ſuppoſed cauſe of war or repriſals; and when in purſuit of a peaceable and lawful commerce, there was an unuſual accumulation of Daniſh ſhips and cargoes in our ports, under the moſt perfect confidence of ſecurity; and that the ſaid ſhips and other property have been ſince condemned as lawful prize to the crown.—2. That in conſideration of the extraordinary circumſtances under which the ſaid orders and inſtructions were iſſued, it is highly expedient that, except for the purpoſe of indemnifying ſuch Britiſh ſubjects as may have ſuffered from the ſequeſtration of their property in Denmark, the appropriation of the proceeds of the ſaid ſhips and other effects ſhould be ſuſpended, ſo that no obſtacle be occaſioned thereby to ſuch eventual compenſation to the original owners, as circumſtances may appear to admit of, and as his majeſty, in his juſtice and liberality, may be pleaſed to direct.—3. That it would be highly honourable to the character of this country, that, conſidering the peculiar circumſtances of the preſent caſe, all mariners and others, detained and taken under the orders and inſtructions aforeſaid, ſhould be releaſed upon ſuch terms and conditions as his majeſty may think fit to require.—4. That at the time of iſſuing the orders and inſtructions aforeſaid, there were alſo in the ports of this kingdom, many ſhips and cargoes belonging to the ſubjects of his Daniſh majeſty, which, having been unjuſtly and wrongfully brought into the ſaid ports, had been decreed to be reſtored to the owners; and that many more then under adjudication muſt, as it appears,

have been in like manner decreed to be reſtored; that freight money, to a large amount, had been, and other ſums of the like nature muſt have been, pronounced to be due; all which ſhips, cargoes, and freight money, have, in conſequence of the ſupervening hoſtilities, been condemned as prize to the crown.—5. That it is eſſential to the juſtice and to the honour of the Britiſh name, as well as conformable to the ancient practice of our courts, and to the eſtabliſhed principles of the law of nations, that effectual means be adopted for giving to the owners of the ſaid ſhips and other property, the full benefit of the decrees pronounced in their favour by the high court of admiralty, or of his majeſty's high court of appeal for prizes; and the adoption of ſuch means is rendered the more obligatory on the faith of this nation, inaſmuch as the poſitive ſtipulation of a treaty, then ſubſiſting between this country and Denmark, was intended to provide againſt a delay, which, however, unavoidable in the preſent inſtances, has proved ſo injurious to the intereſts of the ſubjects of Denmark—6. That it is equally eſſential to juſtice, and the honour of the Britiſh name, that the crews, or ſuch part of them as had remained in this kingdom, for the better cuſtody and protection of the ſhips and cargoes ſo as aforeſaid ordered to be reſtored, ſhould no longer be conſidered as priſoners of war.—7. That the principles of the foregoing reſolutions be conſidered as extending to the proceedings of all his majeſty's courts of prize, wherever the facts of the caſe, which at preſent are not before this houſe, ſhall warrant their application."

The lord chancellor contended, that there could be no doubt that as the law ſtood, all enemy's property was forfeited to the crown; a veſſel therefore detained, though at the time there might be no reaſon for the detention, yet from the circumſtance of hoſtilities commencing, became forfeited to the crown. This might operate as a hard caſe in many inſtances on individuals: but he had great doubts that there could be any thing like commercial peace and a political war at the ſame time. He thought ſuch a ſyſtem, and the idea of compenſation for loſſes, would only lead to ruinous ſpeculations on the part of mercantile men. To this reaſoning lord Hawkeſbury added, that there was no departure in this caſe from the uſage and practice with reſpect to other nations; and as the tranſactions referred to were conſiſtent with ſuch practice and uſage, that there was no injuſtice in them. Lords Erſkine, Ellenborough, and earl Stanhope, on the other hand, ſupported the reſolutions, on the principle of their juſtice. Lord Erſkine indeed admitted, that the veſſels detained muſt be forfeited to the crown as enemy's property; but he ſaid, that was no reaſon why the crown could give no relief. Upon a diviſion, the reſolutions were rejected.

The law in this caſe was undoubtedly clear: but though ſentiments may differ on the expedition to Copenhagen, and the propriety of bringing away the Daniſh ſhips of war, it muſt be acknowledged that the reſtoration of

of the proceeds arising from the sale of the merchant vessels, detained previously to hostilities, to the owners, after English subjects had been compensated for their losses in Denmark out of them, would have redounded highly to the credit of Great Britain. It was a point on which, not the liberality, but the equity of the sovereign might have been most properly extended to the sufferers; and it is only to be lamented that the honourable conduct recommended by lord Sidmouth was not adopted.

CHAP. III.

Earl Grey moves for additional papers on the Russian and Austrian offers to mediate a peace between France and England. Speeches of earl Grey, lord Hawkesbury, the earl of Moira, and lord Grenville. The papers granted. Mr. Whitbread's motion on the same subject in the lower house agreed to. Substance of the most important of these documents. Mr. Whitbread moves three resolutions inculpating ministers for not accepting the mediations of Russia and Austria, and recommending a direct negotiation with France: Abstract of the speeches of Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Ponsonby, lord Milton, and Mr. Canning: The resolutions are negatived. Summary of the discussion on Mr. Adam's motion relative to the law of parliament, which is rejected. Debates on the expeditions to Constantinople and Alexandria. Discussion on the droits of the admiralty, and on the remission of a forfeiture to his majesty obtained by sir Home Popham. Speeches of sir Francis Burdett, the chancellor of the exchequer, the advocate general, sir Home Popham Mr. Sheridan, and other members. The case of sir Home Popham, again brought before the house of commons by Mr. Lushington, who proposes resolutions censuring that officer, and condemning the remission of the forfeiture incurred by him. The motion negatived by a large majority.

VARIOUS papers relative to the offers of Austria and Russia to mediate a peace between France and England having been laid before parliament, on the 11th of February, earl Grey, not being satisfied with the documents, moved for others more completely to elucidate these transactions. He declared that he was not disposed, under all the circumstances, to find great fault with the rejection of the Russian proffer, but he saw much to blame in declining that of Austria. In some of the Russian notes already produced, he said, there were charges affecting the honour and character of this country, which it was the duty of his majesty's ministers at the court of Saint Petersburgh to repel. These charges were more specifically set forth in the Russian declaration. They were contained under three heads: the refusal to lend any military assistance to the emperor, the refusal to facilitate the negotiation of a loan in this country, and the vexations suffered by the commerce of Russia. Of these three heads of accusation, the last only was repelled in his majesty's manifesto. The

The two firſt were paſſed over in that perfect ſilence, which implied an acquieſcence in the truth of the charges. The firſt was by far the moſt ſerious. The refuſal to make any military diverſion in favour of the continent was one of the chief complaints againſt his majeſty's late ſervants, and had been preſſed againſt them by their opponents in all poſſible ſhapes; but he contended that the courſe of events was at no time ſuch as to juſtify them in ſending a large army to the continent. There were only three points at which a diverſion could be effected. It muſt have been attempted in France, Holland, or within the Baltic. What could five and twenty or thirty thouſand men, the moſt that could have been ſpared from this country, perform againſt the population of France? It would have been to ſend them to certain captivity or deſtruction; for within three days, three times their number might have been collected againſt them. Was it in Holland that this diverſion was to be attempted? Independently of the difficulty of eſtabliſhing magazines, the ſeaſon rendered acceſs to the coaſt almoſt impoſſible, and there was no ſtrong place under cover of which the army could take poſt. Was it within the Baltic that this co-operation was to take place? After the Ruſſians were driven acroſs the Viſtula, any deſcent on the coaſt of Denmark could not have been attended with the ſmalleſt ſucceſs. Stralſund was the only place where a landing could have been ſafely made, and Swediſh Pomerania was obſerved by a French army, too powerful for any force which England or Sweden could have collected in that quarter to cope with. Where then was this military aſſiſtance to be given? Could a landing of thirty thouſand men at Memel have changed the fortune of war? His noble friend behind him (lord Hutchinſon) could bear teſtimony that it would not. The Ruſſians were ſo deficient in arrangements, that they were often in want of proviſions. They had neglected to eſtabliſh magazines, and the acceſſion of ſuch a force, inſtead of being an advantage, would only have added to their embarraſſments. The next charge reſpecting the refuſal to facilitate a loan would be eaſily refuted. Ruſſia had propoſed to raiſe a loan of ſix millions in England; but upon conſulting with ſome of the firſt merchants, it was found that it would be impoſſible to obtain it, unleſs the repayment were guaranteed by the Britiſh government. Ruſſia had certainly offered a ſpecies of ſecurity; namely, that the duties levied in that country, upon the importation of Britiſh goods, ſhould be made payable here as an export duty; but this being a duty of an uncertain and precarious nature, it was not accepted. The lenders would take nothing ſhort of a guarantee of the Engliſh government; and that for many reaſons could not be granted. The negotiation, therefore, fell to the ground. The only remaining charge was, the injury ſuſtained by the Ruſſian commerce. It was true, a number of Ruſſian veſſels bound to the ports of France had been detained; but they were afterwards releaſed, and ample recompenſe made to thoſe who ſuffered by their detention. They were releaſed in conſequence of a repreſentation from the Ruſſian miniſter, that though France and

Ruſſia were at war, there was no interruption to the commerce between the two ſtates. In proof of this aſſertion, he mentioned that the Ruſſian conſuls remained at all the French ports, in the full exerciſe of their functions. To this repreſentation miniſters liſtened, the detained ſhips were releaſed, and an aſſurance given, upon an underſtanding that they ſhould convey no contraband of war, of their meeting with no interruption in future.

Lord Hawkeſbury replied, that as to the Ruſſian mediation, he muſt ſtate that his majeſty's preſent miniſters never diſguiſed or concealed the deſire they had to conclude a peace with France, if ſuch a peace could be concluded on fair and honourable terms, and ſhould extend to his majeſty's allies, as well as to himſelf. If they had thought ſuch a peace could be obtained through the mediation of Ruſſia, they would have gladly embraced it; but it was well known that Ruſſia had, at the time of the treaty of Tilſit, entered into ſecret articles, which they could not doubt were directed againſt the intereſts of this country, or perhaps againſt the exiſtence of ſome of our allies. Lord Hawkeſbury took no notice of the Auſtrian offer of mediation; but proceeding to the apology for the conduct of the late miniſters in reſpect to a diverſion in favour of the continent, he ſaid, if it were allowed that the French had ſucceeded principally by ſuperiority of numbers, then it might be ſuppoſed that a great part of that ſuperiority might have been taken off by proper aſſiſtance, eſpecially as it was admitted that Sweden was ready to co-operate with her whole ſtrength. He did not charge the former miniſters with any poſitive breach of promiſe, or violation of any expreſs aſſurance of aſſiſtance; yet they had, by their expreſſions, held out a hope, and induced a belief in the allies, that it was their intention to co-operate with them. Thoſe hopes and expectations had been deceived, and the continent was now taught to look upon this country, as a nation that goaded others to make ſacrifices, but which avoided partaking in the dangers and loſſes of a continental war. He thought it would have been better to run the riſk of loſing troops, than to loſe our national honour, and be deemed a country which would involve others in peril, which we ourſelves would decline. He ſhould himſelf have objected to a loan of ſix millions to Ruſſia; yet when he conſidered that it was a campaign upon which the laſt ſtake of Europe depended, he ſhould not have refuſed three millions, either as a ſubſidy, or, if it were more gratifying to the pride of Ruſſia, as a loan. He conceived that the late miniſters were wrong in not giving, at leaſt, that pecuniary aid which the circumſtances required, and which our allies had a right to expect.

The earl of Moira obſerved, that it was extraordinary that at the ſame moment, when we denied the power of Ruſſia to be a fair guarantee between us and France, we ſhould have ſolicited it between us and Denmark. If the late miniſters did not ſend an army to the aſſiſtance of Ruſſia, it was becauſe no army which this country could ſend, had the ſmalleſt chance of turning the fate of the laſt unfortunate campaign. Thirty thouſand Britiſh troops united with fifteen thouſand

thouſand Swedes, and collected at Stralſund, could not have prevented the defeat of the Ruſſians; and even if the event of the battle of Friedland had turned out differently, and the French had been worſted, ſtill that force would have been much too ſmall to throw in the rear of ſuch an immenſe army on its retreat. It was impoſſible that this force could have acted on the flank of the enemy, for they were covered by great rivers, the Oder and the Viſtula. In ſuch an expedition, our riſk would not have been merely an army; but it would have been the army of Great Britain, and which certainly ſhould not have been hazarded, unleſs there was a probability of gaining ſome moſt important advantage. The fact was, that the late miniſters were convinced, upon the fulleſt conſideration, that the troops which they could ſend were not likely to produce any good reſult, and that there was only one chance remaining for Europe. To that one chance they paid the utmoſt attention. That chance was hat Auſtria might be brought to move, and that if the Auſtrian army marched down to the Lower Elbe, behind the communications of the French, then Europe would have had a fair chance of deliverance. Theſe arguments were alſo enforced by lord Grenville, who confeſſed that from the firſt opening of the campaign, neither he nor his colleagues were ſanguine in their hopes of ſucceſs, and while they were endeavouring to counteract the fatal deluſion, in which the country, from its long habits, was too prone to indulge, he had not forgotten the pains which were taken to repreſent them as gloomy, ſpiritleſs, and apprehenſive, becauſe they would not condeſcend, by an empty ſhow of preparation, to court a fame for vigour. There was only one caſe in which he thought that great and ample ſacrifices ought to have been made, —in the event of procuring the co-operation of Auſtria. It had been ſaid that pecuniary aid might have been afforded; and that the late miniſters even refuſed to ſanction a Ruſſian loan of ſix millions. To this he would anſwer, that taught by the experience of a former guarantee for an Auſtrian loan, it behoved the late government to act with ſome caution, before they gave a guarantee for ſuch a ſum as ſix millions, which might ultimately fall as a burden on the people of this country. It had been remarked that they might have granted a ſubſidy of three millions; and that then a zeal to aſſiſt Ruſſia would have been manifeſted. He would reply, that they were ready to ſubſidize, if it could have been ſhown that any good was to be gained by it. The former miniſters were blamed for not having made, at leaſt, a ſhow of diverſion by collecting a large fleet of tranſports, and by marching troops to the coaſt, in order to excite alarm in the enemy, and divide his attention; but the enemy would have known as well as we, that we could not be ſerious in ſuch an enterpriſe, which muſt have ſerved only to delude our ally, and encourage him to continue a fruitleſs conteſt. Still, his lordſhip ſaid, the country was not without reſources, and could have gone very great lengths both in military and pecuniary aids, had there been a probability of ſuch aids being in any way uſeful.

Earl

Earl Grey's motion for the additional papers was agreed to without a diviſion. Mr. Whitbread alſo, in the lower houſe, moved for further documents on this ſubject. Moſt of theſe were granted; particularly copies of all aſſurances of co-operation given to the courts of Ruſſia and Stockholm, with ſome modification of them. From theſe laſt it appeared, that after the battle of Auerſtadt, miniſters had inſtructed Mr. Stuart, the ambaſſador at Saint Peterſburgh, to uſe the moſt preſſing inſtances to that court to give orders for the advance of the Ruſſian armies without delay, in order that they might aſſiſt the king of Pruſſia *; and they ſtated, that the increaſe of the danger would animate his Britannic majeſty to increaſed exertions for the ſake of the common cauſe †; but when the baron de Nicolay, the Ruſſian envoy at London, invited them to a frank and explicit communication of their views with reſpect to the exiſting criſis, he was anſwered, "that there was no queſtion at that moment of any particular military operation, yet that the ſame opinion was entertained at London as at Saint Peterſburgh, of the neceſſity of combined exertions to reſiſt the augmenting peril, and of a full and unreſerved confidence on all points connected with the intereſt of the common cauſe ‡." The diſpatches both of Mr. Stuart and of the marquis of Douglas exhibited an extreme wiſh on the part of the emperor Alexander, for the co-operation of Great Britain. In one of them, the former writes: "General Budberg lately told me, that his imperial majeſty had expreſsly directed him to urge the expediency of partial expeditions on the coaſts of France and Holland, for the purpoſe of diſtracting the attention of the enemy, and impeding the march of the French reſerves." In two ſubſequent diſpatches, Mr. Stuart again draws lord Howick's notice to this ſubject; and in another he obſerves: "I muſt not conceal from your lordſhip, that the apparent ſilence of his majeſty's government reſpecting a military diverſion on the coaſt of France, has not produced a favourable effect on the opinion either of the miniſters or the public of this country." The complaints of the Ruſſian miniſters concerning the want of co-operation are repeated in four ſeveral diſpatches of the marquis of Douglas. In reply to theſe, lord Howick points out the difficulty and danger at all times of landing in ſuch a country as France; but he remarks: "that if a favourable opportunity ſhould ariſe, his majeſty would be deſirous of exerting his utmoſt efforts to diſtreſs the enemy, upon any point which might preſent an advantageous opening to aſſiſt the general operations of the war §." At length, in the month of March 1807, lord Hutchinſon ſtates that a formal propoſition had been made to him by the Pruſſian government, in conjunction with that of Ruſſia, that the Britiſh and Swediſh troops ſhould raiſe the blockade of Stralſund, at that time

* Diſpatch from viſcount Howick to Charles Stuart, Eſq. dated Oct. 28th, 1806.
† Diſpatch from the ſame to the ſame, Nov. 4th, 1806.
‡ Diſpatch from the ſame to the marquis of Douglas, Dec. 4th, 1806.
§ Diſpatch from the ſame to the ſame, Feb. 20th, 1807.

inveſted

inveſted by marſhal Mortier, with about twenty thouſand men, and that they ſhould move on the left bank of the Oder, to threaten the communcations in the rear of the French army. It was added that they might beſiege Stettin, a large place with a ſmall garriſon, and in a bad ſtate of defence; and that if it were taken, "the communication with Berlin, the Elbe, and the reſt of Germany would be at once open. If the French remained in Poland, a conſiderable force acting in this manner on their rear, would create the moſt ſerious embarraſſments, and probably force them to evacuate that country, or at leaſt oblige them to detach ſuch a number of troops as would ſoon leave them inferior to the allies. Should the French even occupy the line of the Oder, this diverſion would be of the greateſt importance, as the Ruſſians would in that caſe probably march with the larger part of their army into Sileſia. This propoſed operation would be attended with little danger, as the Britiſh army would always have a retreat upon Stralſund open to them, and from thence to the iſland of Rugen, from which they might be re-embarked." Lord Hutchinſon expreſſes his opinion on this propoſal, that the plan "would be highly advantageous, and only attended with the ordinary riſques of war, as in every event the retreat of the troops employed in that ſervice would not be a hazardous one." The marquis of Douglas informs lord Howick * there was reaſon to ſuppoſe, that it had been forcibly put to the emperor by ſome people little partial to England, that Ruſſia was abandoned by her friends; that the whole conteſt was left to her, and that even her intimate ally, Great Britain, neglected to ſupport her at a criſis when any reverſe of fortune might endanger the empire itſelf. He mentions that he had frequently expatiated upon the activity of England, but that he muſt acquaint lord Howick that the Ruſſian court, alive to the embarraſſments which ſurrounded it, was determined, in ſpite of every argument, to conſider no act as directed towards its particular ſupport, which did not, by occupying a part of the French forces, relieve it from their concentrated attacks †. He was thoroughly convinced of the ſincere and honourable intentions of the emperor, yet it was impoſſible he (lord Douglas) ſhould be deaf to the murmurs that he heard, to the expectations of thouſands, to the intrigues of a few, all more or leſs beginning to ſeek the ſame object; ſo that he could not without ſome jealouſy look to the conſequences. Should, however, any diverſion take place on the part of Great Britain, or aſſiſted by her troops, there was a great probability in that caſe, that the emperor, from a point of honour, would conſider himſelf bound to act with all practicable energy ‡.

Thus it is evident that no poſitive promiſe of co-operation was ever given by miniſters to the government of Ruſſia; yet it muſt be admitted that the emperor was urged by the Engliſh cabinet to move to the aid of Pruſſia, a circumſtance which in ſome meaſure

* March 19th, 1807. † April 3rd. ‡ April 27th.

entitled

entitled him to expect ſome collateral union of enterpriſe; and it is equally clear that indirect hopes of aſſiſtance were held out to him in the firſt inſtance.

On the 29th of February, Mr. Whitbread, in perhaps one of the longeſt ſpeeches which were ever delivered in parliament, reviewed and commented on the various documents which had been produced relative to the mediations of Auſtria and Ruſſia, and moved the following reſolutions: 1. "That it is the opinion of this houſe, that the conditions ſtipulated by his majeſty's miniſters for the acceptance of the mediation offered by the emperor of Ruſſia, were inexpedient and impolitic.—2. That it is the opinion of this houſe, that the conduct of his majeſty's miniſters on the ſubject of the mediation offered by the emperor of Auſtria, was unwiſe and impolitic, and not calculated to aſcertain how far the reſtoration of the bleſſings of peace might, or might not have been attainable through the means of ſuch mediation.—3. That there is nothing in the preſent ſtate of the war, which ought to preclude his majeſty from embracing any fair opportunity of acceding to, or commencing a negotiation with the enemy on a footing of equality for the termination of hoſtilities on terms of equity and honour." Mr. Whitbread prefaced this motion by aſſuming, that it was admitted by miniſters that the war had become purely defenſive on the part of England. There could, therefore, he ſaid, exiſt no reaſon againſt its termination, ariſing out of any hope of poſitive advantage from its continuance; conſequently it would have been proper to accept the mediation of Ruſſia for the purpoſe of negotiating with France. Miniſters, by the manner in which they had expreſſed themſelves in their declarations, and their ſpeeches in parliament, had wiſhed it to be imagined that the offer of mediation reſulted from the treaty of Tilſit alone, when in point of fact the firſt offer was made, before the treaty of Tilſit had been executed, and even ſo many days before that event, and ſo ſhort a time after the ſignature of the armiſtice, as to make it impoſſible that all thoſe plans which were attributed to Ruſſia and France, of a concert with the aim to annoy England, could have been entered into. When this offer was originally made, it was unclogged with the offenſive limitation of time upon which ſo much ſtreſs had been laid. It was conceived in theſe remarkable words: "The emperor offers his mediation to his Britannic majeſty to make his peace with France; having a certainty that it will be accepted by the latter power." What could be more ſtrikingly amicable in the emperor, than ſuch an offer at ſuch a moment? After ſo complete a defeat, when his hopes were blaſted, when he was reduced to the neceſſity of making a peace, which nothing but extremity could have extorted from him, in the hour of his anguiſh he thought of England, and his firſt conſideration was how he ſhould be able to ſerve her by his intervention, after having ineffectually tried his ſtrength to the utmoſt in conteſts in the field! It was now known alſo, that the emperor never intended that the limitation of time for the acceptance of the propoſal, with which

which it was afterwards accompanied, ſhould be inſiſted on. As to the impartiality of the emperor, as he had to the laſt moment manifeſted his ſincere friendſhip towards this country, Mr. Whitbread endeavoured to eſtabliſh a probability, that if his imperial majeſty had any bias, it was in favour of England. The honourable member contended, that it was impoſſible for the Ruſſian government to have revealed the ſecret articles in the treaty of Tilſit in compliance with our demand, becauſe the very word *ſecret* implied that there was ſomething to be withheld by the two contracting powers, to diſcloſe which would have violated the very conditions of the articles themſelves. He obſerved, that the repeated aſſurances given by Ruſſia of the innoxious nature of the ſecret articles in relation to England, might have been relied upon with a degree of confidence ſufficient to juſtify the acceptance of the mediation, if otherwiſe deſirable; becauſe in the courſe of the negotiation, England might have propoſed and enforced any proviſions to ſecure thoſe intereſts which ſhe ſuſpected to be in danger from the effect of the articles in queſtion. Miniſters, however, ſeemed to have been only deſirous of creating difficulties in the buſineſs. They wiſhed, as a preliminary mark of good will from Ruſſia in this affair, that the treaty of commerce between her and Great Britain ſhould be renewed. That treaty had expired, and frequent attempts had unſucceſsfully been made by the laſt adminiſtration to obtain the renewal of it. Was it reaſonable to aſk for ſuch a mark of good will at that time? Was it not rather adding to exiſting embarraſſments, and creating diſguſt in the mind of Ruſſia, when it ought to have been the object of his majeſty's ſervants to ſooth and conciliate her? Mr. Whitbread ſaid, that the inveſtigation of the documents furniſhed him with this concluſion; that there were three modes in which the king's ſervants might have proceeded with regard to the Ruſſian offer of mediation. The firſt was, to have accepted it in the only way in which it could with propriety be accepted; with promptitude, frankneſs, and confidence. He did not ſay that miniſters were cenſurable for not having done this. The reſponſibility they would have taken on themſelves undoubtedly muſt have been great: the iſſue might have been fortunate. No blame, however, attached to thoſe who declined ſuch a decided line of conduct. The ſecond courſe which might have been taken was, to have told Ruſſia immediately, that in the circumſtances of the caſe, England could not accept her mediation: but to have done this accompanied with all the expreſſions of tenderneſs, conciliation, and confidence towards Ruſſia, which could have been deviſed. At the ſame time, adding, that although the offer of Ruſſia was declined for the reaſons ſtated, a direct communication with France would be accepted, if tendered on the part of that power; and even avowing frankly to Ruſſia, not only that ſuch was the diſpoſition of the Engliſh government; but that if England felt that her overtures would be received in a manner becoming her honour and dignity, and upon the footing of equality, ſhe would not

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be indiſpoſed to make ſuch overtures. Had ſuch overtures been made at that moment, it was a period of the war moſt favourable for them, and they might have led to peace. There was a third courſe; that of ſuſpicion, petulance, and half confidence, to which the evil genius of England directed the councils of her miniſters. This was a courſe which was ſure to fail; a courſe which muſt neceſſarily bring diſcredit upon the government of the country. It had failed, it had brought diſcredit upon the councils of the king, and a golden opportunity for entering into negotiation had been irretrievably loſt. Proceeding to the Auſtrian offer of mediation, Mr. Whitbread conceived that his majeſty's ſervants had in that affair alſo been actuated by groundleſs ſcruples, and an adherence to idle punctilios. He particularly argued that Mr. Canning had miſtaken the conſtruction of a paſſage in the prince of Starhemberg's note, dated the 23d of November 1807, propoſing that Engliſh plenipotentiaries ſhould be ſent to Paris to treat for the re-eſtabliſhment of peace. The meaning of that paſſage he contended to be that they ſhould negotiate "a pacification between all the powers at war, including England;" whereas the right honourable ſecretary had held the import of it to be "between England and all the powers in alliance againſt her," (to the excluſion of the powers in alliance with her). In this verbal criticiſm Mr. Whitbread was certainly unfortunate, as the French words cannot be forced to bear the interpretation he extorted from them *; and even ſuppoſing that they could, as the prince of Starhemberg was known to be friendly to Engliſh intereſts, he would have acquainted Mr. Canning with his miſconception. Mr. Whitbread then touched on the propriety of a baſis of negotiation having been demanded by miniſters. If, ſaid he, a baſis was thought indiſpenſable, they ought to have been prepared with one, and to have levelled that difficulty by communicating it; but the preliminary condition of a baſis was the bane of the former negotiation with France, and rendered it abortive. In reſpect to the demand of a pledge from France of her diſpoſition to peace, he ſhould have thought that the propoſal of that power to ſend Britiſh miniſters to Paris was a pledge in itſelf perfectly ſatisfactory. On the whole, he declared, that in his opinion another propitious moment had been ſuffered to eſcape, not indeed of making peace, but of entering into diſcuſſions, for the purpoſe of aſcertaining whether peace could or could not be made. The honourable member afterwards enforced the expediency of making a direct propoſal of negotiation to France, and aſked if there were any thing humiliating in ſuch conduct. If there were, Buonapartè had twice ſufficiently humbled himſelf before this country; for he had twice made direct overtures for the purpoſe of treating, and could he be expected to repeat them? "Suſpend," he continued, "for a time the operations of war, and the power of the French emperor will

* The words were "entre toutes les puiſſances actuellement en guerre avec l'Angleterre."

no

no longer be what it is now. By your reſiſtance you created, and by continuing to reſiſt, you conſolidate that power. It is the conteſt of the wind and the ſun, by urging the tempeſt of war againſt him, you bind faſter all thoſe ties, which have placed the different ſtates of the earth under his controul; the genial influence of peace would tend gradually to diſunite and to diſſolve them.

Mr. Ponſonby entirely approved of the two firſt reſolutions, but objected to the third, becauſe it would bind miniſters to take immediate ſteps towards a negotiation, which might induce Buonapartè to ſuppoſe that our offer aroſe from mercantile diſtreſs, and the preſſure under which our manufactures laboured, from having the markets on the continent ſhut againſt them. He might therefore think himſelf in a poſition to dictate a peace to us. Conſequently he was afraid that, inſtead of promoting peace, the reſolution might have the effect of protracting the war. Lord Milton alſo agreed to the propriety of the two firſt reſolutions; but could not aſſent to the third, not being ſatisfied that there was yet ground to addreſs his majeſty to remove his miniſters as being diſinclined to peace, a procedure which he was of opinion muſt neceſſarily follow the third reſolution.

Mr. Canning expreſſed his readineſs to enter at any time into negotiations for a peace, conſiſtent with the honour and dignity of the country; but he maintained that until certain intelligence was received, that the French government was prepared to admit diſcuſſions on an equitable baſis, it would be imprudent to attempt any. It was obvious that if any negotiation which might be undertaken ſhould fail, peace would be placed at a greater diſtance, and the ſufferings of the people which had been ſo much exaggerated, inſtead of being diminiſhed, would be augmented. The firſt offer of mediation from Auſtria might have been worthy of attention, if the fortune of Buonapartè had not taken a different turn. Auſtria fell under the controul of France, and no ſecurity exiſted in negotiation. The laſt offer proved palpably fallacious, and both attempts exploded together. It was the intention of the Britiſh government to negotiate; but in the official notes which paſſed through the hands of the Auſtrian miniſter, an ambiguous ſtyle prevailed, evidently the effect of deſign. After the 12th of June 1807, Auſtria was no longer an independent power. She was ſo completely influenced by the French miniſter, that her prince had no choice but to aid the views of France. No inſtance would be found, where a neutral under the influence of a ſuperior power, had been accepted as a mediator. We were called upon to accept an unaccredited agent in the perſon of the Auſtrian miniſter. In the year 1805 Auſtria offered her mediation to France, who ſaid, ſhow me a baſis. She afterwards offered to mediate for Ruſia, who alſo required a baſis. If theſe powers conſidered it neceſſary to make ſuch claims on Auſtria, this country was right in demanding ſtrictly the baſis of treating before it accepted the offer of mediation.

Mr. Whitbread's motion was ſupported

ſupported by the honourable J. W. Ward, lord Mahon, Mr. Sheridan, and Mr. Adam, and oppoſed by Mr. Wilberforce and Mr. Blachford. The houſe divided on each of the reſolutions in the following manner: 1ſt, Ayes 70; Noes 210. 2d, Ayes 67; Noes 211. 3d Ayes 58; Noes 217.

A queſtion relative to the law of parliament, ariſing out of the different motions for papers concerning the hoſtile proceedings againſt Denmark, was brought forward by Mr. Adam on the 4th of March. On the 3d of February, Mr. Ponſonby moved for certain documents; and in the debate which took place, the diſcuſſion embraced not only the motion for papers, but the conduct of the individuals to which theſe papers referred. On that occaſion, Mr. Canning read extracts from two papers which had been moved for, to give the houſe information neceſſary to enable it to form a judgment on the propriety of the expedition to Copenhagen. On the 8th, Mr. Whitbread moved for the production of thoſe very papers from which Mr. Canning had read extracts, on the ground that the extracts that had been given, produced a different impreſſion on the houſe from that which the writers of theſe diſpatches (lord Howick and Mr. Garlicke,) had intended to convey. The reaſon originally aſſigned for not producing the whole of theſe documents was, that their contents could not be diſcloſed, without detriment to the public ſervice. Mr. Canning on the 8th perſiſted in refuſing them, alleging at the ſame time that he had not miſrepreſented the opinions of lord Howick and Mr. Garlicke; yet on the 26th, he himſelf moved for the ſame papers which he before had contended it would be unſafe to publiſh, for the purpoſe of vindicating his own character. Mr. Adam pronounced Mr. Canning's conduct to be wholly irregular and highly cenſurable, becauſe any member who preſumed, of his own accord, to read parts of official documents which were not before the houſe, was guilty of a flagrant violation of its forms of proceeding, and of an infraction of the law of parliament. The honourable member inſiſted, that a ſecretary of ſtate had no more right to read the contents of any diſpatch with which he was entruſted, than a perſon picking it up by accident, would have to publiſh it. The interference of the houſe was therefore neceſſary on this point, as well to mark its diſapprobation of one of the ſervants of the crown in his official capacity, as to ſecure its own independence, and the regularity of its proceedings. Mr. Adam conſequently moved two reſolutions inculpating Mr. Canning in this reſpect. The latter vindicated himſelf from the charge, and produced ſeveral inſtances, with a view of ſhowing that his conduct had been ſanctioned by precedent. If, ſaid he, the doctrine was to be laid down, that no miniſter ought to convey information except by command of his majeſty, or in conſequence of an addreſs, it would be impoſſible for the buſineſs of the country to go on. Where could the line be drawn? Would it be ſaid, that to anſwer a queſtion was correct, but to give voluntary intelligence improper? Adverting to the reſolutions, Mr.

Canning

Canning obſerved, that he could not help thinking that it would have been more adviſable for the honourable mover of them to adopt a proſpective meaſure, than to lay down a principle, and then apply it to him (Mr. Canning). Why did he not take notice of this circumſtance at the time it occurred, aware as he was, by his own confeſſion, of its impropriety; and not come down a month after it had happened, to make it a ſubject of accuſation? Miniſters had each, in their ſeveral departments, his majeſty's confidence, and that confidence implied, that they were to exerciſe their diſcretion either in uſing or withholding, except in conſequence of his command or an addreſs, any correſpondence in their reſpective offices. Mr. Windham and Mr. Whitbread ſpoke in favour of the reſolutions, and the chancellor of the exchequer, as well as Mr. Sturges Bourne, and lord Caſtlereagh againſt them. The laſt moved the order of the day, which was voted by a majority of conſiderably more than two to one.

The attention of the houſe of commons was drawn to the expeditions to Conſtantinople and Alexandria, by Mr. Taylor, a gentleman who profeſſed to be unconnected with any political party. Mr. Taylor, on the 15th of February moved for a variety of papers on theſe ſubjects. Moſt of them were produced; but it is unneceſſary to enter into any detail concerning them, as the readers of the Annual Regiſter are acquainted with all the facts which could be drawn from them; and particularly as no new light was thrown on the cauſe of the failures incurred by the Britiſh armaments by the documents. Colonel Wood, indeed, on the 16th of May, moved for a copy of the log-book of the Royal George (ſir John Duckworth's flag-ſhip,) in order that the houſe might have full and particular evidence of all the facts bearing on the caſe, as the bad ſucceſs of the expedition had been attributed to the ſtate of the winds and currents; but Mr. Yorke expreſſed great unwillingneſs to have theſe papers laid on the table; becauſe he did not think it right to inſtitute inquiries into the conduct of military and naval commanders, in that houſe, in the firſt inſtance. If there were grounds for a charge of neglect of duty in any caſe, he ſaid, the proper courſe was to repreſent the matter to the admiralty; and if the charge appeared juſtly founded, it would be brought to trial before the proper tribunal, a court martial. After ſome further converſation, colonel Wood was induced to withdraw his motion. On the 20th, Mr. Taylor brought forward ſome reſolutions, that tended to expreſs a ſenſe which the houſe entertained of the diſgrace, that the unfortunate reſult of the expeditions reflected on the honour and character of his majeſty's arms. On this occaſion, Mr. Thomas Grenville declared, that the right of interference between Ruſſia and Turkey which Great Britain poſſeſſed, was indiſputable; for both the treaty of 1799, and that which followed the peace of Jaſſy, had for their object to connect in one bond of union the three countries. By the convention entered into on the 21ſt of March 1800, the paſſage of the Boſphorus, with troops and mili-

tary ſtores, was reciprocally ſecured to each power. When, therefore, this convention was violated on the part of the Ottoman porte, it was not neceſſary to point out the policy which induced the Britiſh government to maintain the rights of Ruſſia ſo unjuſtly attacked. In doing ſo, the late adminiſtration had only followed up the line of conduct purſued for a long courſe of years by their predeceſſors, who had thought, that it was the intereſt of Great Britain to ſupport and extend her connexion with Ruſſia. The right honourable gentleman then proceeded to ſhew, that Mr. Arbuthnot had written to lord Collingwood and lord Howick, ſtating how deſirable it was to ſend a force to the Dardanelles, to ſupport his negotiation with the divan. Sir Thomas Louis had in conſequence been diſpatched with three ſail of the line by lord Collingwood, and the intelligence of that circumſtance had been received in this country, at the time when his majeſty's late miniſters were conſidering the propriety of ſending a naval armament to that quarter. They inſtantly approved of what had been done by the gallant admiral, and meaſures were taken for ſending a larger force on the ſervice. Some comments had been made on the nature of that force; but the houſe would judge of its ſufficiency from the ſtatement of Mr. Arbuthnot, on the 29th of September, that it was impoſſible for the Porte to withdraw its fleet to a place of ſafety. It was the opinion of all the naval men with whom he had converſed on the ſubject, that there would be no difficulty in paſſing the Dardanelles. He aſked, therefore, as this was a new expedition, what could the government do but collect all the information they could from profeſſional perſons, upon which they might act? It was expected, too, that aſſiſtance would have been afforded by the Ruſſian fleet, and that ſuch expectation was not ill-founded, was clear from the event of eight ſail of the line of that fleet having joined admiral Duckworth, four days after he had re-paſſed the Dardanelles, for the avowed purpoſe of co-operating againſt the Turks. As to the delay that had been charged on the late government in ſending out a force, that was not imputable to the councils of his majeſty's miniſters. On the 9th of November they received the information which led them to diſpatch that ſquadron, and on the 22d of the ſame month, ſix ſail of the line were completely equipped for the reinforcement of lord Collingwood's fleet, though unfortunately, from the ſtate of the weather, they could not ſail for ſix weeks. No troops had accompanied the expedition, becauſe no neceſſity had been ſtated for them in paſſing the Dardanelles, nor could they have effected any uſeful operation againſt two hundred thouſand men collected in Conſtantinople to march againſt the Ruſſians. Mr. Grenville aſſerted that the capture of Alexandria was an act of effectual warfare; becauſe the object of the former miniſters was to ſecure that city, and conſequently Egypt, from falling again into the hands of the French; and to afford protection and encouragement to any party there might be in the country, favourably diſpoſed to the Britiſh intereſts. Thoſe miniſters had

never intended to achieve the conqueſt of Egypt, and the planners of that ſucceſsful expedition could not be blamed for the unfortunate attack on Roſetta, the poſſeſſion of which was by no means indiſpenſable, in order to enſure a regular ſupply of proviſions to Alexandria. If blame were imputable to any perſons, it was to the preſent ſervants of the crown, who had given up Alexandria at a time when they were endeavouring to open an intercourſe with the Porte, in which the evacuation of that city might have been looked upon as a conceſſion to influence the Porte in our favour.

Mr. Canning replied, that the right honourable gentleman had juſtified the principle of an armed mediation between Ruſſia and the Porte, upon the ground of ſubſiſting treaties, and particularly that of the triple alliance; but a reference to the treaty itſelf, would ſhow that his argument could not be ſuſtained. The treaty of triple alliance had been concluded in 1799, and related to the exiſting circumſtances of the contracting parties, all equally at war with France at that period. The treaty was to be in force for eight years only, after which it was to undergo a reviſion, and ſuch alterations as the reſpective poſitions of the different countries might render expedient. Could it be aſſerted that a treaty negotiated with a view to exiſting hoſtilities in which all the parties were engaged, and followed, not by a joint peace, but by ſeparate pacifications of each of theſe parties, muſt neceſſarily ſurvive? It had been maintained, that the refuſal of the paſſage of the Dardanelles to the Ruſſians had given to this country a right to aſſume an armed mediation; but as the right of paſſage was given by a ſubſequent convention, to which this country was not a party, we had no right, in virtue of an anterior treaty, to inſiſt upon the fulfilment of that convention; at leaſt no writer on the law of nations that he had ever read, had laid down ſuch a doctrine. He admitted that the late miniſters had ſhown a diſpoſition to conciliate Ruſſia; but they had gone great lengths to direct an armed interference to defeat the aſcendancy of French councils at the Porte. The attack of Copenhagen was not more deciſive in principle than the meaſure to which he alluded. Mr. Canning then quoted ſeveral paſſages from lord Howick's diſpatches, to ſhow that the doctrines which they contained exactly correſponded with the grounds upon which the Daniſh expedition had been undertaken. It had been ſtated, he ſaid, that the expedition appeared before Conſtantinople purely for Ruſſian objects. How were the intereſts of Ruſſia enforced by the Britiſh commander? With the alternative of giving up the Turkiſh fleet! If the fleet had been ſurrendered, were theſe intereſts to be enforced too, and if not, what would have become of our attention to the intereſts of Ruſſia? Mr. Canning added, that the force employed was, however, totally inadequate for any uſeful purpoſe, and he particularly blamed the late miniſters for not ſending troops with the expedition, as they might, in his opinion, have deſtroyed the caſtle of Abydos by a coup de main, and taken

taken and held the fort of Seſtos, in which caſe, the retreat of the ſquadron would have been ſecure; but the troops were ſent to Alexandria, to commit a double breach of alliance and incur a double failure. Mr. Canning aſſigned no reaſon why he and his colleagues had not augmented the Britiſh garriſon in Alexandria: he merely obſerved that the return of the troops from thence to Sicily, had liberated a part of our army in that iſland; and that the portion of it thus ſet free was brought to Gibraltar, with the intent of employing it to co-operate in protecting the emigration of the royal family of Portugal; but that this object had been happily effected without the neceſſity of making uſe of it. He concluded by proteſting that he could not ſee what practical effect could reſult from a cenſure on perſons who were no longer in his majeſty's councils; and he thought it would be injurious to have on the journals a reſolution reflecting on the honour of the country. A ſentiment in which the houſe cordially concurred, for it became extremely impatient to diſmiſs the ſubject; ſo that when the honourable ſecretary moved, that the other orders of the day ſhould be read, the queſtion was carried without a diviſion. In fact, parliament had by this time been rendered completely weary of inveſtigating the cauſes and conſequences of expeditions; and it muſt be acknowledged, that the tedious debates on that to Copenhagen were ſufficient to exhauſt all human patience. The papers relative to the miſſion of earl Saint Vincent to Portugal in the year 1806, had been laid on the table of the houſe on the 15th of February, at the inſtance of Mr. Abercromby, but no diſcuſſion enſued on them. Thoſe papers eſtabliſhed the fact, that had there really been at that time, a French army collected at Bayonne to invade Portugal, the late miniſters certainly intended to take poſſeſſion of the Portugneſe fleet by force, if lord Saint Vincent and his coadjutors could not prevail on the court of Liſbon either to reſiſt French aggreſſion, transfer the ſeat of government to the Brazils, or diſpoſe of the fleet by ſale; but they alſo exhibited the preciſe information on which his majeſty's late ſervants had acted, and therefore eſtabliſhed an important diſtinction between their conduct in that affair and the meaſures purſued by their ſucceſſors in regard to Denmark.

The droits of the admiralty were brought before the notice of parliament, in conſequence of a queſtion put to the chancellor of the exchequer, on the 9th of Februry, by ſir Francis Burdett, who ſaid it had been ſtated in the public prints, that his majeſty had granted large ſums out of the proceeds of property belonging to nations not at war with this country, to ſeveral branches of the royal family, and particularly to the duke of York. He wiſhed to know if the ſtatement was correct; and if ſo, upon what ground it was, that his majeſty could ſeize the property of nations not at war with England?

The chancellor of the exchequer replied, that it was true the property had been ſeized previouſly to his majeſty's formal declaration of war; but war had ſince been de-

clared, and the queſtion reſpecting the property had been referred to the competent tribunal and condemned. The right of his majeſty therefore, grounded on ſuch deciſion, was incontrovertible. It was equally true that his majeſty had granted a certain ſum out of the proceeds of ſuch property to each of the junior male branches of of the royal family, and to the duke of York amongſt the reſt. On the 11th, ſir Francis Burdett moved, "That there be laid before the houſe an account of all captures made at ſea by the naval forces of this country, which were claimed to remain, and which did remain at the diſpoſal of the crown ſince the year 1792, ſpecifying each capture and its amount, with the particular appropriation of the proceeds thereof." The chancellor of the exchequer ſubmitted to the honourable baronet the propriety of confining his motion to the total amount of the captures from the period mentioned by him, and of that part of the proceeds of thoſe captures which remained undiſpoſed of at the preſent time. If he afterwards ſhould require an account of the mode in which the fund had been appropriated, the houſe would doubtleſs expect ſome ſtrong allegations before they would conſent to his requeſt. Sir Francis declared that he had no objection to follow the line recommended; for the great object he then had in view was to have the amount before the houſe. He had not as yet ſtated any facts of miſapplication; yet he apprehended the houſe would not endure that ſo large a ſum ſhould be at the diſpoſal of the crown, without any enquiry, even though it ſhould be admitted that the crown had the legal right, of which, however, conſiderable doubts were entertained.

Sir Charles Pole having expreſſed his approval of the motion, becauſe he was convinced the admiralty court ought to be placed on a new footing, the advocate general obſerved that the admiralty court had nothing to do with the ſubject of this motion. Before the houſe proceeded any further in it, it was proper that it ſhould know what grounds could be made out for the inquiry. The captured property came to the king in a double capacity. That which was ſeized before the declaration of war belonged to him *jure coronæ*. That which was captured afterwards was his as lord high admiral, whoſe rights accrued to the crown when the office was put into commiſſion. But it was the cuſtom to give up what part belonged to him in this capacity, or after the iſſuing of repriſals, to the captors. Another ſpecies of property was that which was captured in port, or by ſuch as were not licenſed captors. This was properly the droits of the admiralty, and belonging to the king in virtue of the office of lord high admiral. In 1795, when the French made an irruption into Holland, encouragement was held out to the inhabitants to remove to a neutral country, and if they did ſo, the property detained on that occaſion was to be reſtored to them, but as they had not done ſo, it was condemned to the crown, as taken before repriſals were iſſued. The Spaniſh property ſeized before repriſals in 1796, was alſo condemned as the droits of the admiralty. On the breaking out of the

the war in May 1803, hoſtilities were not commenced againſt Holland till the 16th of the following June. Dutch property was, however, detained in the mean time, and afterwards condemned as prize to the crown. Spaniſh, Pruſſian, and Daniſh property was condemned under ſimilar circumſtances, the captors having no claim; and in caſe of a convention to reſtore it at the end of the war, the crown would be bound to do ſo. But no convention of that ſort exiſted, and conſequently the property remained at the diſpoſal of the crown. Then how was it applied? A moiety, or perhaps two-thirds were granted as a reward to the captors. Another part, to the amount of two millions, had been applied to the exigencies of the ſtate. Part had been appropriated to the relief of thoſe who had ſuffered by the breaking out of the war. The Spaniſh government had ſequeſtrated property belonging to this country, which, by a ſtipulation of the treaty of Amiens, they had engaged to reſtore. This was not done, and ſome of the captured property belonging to the crown, was applied to the relief of the ſufferers. Another part had been granted to captors who had not been allowed to act under the ordinary diſcretionary powers; and another to thoſe who had ſuffered by the inſolvency of captors. Theſe were the different modes in which this property had been diſpoſed of. But he did not by any means wiſh to keep out of view, that a very ſmall part of it had been conferred by his majeſty on the younger branches of his family. Was he the only father in the kingdom who was not to be allowed to make grants out of funds, appertaining to him by law, to his own children? If any thought ſo, he was not aſhamed to ſay that he differed from them. The houſe was certainly competent to go into the propoſed inquiry; but in his opinion, no reaſon had been aſſigned, for the exerciſe of its right on this occaſion.

Mr. Luſhington ſaid, he did not queſtion the right of the crown to this property; but he much doubted the conſtant propriety of its application. One inſtance to the contrary, he could ſtate to the houſe. An honourable member (ſir Home Popham) whom he then ſaw in his place, had, in the year 1787, obtained leave of abſence from the naval ſervice, in which he was then a lieutenant. He went to Oſtend, and there procured a ſhip, the Etruſco, bearing the Tuſcan flag, which he freighted with a cargo for the Eaſt-Indies, where he exchanged his veſſel for an American ſhip of much greater tonnage than the Etruſco, and boldly conferred on the ſhip which he had thus obtained, the name of his former one, and transferred to her all the papers of the ſmaller veſſel! From India he carried a cargo in his new veſſel to Canton in China and ſold it. Having taken in a freſh cargo at Canton, of which a Frenchman at that port had a ſhare, he ſailed firſt to Ireland, and from thence to Dungeneſs, where he landed goods, or in plain Engliſh, ſmuggled them. Lieutenant Bowen of the Brilliant frigate, under the command of captain Robinſon, ſeized the ſhip in the Oſtend Roads, after a perſon had eſcaped on ſhore, with part of the goods.

goods. This veſſel was brought to judgment in the admiralty courts. During the proceedings, ſir Home Popham claimed his ſhare of the cargo and freight. The ſhip however, was condemned; yet for all the trouble, the inconvenience, and loſs of time, occaſioned in the proſecution of the buſineſs, captain Robinſon did not receive one ſhilling. Afterwards, nevertheleſs, in conſequence of a treaſury warrant, ſigned by the marquis of Blandford and Mr. Long, founded upon a report for that purpoſe, reluctantly ſanctioned as he underſtood, by the advocate general, the ſum of 25,000l. was reſtored to ſir Home Popham, being the amount of his claim, and without deducting any of the expences of the proceſs. Theſe circumſtances formed part of the records of the admiralty court. Mr. Luſhington ſaid he was glad, that a diſpoſition appeared to examine the ſubject; for in the caſe he had mentioned, a large ſum had certainly been applied as a reward for a violation of the laws of the country.

Sir Home Popham having been thus unexpectedly attacked, obſerved that if from his anxiety to be actively employed, he had in a moment of irritation, gone out to India under a neutral flag (a circumſtance which perhaps he now regretted), he had only followed the example of many other naval officers; and he could not help thinking it ſtrange, that after the lapſe of more than twenty years, he ſhould thus be ſingled out for peculiar animadverſion. While he was in India, he had rendered conſiderable ſervices to the company, and lord Cornwallis, the governor general, and the council, had recommended him ſtrongly to the court of directors, ſtating that he had deſerved an application from them to the admiralty for his promotion. He had beſides received acknowledgments and preſents for his ſervices. He truſted that in no action of his, he had at any time violated the laws of his country, without having done ſomething which more than compenſated for the injury ſuſtained.

The advocate general explained to the houſe, that the property immediately in queſtion was not condemned to the crown as droits of the admiralty; but came to it by a forfeiture, which on good grounds might juſtly be remitted. The fact was that ſir Home Popham, on obtaining leave of abſence, had gone to Oſtend and ſailed from that port under a foreign flag to India. If he were reſtrained as a Britiſh ſubject from doing ſo by the law of his country, unqueſtionably his conduct was a violation of it. But it was perfectly well known to the Indian government that he was there, and it was the policy at that time to encourage exportation from India in foreign veſſels. From India he had ſailed to China, and had taken in a cargo of tea without any licence from the India company, which rendered the tranſaction a breach of the law, and as ſuch the freight was liable to forfeiture. His ſhip and part of the lading were taken and condemned for the benefit of the captors; but that part of the cargo which belonged to the honourable captain became veſted in the king. Under all the circumſtances of the caſe, and conſidering that whatever offence had been committed,

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was againſt the Eaſt India company, who had by implication pardoned it, he (the advocate general) was of opinion that it was not a fit forfeiture for the crown to take advantage of, and therefore he had adviſed the remiſſion of it, which accordingly took place.

Mr. Sheridan argued, that if the droits were originally his majeſty's undoubted right, ſtill in the progreſs of many wars, they might have amounted to ſuch a ſum, that it would be neceſſary to reviſe the right, and to aſcertain whether or not it was ſafe to truſt the diſpoſal of ſo much money out of the controul of parliament. Sir Francis Burdett remarked that from the unexpected turn which the debate had taken, and the diſcloſure of ſo extravagant and flagrant a miſapplication of a certain part of the money ariſing from the proceeds, he thought his duty required him to perſiſt in his motion as it was firſt introduced; but Mr. Huſkiſſon moved an amendment to the following effect, "That there be laid before this houſe an account of the net proceeds paid into the regiſtry of the court of admiralty, or to the receiver general of droits, of all property condemned to his majeſty as droits, either in right of his crown or in right of the office of lord high admiral, ſince the 1ſt of January 1793, and of the balance now remaining therein." This amendment was ſupported by Mr. Adam, becauſe he thought it would more completely anſwer the purpoſe intended by ſir Francis Burdett than his own motion. Mr. Adam ſtill concurred with Mr. Sheridan in the opinion, that theſe funds appeared too great to be poſſeſſed by any one, without being ſubjected to the controul of parliament; eſpecially if it could be ſhown that there had been any inſtances of miſapplication of the money ariſing from them. The houſe having divided, the amendment was carried by a majority of 25.

No further proceedings occurred reſpecting theſe droits, though the account of them was of courſe produced; but Mr. Luſhington brought the caſe of ſir Home Popham again before the houſe on the 31ſt of May, and clearly proved that ſir Home had been guilty of exerciſing illegal traffic. The honourable member, however, failed in clearly eſtabliſhing the charge of ſmuggling goods into Dungeneſs. On this point, ſir Home Popham aſſerted, that for ſteering his veſſel, on her voyage to Oſtend, through a tremendous ſea off Haſtings, he had merely given a Suſſex pilot, at his particular requeſt, four cheſts of tea. It appeared alſo that Mr. Luſhington was erroneous in affirming, that the ſum of 25,000l. was reſtored to captain Popham, without any deduction for the coſts of the proceſs; for the ſum remitted to him by the treaſury warrant (25,959l. 9s. 7d.) had a lien upon it amounting to 6,000l. for captain Robinſon's expences. Mr. Luſhington, on this occaſion, moved reſolutions animadverting in ſtrong, but juſt terms on the conduct of ſir Home Popham, and touching on the impropriety of the grant to him; but they were reſiſted by Mr. Long, the advocate general, and the chancellor of the exchequer, chiefly on the grounds that it was to be inferred, either that the

government of India thought they had ſuſtained no injury by the infraction of the law, or that it was counterbalanced by the ſervices rendered to the company by the honourable captain; and that ſir Home had expiated his offence by his ſubſequent ſervices to the country, particularly in Flanders, where, on the relief of Tournay and Ghent, he had contributed to ſave much public property, and alſo to facilitate the retreat of the Engliſh army. The reſolutions were negatived by a majority of 126 to 57.

CHAP. IV.

Converſation in the houſe of peers on the orders in council: Singular declaration of lord Auckland reſpecting them. Debate in the lower houſe on the motion of Mr. Perceval for referring the orders to a committee of ways and means, with a view of enacting certain duties to be paid by neutrals: Speeches of lord Henry Petty, the chancellor of the exchequer, doctor Laurence, the maſter of the rolls, Mr. Windham, ſir Arthur Piggott, and Mr. Eden: Mr. Perceval's reſolutions agreed to. Lord Auckland moves that the houſe of peers ſhould reſolve itſelf into a committee to conſider the orders: Sentiments of his lordſhip, of earl Bathurſt, of the lords Erſkine, Grenville, Hawkeſbury, and of the lord chancellor, on the motion, which is loſt. Debate on the ſecond reading of the order in council bill in the houſe of commons: The meaſure is ſupported by the advocate general and lord Caſtlereagh, and cenſured by earl Temple and lord Henry Petty: The queſtion carried. Remarks of Mr. Whitbread on the principle of preventing the exportation of Jeſuits' bark: They are anſwered by Mr. Perceval: Comments of Mr. Wilberforce on the ſame ſubject. The order in council bill paſſed by the commons, and afterwards by the lords; but a proteſt againſt it entered on their lordſhips' journals, ſigned by the marquis of Buckingham, the earls of Beſborough, Moira, Lauderdale, Darnley, Eſſex, and Jerſey, earl Grey, and the lords Grenville, Saint John, Erſkine, Ponſonby, Holland, and Auckland: Judicious opinion of lord Grenville on granting commercial licences: Account of the ſeveral petitions againſt the bill. The bill for prohibiting the exportation of Jeſuits' bark oppoſed in both houſes, but paſſed without any conſiderable debates. Mr. Horner's motion on commercial licences, and the fees paid thereon: His ſpeech replied to by Mr. Roſe and the advocate general: The motion poſtponed, and not renewed during the ſeſſion.

PARLIAMENT was much occupied during the early part of the ſeſſion, in conſidering the juſtice and policy of the orders in council. A converſation occurred on the merit of theſe documents in the houſe of peers on the 27th of January, when lord Hawkeſbury laid them on the table of their lordſhips; but it was rendered remarkable only by the ſingular avowal made by lord Auckland, who declared, that he had given the ſubject a great deal of attention, he had beſtowed much time upon it, and called to his aſſiſtance perſons

perſons experienced in the knowledge of that department to which theſe orders referred; yet he profeſſed to God, that he was ſtill totally unable to aſcertain their nature or drift, much more ſo to divine the remoteſt poſſibility of intereſt or advantage likely to accrue to this country from their adoption.

As certain duties to the Britiſh government were directed to be paid by neutrals in various caſes by the orders in council, on the 5th of February, the chancellor of the exchequer moved that the houſe of commons ſhould reſolve itſelf into a committee of ways and means, and that theſe orders ſhould be referred to it. On this occaſion, lord Henry Petty contended, that there were conſiderable doubts of the legality of theſe proceedings. It was the opinion of lord Eldon, expreſſed on an appeal in the laſt war, that orders in council were nothing but a definition of what was at that time held to be the law of nations. Therefore, a fair matter of inquiry now aroſe, how far the proviſions of the orders in council, before the houſe, were conſiſtent with the law of nations and the law of the land. It was not conſiſtent with the law of nations, to ſeize the ſhips of neutrals, nor could a mere principle of retaliation juſtify ſuch a ſeizure. The order in council of the 7th of January laſt year, was in retaliation for a decree of the French government. That decree conſiſted of two parts, one of which went to prevent the conſumption or admiſſion of Engliſh goods, and the other to place the Britiſh iſlands in a ſtate of blockade: this laſt was indeed a vain boaſt: it was incapable of execution, and no attempt had ever been made to execute it. He underſtood it to be a doctrine held by the beſt writers on juriſprudence, that when a principle was laid down and not acted upon, as to all practical effect, it ought to be conſidered as null and void. He wiſhed to know, therefore, whether Buonaparte's declaration had been ſupported by any act between the time it was iſſued and the 11th of November, the date of the orders in council; and in particular, whether its influence had ever been extended to America, the power which was more immediately affected both by his decree, and the meaſures by which it had been combated on the part of this country? As far as his intelligence went, it had never been acted on; and general Armſtrong, the American miniſter at Paris, had received an aſſurance that it never was the intention of the French government to apply it to American ſhips. If he were rightly informed, the decree had never been executed but in as far related to the interior of France, and thoſe countries immediately under her controul. In looking into the orders, he found that neutrals were not to be permitted to re-export particular commodities, none of which were contraband of war, without a licence, which licence was to be granted by miniſters, and paid for of courſe; and what was a more extraordinary regulation ſtill, that every ſhip carrying a certificate that the cargo was not Britiſh produce or manufacture, though according to the law of nations, there could be no objection either to the cargo, or the place of her deſtination, was

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to be ſeized and brought into an Engliſh port. The government of France had decreed that every ſhip coming into a French port ſhould bring a certificate, atteſting that her cargo was not the produce of the Britiſh ſoil or of Britiſh induſtry: and what was our meaſure of retaliation? One would expect that no ſhip ſhould enter a Britiſh port without a certificate that her cargo was not French produce or manufacture. Inſtead of this, however, miniſters had declared every ſhip carrying ſuch a certificate liable to capture; and they termed this meaſure retaliation! The rule thus eſtabliſhed was not only contrary to many old exiſting ſtatutes, but incompatible with the ſpirit of the conſtitution. It was part of the liberty of the ſubject that he ſhould have free acceſs to ſtrangers, and the better to ſecure this privilege, that they alſo ſhould have free acceſs to him. One of the expreſs proviſions of magna charta declared that merchants ſhould not be obſtructed on the high ſeas; and ſir Edward Coke, in his commentary on this clauſe, expreſsly ſtated that if their entry into our ports was not prohibited by act of parliament, it was unconſtitutional to prevent them from entering. Lord Hale had alſo obſerved, that ſeveral acts of parliament having made it lawful for foreigners to bring their ſhips and goods into the ports of this country, unleſs an act of parliament ſhould afterwards be made to ſhut them out, no other power in the country could do it; and having, under ſuch ſanction and authority, entered into the ports of this kingdom, no power exiſted in it to prevent their going out of them again, but an act of parliament. In the preſent meaſures, the privy council had firſt committed an act which nothing but parliament ought to have done, and then by licence, they had given a power to diſpenſe with that which their own order was meant to effect. It was extremely improper to bring forward a motion like that before the houſe, till his majeſty's miniſters had obtained a bill of indemnity, and till the orders in council had themſelves been ſanctioned.

The chancellor of the exchequer replied, that the meaſures now in force were ſuggeſted by the propriety of retaliating the aggreſſions of the enemy, and had been carried into execution by virtue of the king's prerogative of war; and therefore whatever right there was to effect what had been done, that right might be as fairly exerciſed by the prerogative of the crown, the nation being at war, as enforced by the legiſlative authority. The noble lord had ſtated, that a declaration of blockade, if not followed up by acts to give validity to it, was of no force in law. That might be the caſe with reſpect to a ſingle port; but when a whole country was declared in a ſtate of blockade, the inability to enſure that blockade in its full extent, proved that the declaration was intended to lay a ground for inflicting the conſequent penalties. Not a ſtep had been taken on our part to counteract this principle, till it was enforced by the enemy. It was too much to contend, that unleſs the decree for blockading the Britiſh iſlands was ſupported by a blockading force encircling them, ſo as to make the approach to any port of them hazardous, it was not

not to be regarded as effective. France aſſerted that we put ports in a ſtate of blockade without a blockading force, and aſſuming the right of oppoſing an enemy with every art and every weapon he uſed, publiſhed the blockade of the whole Britiſh iſlands. What was to be inferred from this, but that, without ſhips to render the approach to our coaſts hazardous, the enemy would aſſume the right to detain veſſels approaching them, whenever he could catch them? It had been obſerved, that the internal execution of Buonapartè's decree in France was all that was purpoſed; but the firſt news of the publication of the decree at Berlin reached this country with an account of its having been rigorouſly enforced at Hamburgh. Bourienne, the French miniſter at that city, ſtated that all who carried on trade with England ſupported England, and therefore that the French were reluctantly compelled to take poſſeſſion of Hamburgh. Was this conduct confining the operations of the decree to French territory? In what manner did Buonapartè himſelf explain the decree in anſwer to the remonſtrance from the merchants of Hamburgh, who repreſented that a great part of the goods ſeized actually belonged to them, and that the meaſures which he was purſuing were pregnant with greater ruin to himſelf than his enemy? "To deſtroy the commerce of the vile Engliſh," ſaid he, "in every poſſible way is my object. I have it in my power to do ſo; I wiſh to ruin Hamburgh; for that would promote the deſtruction of the Engliſh commerce." The conſtruction put upon this decree by other countries, by Spain for inſtance, ſufficiently proved that no doubt was entertained by them on the ſubject. But it was argued that the whole of the reaſoning deduced from theſe facts was annulled by the anſwer given to general Armſtrong by the French miniſter Decrès; yet M. Decrès had merely given his own unauthoriſed opinion on the point, and, for farther ſatisfaction, referred general Armſtrong to the miniſter of foreign affairs. Mr. Perceval maintained, that we hada complete right to retaliate on the enemy his own meaſures; and if he declared we ſhould have no trade, we were entitled to declare that he ſhould have none. With reſpect to the nature of the retaliation, was it to be exactly confined to the courſe purſued by the enemy? If the principle of right to retaliate be admitted, it muſt alſo be admitted that we had a right to chuſe our mode of retaliation; otherwiſe in many inſtances retaliation would only cauſe the deſtruction of the power retaliating. The aſſertion was unfounded, that though we had a right to injure the enemy, we had no right to do ſo by means that would be prejudicial to neutrals. The conduct of the laſt adminiſtration in blocking up a whole river, one ſide of which was occupied by neutral powers, proved that they had admitted this aſſertion to be unfounded. The arguments which had been uſed, bore as ſtrongly againſt the order of the late adminiſtration as againſt the orders of the preſent. It had been ſaid, that we ſhould have waited to ſee the effect of the French decree on neutral powers; or whether France intended to put it in force. The late miniſters had

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not done ſo. Denmark had remonſtrated againſt the order of the ſeventh of January as injurious to her trade, and went ſo far as to ſay ſhe would reſiſt it. In the ſpeech of the preſident of the United States, it was deſcribed as a groſs violation of the law of nations. If therefore the gentlemen oppoſite did not abandon their own principles, or ſay that they did not mean to put in force the meaſure which they had promulgated, they ought not to accuſe his majeſty's preſent miniſters of precipitation. It had been maintained that the orders were illegal and a violation of magna charta. If however his majeſty's ſervants had acted illegally, their predeceſſors were equally guilty. But the fact was, that the ſtatutes of the realm had been violated by neither party; for they related to a ſtate of peace, and not of war. As to the policy of the orders, what was the ſtate of Great Britain and France with reſpect to trade? Previouſly to the iſſuing of the orders in council, France enjoyed, by the aſſiſtance of neutrals, as great advantages of trade as we poſſeſſed with our triumphant navy. Our navy, indeed, as belligerent was rendered uſeleſs by neutral ſhips carrying to France all that it was important for her to obtain. This had been the caſe for ſo long a period, that even prior to the decree of the 21ſt of November, it might have been a matter of enquiry, whether this country ought not to have reſorted to the meaſure of 1756; but ſurely after the decree of the 21ſt of November was iſſued, a much ſtronger proceeding was neceſſary; otherwiſe French property conveyed in neutral bottoms would have been ſafe, and Britiſh property in danger. It had been declared, that the French decree was a dead letter, and that it was eaſily evaded. He was well aware that the certificates of origin gave opportunities, by the aſſiſtance of forgery and perjury, for the introduction of our goods into the continent. Such practices, however, were not to be encouraged; and ſo far from its being a dead letter, France was, from time to time, ſupplied with new proviſions for the deficiencies of the decree. The different coaſts had been lined with troops, and other means of improvement recurred to. Amongſt the arguments which had been urged againſt the orders in council, it had been contended that they were the cauſe of the diſtreſs which our manufacturers had experienced. It had been ſaid, that France had ſhut the door againſt our commerce, and that we had bolted it. But every one who was at all acquainted with the ſubject, muſt know that the preſſure which our manufacturers ſuſtained, was antecedent to the promulgation of the orders, and that it originated in the French decree. If we entertained a hope, that the great inconvenience endured by the continent for want of Britiſh manufactures might produce a reſiſtance to thoſe meaſures of the French government by which they were excluded, our policy evidently was, by increaſing that inconvenience, to endeavour to force a market. If France could exclude our goods from the continent, they would have been excluded had our orders never appeared. If they were excluded, we muſt look to the reſt of the world for the trade of which by thoſe very orders we had

had ſecured a monopoly. By that trade we muſt endeavour to compenſate ourſelves for the loſs of continental commerce. Some perſons apprehended that theſe orders would produce a bad effect on our relations with America, and that ſhe would go to war with us. He hoped and truſted that no ſuch conſequence would enſue. He was far from entertaining the miſtaken idea, that we might redeem our own loſſes by the ſufferings of America. He wiſhed to prevent a war with America; for although the miſchiefs of war muſt firſt be felt by her, they would eventually be felt by us. He thought it was impoſſible that the Americans could look at the orders in council, without perceiving in them many inſtances of caution not to injure their country. There were various exceptions in thoſe orders, which ſhowed that we were deſirous of cauſing as little inconvenience as poſſible to America.

Doctor Laurence ſpoke generally againſt the orders. The principal illegality of them in his mind aroſe from the groſs abuſe of the act of the 43d of his majeſty; which, grounded on a precedent in the late war, authoriſed the admiſſion of certain articles indiſpenſible to us, directly from enemies ports, which articles were to be ſpecified in the king's licence. The ſpecification under the laſt orders was not confined to a few articles, but comprehended the whole book of rates, and thereby ſuſpended all the navigation laws, which in the former caſe were but partially affected. The learned gentleman, like lord Henry Petty, affirmed that Buonaparte's decree of the 21ſt of November, 1806, had never been acted on as to the blockade of Great Britain; and added that his decree had been adopted in Spain, but not executed in that country, any more than in France, in any way to juſtify the meaſures that had been reſorted to by this country. As a proof of his aſſertion, he ſtated the caſe of the Shepherdeſs, an American veſſel, with a cargo of Engliſh merchandiſe on board, which, after an appeal to the admiralty court of Madrid, had been releaſed from a Spaniſh port. There was no juſtification of the orders in council, therefore, in the conduct of the enemy.

The maſter of the rolls was aſtoniſhed to hear any one who had approved the order of the 7th of January, 1807, object to the orders under conſideration. He had never read in any book on the ſubject of the law of nations, that parliament had ever enacted any thing on that law, or had ever complained of the king's right to declare war or contraband of war. Municipal law could never regulate upon theſe points. When the crown was intruſted with the power of making war, it ſhould not be deprived of the means of carrying it on with vigour and effect. The queſtion reſpecting the law of nations was out of the juriſdiction and competence of parliament. The decree requiring certificates of origin had been ſaid to be a mere municipal regulation. He conſidered theſe certificates of origin as a prohibition of neutrals from carrying Britiſh goods, and contended that this was a breach of the law of nations; and that neutrals by thus admitting that France had the power of legiſlating for them, made themſelves her inſtruments againſt us. Perſons entertained

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ſtrange notions of the law of nations, when they ſuppoſed that a country could not perform an act of vigour in its own defence, without violating the rule of its conduct. But this could not be a violation of the rule, for the caſe was out of the rule. When the enemy abandoned the rule, it was our duty not to be bound by it, but to inflict that injury upon him which he intended for us, until we forced him to make peace. If France could continue to enjoy all the advantages of commerce through neutrals, while we were ſuffering every injury that could reſult from her decrees, ſhe would have no motive for peace; and this country would ſoon be reduced to the alternative, either of ſubmitting to peace on any terms, or of continuing the war to an endleſs period. He thought that Europe might be made to feel, that a maritime power was much leſs dependent on her, than the continent was upon the maritime power. He would not ſuffer his country to periſh merely becauſe the meaſures, which were neceſſary for its preſervation, might preſs upon neutral commerce, which Buonapartè had before violated. There was no contract without a reciprocal obligation, and if neutrals did not oblige the other party to adhere to the law of nations, they could not complain of us for not adhering to it.

Mr. Windham ſaid, that much ſtreſs had been laid by both ſides of the houſe on the due obſervance of the law of nations. It would however now appear, that though the law of nations might be extremely valuable, yet it were abſurd to be bound by it, when it was found convenient and uſeful to infringe it. But if that were the caſe, of what value could the law be conſidered? Who could force nations to reſpect it, when it ſhould appear contrary to the intereſt of nations? The ſame might be ſaid of moral law. By what ties or reſtraints would the ſociety of men be then regulated and bound? The idea ſet up of retaliation was abſurd and ridiculous. If Buonapartè enforced one of his mad decrees at Hamburgh, were we therefore juſtified in extending the ſame ſeverity to the reſt of the world? But hopes ſeemed ſomewhere to be entertained, that thoſe meaſures might produce moſt diſtreſſing effects on the continent. We might, it ſeems, be able to ſtarve the continent, and ſtill be not affected ourſelves. It was likewiſe inſiſted, that ſuch proceedings belonged to the prerogative of the crown, and that therefore parliament could have no controul over them. If that were true, why make them a ſubject of parliamentary diſcuſſion? Upon old principles, it was impoſſible to reaſon on theſe new doctrines. His chief object was to expreſs his entire diſapprobation of ſuch doctrines, and to entreat miniſters to re-conſider and reviſe their meaſures, as they muſt own that they were extremely complicated, and as well as the French decree on which they were founded, not perfectly underſtood.

Sir Arthur Piggott and Mr. Eden recommended the houſe to pauſe on the ſubject, and reflect how ruinous theſe orders might prove to our trade. The queſtion was then put and carried. The houſe went into a committee, in which the chancellor of the exche-

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quer propoſed certain duties on foreign produce exported from England. The reſolutions were agreed to *pro formâ*, and the report ordered to be received on a future day.

On the 15th a debate in the houſe of lords occurred on the motion of lord Auckland, that the houſe ſhould reſolve itſelf into a committee to conſider the orders in council. His lordſhip gave a ſuccinct narrative of the circumſtances relative to theſe proceedings. After mentioning the promulgations of the different French decrees, and the firſt order of council, dated the 7th of January 1807, he ſtated that on the 17th of February in that year a meſſage was ſent by the preſident of the United States to the congreſs, declaring the ſatisfactory explanation with reſpect to American veſſels, which had been given of the French decree by the government of France. In July a bill paſſed their lordſhips' houſe for continuing the effect of the proviſions of the former treaty with the United States without comment. On the 18th of October Meſſrs. Monro and Pinkney ſent a note to Mr. Canning, which was before the houſe, and which purported that they were ſatisfied with the explanations given concerning the decree. Nevertheleſs, on the 11th of November, the orders were iſſued. Lord Auckland then argued the illegality of the orders on the grounds already mentioned, and added that they contained a breach of the ſtatute law, in the trade which was allowed to the iſlands of Guernſey and Jerſey, and the Iſle of Man. In what manner did theſe orders affect the Weſt Indies? He thought that the obvious policy would have been to preclude neutrals from trading in the produce of the enemy's colonies, upon the juſt principle that a neutral had no right to a trade during war, to which he was not entitled in peace. Miniſters had, however, adopted a directly contrary principle, and had expreſsly allowed neutrals to trade with the enemy's colonies. An oppoſite policy, he conceived, would have tended to relieve the Weſt India intereſt from the preſſure which now affected it, in conſequence of the ſuperabundance of produce beyond demand.

Earl Bathurſt obſerved, that the order of the 7th of January had been evaded, and turned to the advantage of the enemy, in carrying on a circuitous trade through this country, as in the inſtance of a cargo of wine from Bourdeaux, deſtined through Great Britain to Amſterdam. At Amſterdam the rate of inſurance was 30 per cent. but the trade could be carried on through this country at an inſurance of 5 per cent. To prevent ſuch tranſactions, it was found expedient to regulate that trade which could not be prohibited without great injury to commerce; and with this view the orders were iſſued, which were, in fact, a compromiſe between belligerent rights and commercial intereſts. The permiſſion granted to neutrals of trading with the enemy's colonies was intended as a boon to the Americans, and muſt be to them of great value; becauſe when the intelligence arrived in America of the intention of the French government rigorouſly to execute their decrees, and the embargo was conſequently reſorted to, the general

neral impreſſion there was, that we ſhould adopt meaſures by way of retaliation which would prohibit their trade with theſe colonies. It was intended that all American domeſtic produce ſhould be allowed to paſs through this country without the payment of any duty, except the article of cotton. The importance of this trade to them would be evident from a ſtatement of their exports, which, according to the laſt return, amounted to 104,000,000 dollars, 43,000,000 of which were domeſtic produce, whereof 8,000,000 were exported to the enemy's colonies, from whence a re-export of 30,000,000 was derived. It had been found, that the ſurplus of the produce of our own colonies beyond our conſumption, was not above a third of what was wanted for the ſupply of the continent. It was therefore thought expedient to admit of the trade with the enemy's colonies, with the intention, however, that the produce of ſuch colonies, ſhould, in the circuitous trade through this country, be ſubjected to duty ſufficiently high to prevent its having advantages over our own colonial produce, and alſo that the commerce of the enemy ſhould be embarraſſed.

Lord Erſkine remarked, that we had not only extended the principle of blockade to ports not actually blockaded, which was all that ever has been attributed to France, but we would not permit the veſſels thus excluded to proceed to any other ports they pleaſed. We forced them to come in to our own; and therefore theſe orders in council, beſides being contrary to the law of nations, exceeded any thing that it was pretended France had done. Lord Grenville declared, that if a neutral power granted certain advantages to the enemy, then we had an undoubted right to inſiſt upon being admitted to the ſame advantages; or if a neutral power, from weakneſs, acquieſced in the demands of the enemy, all that we could in juſtice require was, that in conſequence of this demand, the enemy ſhould not be placed in a better ſituation in regard to her than ourſelves. But we had no right, becauſe the enemy violated the rights of one neutral, to violate the rights of all neutrals; for this principle if once acknowledged would lead to an extenſion of hoſtilities over the whole civilized world. In regard to America, was it to be argued that we were better judges than Mr. Jefferſon of what trenched upon American rights? Or were we to ſet ourſelves up and ſay to the government of that country, that we did not like the terms on which the ruler of France had explained his intentions in reſpect to her? The noble lord next conſidered the orders in council as a violation of the municipal law of the land. He contended that they contained infringements of eight or ten poſitive ſtatutes; of the navigation act; and of the act for regulating the commerce of hoſtile (not neutral) ports. If the lords of the privy council at any future time thought the laws not ſo good as they could make them, they had nothing to do but to follow the example ſet them in the preſent inſtance, and alter and ſuſpend them at pleaſure. Lord Grenville affirmed, that he would undertake to prove, that in four clauſes of the ſame paragraph, the

orders

orders contained four direct contradictions. He inſiſted that the propoſed method of forcing trade into our markets would have diſgraced the darkeſt ages of monopoly. The impediments which it was deſigned to throw in the way of importing cotton into France, would have the effect of ſtimulating the government of that country to encourage its cultivation in quarters where it did not then grow, of producing a redundance of the article in the foreign market, and of lowering its price. He affirmed that the orders defeated their own object, becauſe by making it neceſſary for every foreign ſhip to touch at a Britiſh port, and pay a certain tribute, and this circumſtance expoſing every ſuch ſhip to capture and confiſcation by the French decree, it was obvious that no ſhip would ſubmit to the ignominy, merely for the purpoſe of expoſing itſelf to ſubſequent danger.

Lord Hawkeſbury in comparing theſe orders with that inſtituted by the late miniſters, clearly ſhowed that the order of the 7th of January went beyond the rule of the year 1756; for that rule was that a neutral ſhould not exerciſe a trade during war, to which he was not entitled during peace. Neither France nor Spain allowed neutrals to carry on their coaſting trade during peace. That trade therefore a belligerent had a right to interdict; but though neutrals were not allowed to trade between Breſt and Bourdeaux in time of peace, they were not prohibited from trading between the ports of France and Spain. That trade they had a right to poſſeſs during war, yet it was taken from them by the order of January, and unleſs that order could be defended on the principle of the law of nations, it was not to be juſtified at all. The ordinary law of nations conſequently having been as much violated by one proceeding as the other, the only difference was, that the orders of November ſecured advantages which the former meaſure did not. The lord chancellor defended his colleagues in this debate, but his arguments, though ably and judiciouſly enforced, contained no new facts and little variety of reaſoning. The houſe divided on the queſtion, when there appeared a majority of 58 againſt the motion.

On the motion for reading the order in council bill a ſecond time in the houſe of commons, the advocate-general expatiated at great length on the propriety of paſſing it. He began by affirming that it was not true, as mentioned in the French decree, that Great Britain had ever declared ports in a ſtate of blockade without previouſly inveſting them. He muſt do the late government the juſtice to ſay, that when they blockaded any of the enemy's ports, they anxiouſly enquired whether thoſe ports had been in the firſt place regularly inveſted. He was deſirous of placing the forbearance of the late miniſtry in a clear light, but ſtill he thought it could not be argued, that if their meaſure was found inſufficient for the purpoſes intended, others more vigorous ſhould not be adopted, in order to remove thoſe inconveniences which this country was likely to undergo, in conſequence of French deſigns. What was the ſituation of this country and of Europe, as Feb. 18.

affected by the treaty of Tilſit, in the latter part of October, or the beginning of November, 1807? The fact was, that England was excluded from every port of Europe, except the iſland of Sicily. Her produce and her manufactures were completely interdicted. If France had the means of obtaining from other ſources thoſe articles of which ſhe ſtood in need, was it at all probable that ſhe would ever have conſented to admit our produce? When France ſhould be deprived of thoſe articles, was it not natural to ſuppoſe that ſhe would become the violator of her own prohibitions? Would ſhe not then be induced to receive our commerce into her territories? We had only impoſed thoſe privations upon France, which would compel the inhabitants of her ſoil to infringe theſe decrees, and he maintained that our conduct was perfectly warranted on the principle of retaliation.

On the other hand, it was contended by earl Temple and lord Henry Petty, that the orders in council would have the worſt poſſible effect on our ſugar and cotton trades. They could not comprehend how this meaſure could be denominated a retaliation, ſince it affected primarily ourſelves and next our allies. The French would contentedly ſuffer ſome embarraſſment and inconvenience, with the hope of injuring us, being well appriſed that the ſinews of our ſtrength lay in our commerce. The orders would but deprive the more wealthy amongſt the French people of a few luxuries, while the ruin of neutral commerce would be moſt noxious to the manufactures of Great Britain. The accumulation of the ſugars which would be created here, by the collected produce of the various iſlands conquered by this country, by importation from the Brazils now ſanctioned by parliament, from the Weſt India iſlands in American bottoms, the arts of ſubſtitution which the French people would learn, and the forbearance to which they would accuſtom themſelves, would be laſting injuries to England and her colonies.

Lord Caſtlereagh admitted that the ſtate of the continent might produce ſome effect on the commerce of the country, and that our exports might for a time be checked; but the detriment could not continue long, becauſe no preſſure could keep down the vaſt extent of country under prohibition, in ſuch a manner that the intereſt of individuals would not induce them to procure ſuch articles as might be neceſſary for them. As to the Americans, they would have no right to complain of the duties propoſed to be levied by theſe orders, as they were only the carriers of the commodities, and the duties would of courſe be paid by the conſumers. The noble lord, however, repeated the general aſſertion made by miniſters, of their wiſh to avoid a rupture with America; but he ſaid if war with that country ſhould enſue, it would appear that no conceſſion could have prevented it. The conſequence of a war would be the loſs to America of her whole export trade, while only one-fourth of our exports would be endangered by that event. The motion was then carried by a majority of 120.

In

Feb. 24. In the committee, on the clauſe enacting a duty on cotton wool or yarn, and Jeſuits' bark, being read, Mr. Whitbread objected to the impoſt on bark. There was no reaſon, he ſaid, to ſuppoſe that the preſſure from want of common bark would be ſuch as to incline the enemy to apply for peace. The continent, according to the intelligence which he had received, was well ſupplied with bark and ſugar for two years conſumption, ſo that it muſt be a long time before the chancellor of the exchequer's ſcheme could operate. Upon the view which the right honourable gentleman had of the ſubject therefore, the meaſure was childiſh and nugatory. In another view it was moſt deteſtable, for it was a war with the helpleſs and ſick—one at which the feelings of all mankind would revolt. It was reviving the ſavage practices of remote antiquity, and ſubſtituting them for that modern civilization which rendered war itſelf leſs horrible.

The chancellor of the exchequer obſerved, that theſe arguments applied to the proviſions of another bill for preventing the exportation of Jeſuits' bark, which it was his intention to bring in, not to the clauſe under conſideration which went only to impoſe a duty on the exportation of it. But the ſtatement of the honourable gentleman refuted itſelf. If France had the ſupply he aſſerted, ſhe could ſuffer no practical inconvenience from the meaſure. The information on which he acted repreſented France as much in want of bark, and that there were many orders received in London for the ſupply of that article to the continent. In regard to the policy of the prohibition, he ſhould ſtate that as his object was, that as the exportation would be permitted by licence, under certain circumſtances, France ſhould not be allowed to receive bark without taking other commodities from this country. The effect expected was to break down that barrier which France had raiſed againſt our commerce. There would be no difficulty felt in obtaining any quantity of this article, the moment the enemy took off his prohibition from importing other merchandiſe. The inconvenience therefore that might be felt was not to be imputed to Great Britain.

Mr. Wilberforce was of opinion, that Buonapartè would at all events procure bark for his ſoldiers, if it were neceſſary for them; and the odium of the prohibition would then be caſt on us, and his character would be exalted, ſo that the means were not calculated to enſure the end deſired. The meaſure might poſſibly excite a more general union of hatred againſt the Engliſh nation amongſt all ranks of the French people. It might add to the ferocity or unfeeling character of the conteſt; but could not be the means of putting an end to it.

This bill, which was ſo much diſcuſſed in all its ſtages, paſſed the houſe of commons on the 11th of March. It was combated in its progreſs through the houſe of lords with equal hoſtility, though not with the ſame length of diſcuſſion, by earl Grey, and the lords Grenville, Holland and Erſkine. It was defended chiefly by the lords Hawkeſbury and Mulgrave, and

paſſed by their lordſhips on the 25th, but a proteſt againſt it was entered on the journals of the houſe, ſigned by the marquis of Buckingham, the earls of Beſborough, Moira, Lauderdale, Darnley, Eſſex and Jerſey, earls Spencer and Grey, and the lords Grenville, Saint John, Erſkine, Ponſonby, Holland and Auckland. In one of the debates on it, lord Grenville took occaſion to ſtate, that the moſt objectionable feature in the meaſure, was that proviſion by which miniſters were enabled to exempt any merchant from all its operations upon ſuch terms as they might think proper to ſettle. The idea of inveſting any miniſters with ſuch extraordinary diſcretion appeared to his mind utterly irreconcileable with the freedom of commerce. It would, indeed, go to arm them with ſo great a degree of power over the mercantile body as never was aſſumed by the moſt deſpotic government. No anſwer was made to this remark by the peers who voted with miniſters.

The principle of the orders in council was frequently brought before the houſe of lords and diſcuſſed. Lord Saint John and lord Erſkine moved reſolutions againſt the ſpirit of them, but without ſucceſs. It would be offenſive to the reader to enter into the particulars of theſe debates, characterized by their extreme length and a dull repetition of arguments, which did not even acquire poliſh from the frequency of uſe. Obſtinate as was the conteſt on the propriety of theſe meaſures, it was far from increaſing the fame of parliamentary ratiocination and eloquence. No ſubject was ever diſcuſſed with ſuch little ingenuity and abſence of ornament. In the pertinacious re-employment of the ſame trains of thought, in the unwearied re-aſſertion of the ſame facts, to place either the thoughts or the facts in a new light was never attempted. The diſputants ſeemed to enter a fatal circle, in which they immediately loſt the acuteneſs, variety, and brilliance of talent which they had diſplayed on other occaſions.

Several petitions were preſented to the houſe of commons againſt the orders in council, particularly by many inhabitants of the city of London, and the town of Liverpool. Theſe petitions were received, witneſſes were examined, and counſel heard for the reſpective parties; but the proceedings diſcloſed no circumſtances to induce the houſe to alter its ſentiments on the meaſures.

The bill for prohibiting the exportation of Jeſuits' bark was carried through parliament without much diſcuſſion. It was oppoſed in the lower houſe by Mr. Whitbread, Mr. W. Smith, and Mr. S. Luſhington; and in the upper, by the earls of Albemarle and Lauderdale, with the lords Erſkine and Grenville. The objections principally urged againſt it were, that it was contrary to the dictates of religion and humanity.

Early in the ſeſſion, Mr. Horner called the attention of the houſe of commons to the ſyſtem of commercial licences. He then moved for a liſt of all ſuch licences as had been granted ſince the month of May 1803. The papers were produced. On the 7th of March he took up the matter again, and moved that ſuch part of the papers preſented to the houſe,

houſe, as related to the fees and gratuities paid on licences for navigation and trade be referred to the committee on public offices. The ſubject of the licences, he ſaid, reſolved itſelf into two parts. The firſt, and by far the moſt important, was the acknowledged anomaly in our commercial ſyſtem which they had occaſioned, and the encroachment which they had made on the conſtitution, by placing the whole of the foreign trade of the country under the controul of the executive government, the interference of which in commercial affairs all authorities concurred in declaring to be moſt prejudicial. The ſecond was of minor conſideration, namely the amount of the fees obtained through the medium of the licences, and the nature of the authority by which thoſe fees were claimed. It appeared to him, that if theſe licences were held as generally neceſſary, it would be much better to come to the legiſlature, and render the trade, to the carrying on of which they were the ſanction, legal for a time to be limited; in imitation of the conduct adopted by Mr. Pitt in the year 1798, at whoſe inſtance Spaniſh goods were permitted to be imported by act of parliament. Adverting to the return of fees, gratuities, &c. he obſerved that they were not quite ſatisfactory. It was ſtated in thoſe returns, that the fee for a licence amounted only to 12l. 9s. 6d.; now he knew that on every licence which had been granted, the fees had exceeded 15l. and ſometimes 20l.; and that where one merchant had obtained licences for ſeveral ſhips, inſtead of an additional guinea only having been charged for each veſſel as ſtated in the returns, not leſs than 65l. or 66l. had been paid to procure a licence for ſix ſhips.

Mr. Roſe obſerved that ſo long ago as the preceding Auguſt, his majeſty's miniſters had inſtituted an enquiry into this ſubject, and that ſome weeks ſince, the privy council finding the amount of the fees to be ſo conſiderable, had entered into a ſtrict inveſtigation of the buſineſs. Previouſly to referring the matter to the committee of finance, he thought it would be deſirable to have the proceedings of the privy council before the houſe, and he therefore recommended the honourable gentleman to poſtpone his motion for a ſhort time, in order to give an opportunity for moving an addreſs to his majeſty for the production of thoſe proceedings. Nothing could be farther from his wiſh than to ſuppreſs enquiry on this affair, which, on the contrary, he was deſirous ſhould be thoroughly ſifted.

The advocate general remarked, that the ground on which theſe licences had been granted was not for the purpoſe of placing foreign trade under the controul of the executive government, but to permit Britiſh ſubjects to trade with the enemy. In 1805, a general order in council had been iſſued to enable Britiſh merchants to trade with the enemy, in certain articles of great importance to agriculture and manufactures. In February 1807, an extenſion of that order had been made; but the merchants had

had continued, nevertheleſs, voluntarily to take out licences, although they were repeatedly told, they were unneceſſary. After ſome farther converſation, Mr. Horner agreed to poſtpone his motion; and the matter was not again agitated during the ſeſſion.

CHAP. V.

The navy eſtimates moved by Mr. Ward; and the army eſtimates by the ſecretary at war. Converſation on the ordnance eſtimates, which are moved by Mr. Aſhley Cooper. The chancellor of the exchequer ſtates his arrangement with the Bank; and propoſes ſeveral reſolutions thereon to the houſe of commons; which, after ſome comments reſpecting them from Mr. Bankes and Mr. Tierney, are agreed to. Various reſolutions concerning the public revenue brought forward by Mr. Perceval and adopted. The chancellor of the exchequer produces the budget. Plan of transferring ſtock in exchange for annuities on lives: It is objected to by Mr. Windham, Mr. William Smith, lord Henry Petty, ſir John Newport, and Mr. Tierney; and defended by the chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Huſkiſſon, Mr. Davies Giddy, and Mr. Biddulph: The plan receives the ſanction of the legiſlature. The chancellor of the exchequer details the terms on which he contracted for the loan. Mr. Foſter's motion for permitting the Bank of Ireland to encreaſe its capital, and for extending the duration of its charter: Speeches of Mr. Foſter, Mr. Tierney, Mr. Parnell, Mr. Bankes, and the chancellor of the exchequer: Curious anecdote reſpecting a banking houſe in Ireland, mentioned by Mr. M. Fitzgerald: Mr. Foſter's motion carried. Mr. Foſter brings forward the Iriſh budget: Sentiments of Mr. Parnell on the ſame: Mr. Foſter's reply to ſir John Newport's obſervations on the balances of public money in the hands of different collectors of the revenue.

THE navy eſtimates were laid before the houſe of commons on the 29th of January, when the following reſolutions were agreed to, viz. 1. That 130,000 men ſhould be employed for the ſea ſervice of the year, including 14,000 royal marines. 2. That a ſum not exceeding 3,126,500l. be granted to his majeſty for the wages of theſe men for thirteen months, at the rate of 1l. 17s. a man per month. 3. That a ſum not exceeding 3,211,000l. be granted for victualling theſe men for thirteen months, at the rate of 1l. 18s. a man per month. 4. That a ſum not exceeding 5,070,000l. be granted for the wear and tear of the navy, for thirteen months, at the rate of 3l. a man per month. 5. That a ſum not exceeding 521,500l. be granted for defraying the charges of ordnance for ſea ſervice, for thirteen months, at the rate of 7s. a man per month. In anſwer to a queſtion from Mr. Tierney, whether any diminution was made in the navy eſtimates, in conſequence of the ſtores brought from Copenhagen, it was ſtated by Mr. Ward, who moved the reſolutions, that there was no diminution in the eſtimates; and by the chancellor

chancellor of the exchequer that it was certainly intended to reward the captors out of the ſtores, or the value of them.

The army eſtimates were brought forward by the ſecretary at war on the 26th of February, and were claſſed as below:

	Numbers.	Great Britain. £.	s.	d.	Ireland. £.	s.	d.
Land forces, including various contingencies	200,831	5,892,922	9	1	1,385,057	11	6
Regiments in the Eaſt Indies	30,884	691,525	8	9			
Troops and companies for recruiting ditto	437	25,281	12	9			
Embodied militia	108,384	2,236,462	0	4	846,408	17	6
Staff and garriſons		363,902	6	5	69,502	1	4
Full pay to ſupernumerary officers		32,213	2	8	778	1	9
Public departments		188,680	19	6	8,921	14	0
Half pay		209,750	0	0	26,732	8	1
In-penſioners of Chelſea and Kilmainham hoſpitals		40,969	13	10	16,942	17	3
Out-penſioners of ditto		329,619	9	2	46,878	8	6
Widows' Penſions		40,495	10	6	6,000	0	0
Volunteer corps		652,000	0	0	611,487	0	0
Foreign corps	22,125	795,647	3	2	70,911	3	10
Royal military college		21,525	17	4			
Royal military aſylum		19,908	9	3			
Allowances to retired and officiating chaplains		16,000	0	0	2,852	5	3
Medicines and hoſpital expences		100,000	0	0	18,676	8	9
Compaſſionate liſt		13,500	0	0			
Barrack department (Ireland)					442,262	13	5
Commiſſariat department (Ireland)					190,253	7	4
Total	362,661	11,670,404	2	9	3,773,664	19	4
Deduct the regiments in the Eaſt Indies	30,884	691,525	8	9			
Remain to be provided for	331,777	10,978,878	14	0	3,773,664	19	4

The ſecretary at war ſaid that ſeveral particulars with reſpect to marching money, innkeepers allowances, and ſome other items, it was difficult to make out in the way of exact amount; but as far as was poſſible, it had been done. The principal alteration in the point of charge aroſe from the care that had been taken to transfer from the army extraordinaries, every thing which could be made a ſubject of eſtimate. After ſome converſation, the various items of theſe eſtimates were put and carried.

On the ſame day, Mr. Aſhley Cooper moved the eſtimate for the ordnance ſervice, amounting to 5,300,000l. Mr. Calcraft wiſhing to have ſome explanation how this eſtimate could exceed, by nearly a million and a half, that which he himſelf had ſubmitted to the houſe, when in office, about a year ſince, Mr. Cooper ſtated that it aroſe from arrears in former years, and accumulated exceedings not provided for under the heads of debt to the navy departments for ſtores furniſhed; exceedings of former eſtimates for Ireland; from the expedition to Copenhagen; the works at Chatham, Woolwich and Dover, with various items which he mentioned.

Mr.

Mr. Calcraft thanked the honourable gentleman for the explanation which it was his own duty to aſk; but there were ſome other points of enormous expenditure, and particularly that of the Drivers' corps, with which he was not ſatisfied.

Mr. Welleſley Pole vindicated the whole of the eſtimate, and ſaid the artillery of this country had attained a pitch of proficiency under the auſpices of lord Chatham, not only unparalleled at any former period, but ſuperior to any other train of ordnance now in Europe. It conſiſted of 6000 men, with 4000 horſes attached, and all in ſuch a ſtate of diſcipline and equipment, as to enable them to oppoſe a force of artillery againſt any enemy who ſhould land in this country in one-third of the time, and with more than triple the effect, that could have been done at any former period. No farther comments enſued on the topic; and the eſtimates received the ſanction of the houſe.

The firſt meaſure relative to finance, was ſubmitted to the conſideration of the houſe of commons on the 10th of February, when the chancellor of the exchequer explained the arrangement which he had concluded with the bank.—This agreement comprehended three heads: 1ſt, The management of the public debt; 2dly, The balances of the public money; and 3dly, the unclaimed dividends. It had been ſettled that the allowance for management ſhould be 340l. per million when the debt ſhould amount to 400 millions, and from that ſum to 600 millions inclusive; 300l. per million for that part of the debt above 600 millions; and 450l. per million, in caſe the public debt ſhould ever be reduced to a ſum between 300 and 400 millions. The chancellor of the exchequer ſtated, that under this head alone, a ſaving of from 62,000l. to 65,000l. a year would accrue to the public. The next head of the arrangement was the advance of 3,000,000l. by way of loan to government without intereſt, till ſix months after the concluſion of a definitive treaty of peace, in conſideration of the advantages of management of the national debt, and of participating in the benefit of balances of the public money. From the economic attention that had of late been adopted, theſe balances would not riſe above 10 millions from year to year, during the continuance of the war. Mr. Pitt, in his arrangement with the bank, had aſſerted the right of the public to participate in the advantages derived by that corporation from the management and balances; and that whether this participation ſhould be in the proportion of one-third, one-fourth, or one-half, it would be highly ſerviceable to the community. This ſhowed that not more than a participation was intended, and therefore as the proportion of one-third, being the mean rate, was moſt looked to, and probably conſidered as moſt equitable, that proportion was agreed to. On the third head, it had been found that the unclaimed dividends amounted on the 8th of the preceding July to 986,573l. and had never in antecedent years been below 900,000l. The bank had conſequently conſented to advance 500,000l., in addition to 376,739l. advanced under the act of

of 1791, from unclaimed dividends and lottery prizes, with a proviſo, that if the balance in their hands ſhould ever be reduced below 100,000l., ſo much of the 500,000l. ſhould be refunded from the exchequer as ſhould make up the deficiency.

Mr. Bankes condemned the large rate of allowance which the bank enjoyed for managing the public debt. Even in 1786, the report of the auditors of public accounts ſtated that the buſineſs could be done for 2col. in the million, when the debt was comparatively ſmall. Greatly therefore as he reſpected Mr. Pitt, he could not help thinking that he had made an improvident bargain on the ſubject. He conceived it would have been infinitely better in the preſent inſtance, if a larger reduction had been made in the rate of allowance, though it had been effected by leſſening the amount of the loan; for the reduction of the rate of allowance would be a permanent advantage to the country, while the advantage derived from the loan muſt be contingent; but he acknowledged his fears that that contingency would be of a long duration. There was another point on which he entertained ſome jealouſy. The bank had in their hands the complete coinage of the circulating medium of the country, and it would be as eaſy for them to coin the ſums advanced to government, as to coin the amount of their notes cancelled on any particular day. He was aware that they could not do ſo indefinitively, but it might be done to a great extent. Beſides he did not like any thing which drew the bank into too cloſe a connexion with the miniſtry. He wiſhed them to feel mutual good will, but to be perfectly independent of each other.

Mr. Tierney thought that there was a vital objection to the bargain; for while the public reſtricted the bank from paying in ſpecie, it was at leaſt highly indelicate that the public ſhould benefit from ſuch reſtriction. Could the miniſter have obtained the loan of three millions without that reſtriction? Mr. Tierney ſaid, that in his opinion the bank ought to manage the public debt without any charge whatever for allowance. We left ten millions in their hands, and we wiſhed them to do that which would coſt them 100,000l. What private banker was there that would not be happy to have a cuſtomer on ſimilar terms? In the preſent ſtate of Europe, it was dedeſirable to ſhow the enemy, that our reſources were ſuch as enabled us to meet him with confidence; but the enemy would imagine we were reduced to try expedients, by the manner in which the miniſter had uſed the influence of government to procure from the bank a loan of three millions without intereſt, inſtead of concluding a public loan. There never was a period, however, ſo advantageous for negotiating a public loan as the preſent, owing to the great ſtagnation of trade, and the great quantity of money neceſſarily afloat, for which no employment could be diſcovered. Parliament ought to know whence this ſum of three millions proceeded; for if they took it, they would ſubject themſelves to be reſponſible for any inconvenience that the bank might ſuſtain in conſequence of advancing it. Since the reſtriction on the payment

ment of ſpecie, the bank had ſhared no leſs than four millions in bonuſes amongſt themſelves: they had increaſed the dividends on their capital from 7 to 10 per cent. If their profits had been extenſive enough to juſtify all theſe tranſactions, then the right honourable gentleman had not made half ſo good a bargain as he ought to have made. The bank directors conſented to lend the country three millions, which, in his apprehenſion would not coſt them three pence. Did they mean to encreaſe their notes for this purpoſe? If they did not mean to encreaſe their notes, did they mean to diſtreſs the trade of the country, by refuſing to diſcount the bills of the merchants? Either caſe would afford a ſtrong argument againſt the tranſaction. After ſome remarks by other members, the reſolutions founded on the ſtatement of the chancellor of the exchequer were agreed to.

On the 1ſt of April the chancellor of the exchequer, in a committee of ways and means, propoſed to transfer the duty on licences to ſhoot game, from the ſtamp duties to the aſſeſſed taxes. This alteration, he ſaid, would remove the inconvenience felt by gentlemen who happened to reſide at a diſtance from the county town, in obtaining their certificates from the clerk of the peace, and prevent evaſion of the duty in many caſes, from the mode in which the aſſeſſed taxes were collected. It was deſirable alſo to include woodcocks and ſnipes in the enumeration of game, as many perſons, under pretence of merely being in the habit of ſhooting the former, took out no certificates, although the purſuit of game was their real object. The chancellor of the exchequer likewiſe ſubmitted to the committee the propriety of conſolidating with the aſſeſſed taxes, the additional ten per cent laid on them to ſupply the deficiency in the ways and means, by the abandonment of the iron tax in 1806. When the aſſeſſed taxes were thus increaſed, the late ſtage of the ſeſſion precluded a due conſideration of the arrangement. The conſequence therefore was, that in almoſt every inſtance, there were fractional payments, which the committee would think it right to do away. For this purpoſe, he propoſed to add two per cent. upon the whole, and in all the lower claſſes to reduce the payment, in caſe of a fraction occurring, to the next integer, and in the higher claſſes to raiſe it to the integer immediately above: by integer, he meant the ſum of ſix-pence. There would be a conſequent decreaſe upon the lower claſſes; but the ſlight addition on the higher would compenſate for that, and make the augmentation on the whole about 107,600l. The chancellor of the exchequer then moved reſolutions for effecting theſe objects, which were agreed to.

On the 11th, the right honourable gentleman brought forward the budget. The ſums voted for ſupplies, he ſaid, amounted in the aggregate, to 48,653,170l., from which was to be deducted the proportion that was to be furniſhed by Ireland, viz. 5,713,566l. leaving a ſum to be defrayed by Great Britain of 42,939,604l. He then ſtated the ways and means for covering theſe ſupplies. The houſe had already voted upon malt and

penſions

penſions three millions. The ſum uſually voted was 2,750,000l.; but it was thought more expedient to take the amount of the tax at the round ſum of three millions, which it produced, the effect of which would only be to reduce the ſurplus of the conſolidated fund by the ſum of 250,000l., the difference between the vote of three millions, and the uſual amount at which the malt and penſion tax was eſtimated. The advances from the bank were 3,500,000l. The unappropriated ſurplus of the conſolidated fund was on the 5th of April, 726,870l. The war taxes, including the duties to be raiſed by the orders in council, he took at twenty millions; and the lottery at 350,000l. Four millions of exchequer bills were to be iſſued to replace thoſe funded in the courſe of the preſent ſeſſion. By adding to theſe different items the ſum of eight millions to be raiſed by a loan, the aggregate amount would be 39,576,870l. To this aggregate was to be added the ſurplus of the conſolidated fund which he propoſed to take at 3,500,000l. which would carry the ways and means to 43,076,870l. yielding a ſurplus of ways and means above the ſupplies of 137,000l. The ſurplus of the conſolidated fund had been taken laſt year at 3,750,000l., but it had produced a further ſum of 726,870l. making altogether 4,476,870l.; yet as he had already mentioned, the increaſed vote upon the malt and penſions would diminiſh that produce by 250,000l. and ſome further, though ſlight, reduction in it might be expected. The chancellor of the exchequer next detailed by what means he intended to provide for the intereſt, charges, and ſinking fund of the exchequer bills funded, and of the projected loan, which altogether would be 750,000l. The ſums applicable to this purpoſe were 380,000l., being the amount of the ſhort annuities which had fallen in; 65,000l. a ſaving in the management of the public debt; 125,000l. produced by the new arrangement of the aſſeſſed taxes; and 200,000l. by an improved mode of collecting the duties on ſtamps. The whole of theſe ſums would be 770,000l. being a ſmall exceſs above the ſum actually wanted.

As the principle of ſuſpending all taxation for three years, and for reſorting to the war taxes to cover the neceſſary charges of loans, had been generally approved laſt year, Mr. Perceval ſaid he was bound to explain why he had thought it expedient to depart from it in the preſent inſtance, by propoſing to lay on additional taxes to the amount of 300,000l. It certainly was not becauſe he had conſidered the principle laid down by the noble lord who preceded him unwiſe; but he had felt it to be deſirable to conſolidate the different acts relative to the aſſeſſed taxes and the ſtamp duties, and deemed it to be a good opportunity, when making improved regulations for collecting both, to place a ſmall addition on certain items. He had already done ſo with reſpect to the aſſeſſed taxes, and he purpoſed to do the ſame in regard to the ſtamp duties. It was thought deſirable to conſolidate all the acts relating to theſe latter duties into one, as alſo thoſe for the regulation and collection of them; and a ſchedule was to be prepared diſpoſing the ſeveral duties

ties under diſtinct heads in alphabetical order. The increaſe of the duty would be founded on the *ad valorem* principle, which would be attached to other inſtruments than thoſe to which at preſent it applied; and this principle was to be extended not only to all conveyances of real eſtates, but to the admiſſion to offices of courts and of government. At preſent the duty was 20l. upon all offices of the courts, without reference to the amount of income. He ſhould reduce the duty on the lower offices, and raiſe it on the higher. Upon all offices, the income of which ſhould not exceed 60l., no duty ſhould attach; upon all above 60l. and under 150l., the duty would be 8l.; upon all above 150l., and under 300l., it was to be 20l.; and ſo in proportion upon higher incomes. There was alſo to be an alteration in the duty upon indentures, but not to carry it higher than it was before the year 1804, and in ſome caſes to reduce it. There was likewiſe ſome addition expected from the duty on attornies' indentures. The duty at preſent on articles of indenture to an attorney of the ſuperior courts was 110l.; and of the inferior 55l. The ſame duty which applied to indentures to ſolicitors in chancery, ſhould alſo apply to thoſe to proctors; for when the advantage was equal, the parties ſhould be ſubject to ſimilar duties. He propoſed that the duty of 55l. ſhould extend to the indentures to writers to the ſignet in Scotland. In the duty on donations and collations, a ſmall change was to take place; for where they gave the right as fully as induction and inſtitution, the duty which did not at preſent attach was to apply. A ſmall addition was to be made to the duty on enfeoffments, by raiſing it from 1l. 10s. to 3l. There was alſo to be an increaſe of duty on the grant of honours and preferment. At preſent it was in all caſes only 20l. In Ireland, the duty on the creation of a duke, marquis, or earl was 200l.; of a viſcount, 150l; and of a baron 100l. There was no reaſon why the ſame rate ſhould not be adopted here. Some ſlight alteration was to be made in the duty upon the grant of leaſes of crown lands. At preſent it was 20l.; and where the leaſe was beneficial, that was not improper; but as under the exiſting regulations, the leaſes of crown lands were no more beneficial than thoſe of any private individual, the duty ought not to be levied except where the leaſe was beneficial. The public would not be loſers by this reduction, becauſe the party always paid leſs in proportion to the amount of duty. Upon the higher grants of money and penſions the duty was to attach *ad valorem*. Policies of inſurance on lives, which had been exempted in the year 1804, without any adequate reaſon, were to pay a duty. All perſons calling themſelves bankers, were to pay 20l. a year for a licence for uſing re-iſſuable notes. The duty on ſuch notes was to be raiſed from 3d. to 4d. each; but when the notes were only payable in one place, 6d. each. It appeared to be proper that the duty on the transfer of ſhares of joint ſtock companies ſhould be collected in proportion to its real, and not its nominal value, as was done at preſent. As to law proceedings, they were already ſo highly burthened

thened, that no addition could poſſibly be made on them. There were only ſome ſmall inſtances, which might be conſidered as omiſſions in 1804. Thus he propoſed a duty of one ſhilling on all ſummonſes before a maſter in chancery. A duty was to attach to reſidues, as well as legacies. The duty was to apply to probates of adminiſtration in Scotland in the ſame manner as in England. It remained for him to explain how the principle he had mentioned was to bear upon conveyances. The duty at preſent was 30s. on all conveyances of land. This was to be lowered on the conveyances of ſmall property, and to be raiſed in proportion to the value on the larger degrees of property. In all caſes where the conſideration ſhould not exceed 150l., the duty was to be 1l.; between that and 300l. 1l. 10s.; between 300l. and 500l. 2l. 10s.; between 500l. and 750l. 5l.; between 750l. and 1000l. 7l. 10s.; but in no inſtance to exceed one per cent. on the conſideration. Upon theſe inſtruments and the re-iſſuable promiſſory notes, he calculated that the advance in the amount of the ſtamp duties would be 200,000l. The chancellor of the exchequer ſaid, he was aware that it would have been more conſonant with the uſual practice to keep back this ſtatement till after the loan had been contracted for; but it appeared to be much more for the convenience of the houſe, that it ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of the ſtatement in time to afford an opportunity for mature conſideration.

All theſe propoſitions were ſubſequently ſanctioned by the houſe, and the bills founded on them paſſed late in the ſeſſion.

A project for enabling perſons poſſeſſing ſtock in the three per cent. conſolidated or reduced annuities, to transfer the ſame to the commiſſioners for the reduction of the national debt, with a view of obtaining equivalent annuities for life, formed part of the financial arrangements for the year. The annuities were to be for one life, or two lives with benefit of ſurvivorſhip, at the option of the purchaſer, and of ſuch amount as an accurate calculation of the value of the life or lives nominated, and of the principal paid in would preſcribe, taking the ſtock at the current price of the day of transfer; but to prevent impoſitions and inconvenience, no nominee was to be under thirty-five years of age, nor any transfer leſs than 100l.; neither was any ſtock to be transferred after the funds ſhould riſe to 80l. This meaſure was propoſed by the chancellor of the exchequer on the 13th of May, and he then ſtated, that there were two objects to be ſecured by the ſinking fund; one to provide for the final redemption of the national debt, and the other to keep up the price of ſtocks in the market, ſo as to enable government, whenever the exigencies of the ſtate might require it, to make an advantageous loan for the public. Theſe objects, however, were in ſome degree inconſiſtent, and counteracted each other. Whatever meaſure raiſed the funds, and enabled miniſters to borrow on the beſt terms, prevented the commiſſioners for the reduction of the national debt from reducing that debt in the moſt advantageous manner.

manner. The plan which he ſubmitted to the houſe, he ſaid, would combine both thoſe objects; it would naturally tend to increaſe the price of the funds, and at the ſame time ſecure the redemption at a low price, of ſo much ſtock as might be transferred antecedently to the riſe produced. The whole merit of the plan reſted on the expectation, that the ſtocks were likely to riſe; but there was good reaſon to believe, or rather to be certain, that they would increaſe in price from a continuation of the means applied to diminiſh the debt, whether the war ſhould continue or not. It was impoſſible to ſay to what extent a deſire might ariſe in perſons to transfer their ſtock in the manner which he had pointed out; but as far as it might exiſt, it muſt be beneficial to the public. It was very probable, nevertheleſs, that individuals would be ſtrongly inclined to diſpoſe of their ſtock for the purchaſe of annuities, under circumſtances which ſecured to them an increaſed income free from any riſk, and without the expence and inconvenience attending other modes of achieving a ſimilar purpoſe.

Many objections were made to this project. It was affirmed by Mr. Windham, Mr. W. Smith, lord Henry Petty, and ſir John Newport, that the plan tended to vitiate the morals of the lower orders of the people. It was well known that where annuities had been encouraged by government to any extent, they produced an effect directly injurious to the habits of a country, as was proved when the *rentes viagères* were granted in France. Too many parents would be found who would be very willing to ſacrifice the future intereſts of their children to their own immediate gratification. The ſcheme held out greater advantages for the inveſtment of ſmall capitals than the courſe of fair trade, and conſequently muſt operate as a bounty upon idleneſs. Mr. Tierney obſerved, that Mr. Pitt had tried a ſimilar plan in 1803, which had entirely failed. Every thing led him to believe that capital and increaſe of capital were the objects of the day: and it was not probable that a perſon who had hitherto preferred capital to intereſt ſhould all at once change his ideas on the ſubject, and preciſely at the moment when the chancellor of the exchequer was aſſuring him that capital would riſe in value. If, however, many of theſe annuities were granted, that part of them which exceeded the intereſt of the capital transferred, muſt diminiſh the diſpoſable ſum in the hands of the commiſſioners for the reduction of the national debt.

It was argued by the chancellor of the exchequer and Mr. Huſkiſſon in favour of the propoſed ſyſtem, that it could not be wrong for a parent to purchaſe an annuity for his child or wife, if the circumſtances of his property would not admit of any other proviſion. Inſtead of having an immoral effect, the plan would afford an opportunity of acting upon the dictates of humanity and good nature. It ſhould be recollected that the ſhort annuities, which had fallen in to the amount of four or five hundred thouſand pounds per annum, had been in the market, and had

had not been detrimental to the habits of the community, though they required a larger proportion of capital to be ſunk. No lure was held out to any deſcription of perſons; the calculations were founded on the common principles of the probabilities of life, and there were every day greater temptations offered without equal ſecurity. Numberleſs were the caſes in which it would be deſirable for parties to purchaſe annuities for other lives than their own. It would be idle to buy ſmall annuities, for inſtance, in favour of a widow or ſervants, on the ſecurity of land; becauſe the expences of ſettlement, and perhaps of recovery, would render the proviſion of no avail. Upon every conſideration of the project, the balance of good likely to reſult from it, would greatly preponderate over the evil which might ariſe in conſequence of it. It could not be detrimental to the operation of the ſinking fund; becauſe if the annuities purchaſed even amounted to a million annually, the whole ſum transferred for them would go to the commiſſioners for reducing the national debt, and add to the total of the redeemed ſtock, while the ſinking fund would only be affected to the ſmall extent of the additional annuity created above the intereſt on the principal. In fine, the meaſure might perhaps interfere with the letter of the act relating to the ſinking fund, but was certainly within its ſpirit.

The ſubject was reſumed on the 27th, when Mr. Tierney remarked that if ever there were a period when a man would be diſinclined to increaſe his income at the expence of his capital, it muſt be at a time when there was a tax upon income, and none upon capital. Having once adopted the preſent meaſure, it would be in vain to ſay, that it was intended to hold the ſinking fund ſacred; for in agreeing to this propoſition, the houſe practiſed one of the groſſeſt infractions upon it. The right honourable gentleman dwelt on the extravagant inducement which the ſcheme held out to a man, probably ſeventy years of age, to leave his family and relatives deſtitute; as he could thus be able to raiſe his own income in the proportion of one to four, or inſtead of 100l. could procure for his own life 400l. per annum.

The chancellor of the exchequer contended, that his plan would have the effect of taking out of the market a quantity of ſtock, and of ſubſtituting in its place what would, by no means, be ſo marketable a commodity. It would, in fact, give additional effect to the two objects of the ſinking fund. By the former operation, the amount of the dividend only would be taken out of the market; by the preſent meaſure, the amount of the capital itſelf would be taken out of it. Thus, not only the redemption of the debt would be ſecured; but that purpoſe would alſo be attained at an earlier period.

On the other hand, lord Henry Petty thought that, owing to the caſualties of life, a perſon who had bought an annuity might be obliged to ſell it again; and as theſe annuities muſt therefore be transferred, a large quantity of ſtock would again be brought into the market in a different ſhape.

Mr. Huſkiſſon, Mr. Davies Giddy, and Mr. Biddulph, declared

clared that in their opinion, there could be no ſound objection to the propoſition, becauſe in a free country there ſhould be as great a diverſity as poſſible of option afforded to perſons wiſhing to lay out their capital with ſecurity: and that it undoubtedly would be a great convenience to many individuals, who might have to bequeath annuities to dependents, to avoid charging their lands with ſuch annuities, and purchaſe them under the preſent plan. Beſides it was probable that the meaſure would encourage a greater degree of frugality in the lower claſſes, by giving them an opportunity of applying their ſavings with perfect certainty to the increaſe of their incomes. The reſolutions in regard to the propoſal were then moved and agreed to.

On the 1ſt of June, the chancellor of the exchequer ſtated the terms on which he had contracted for the loan, and before he entered into the buſineſs, he ſhortly recapitulated the different heads of ſupply, and the ways and means for the year. The account of the latter was indeed anticipated in the ſtatement which he had previouſly given; but as the reader may wiſh to ſee a connected table of them, it is given below.

SUPPLIES.

Navy - - - - -	17,496,047
Army - - - - -	19,439,189
Ordnance - - - -	4,534,571
Miſcellaneous - - - -	1,750,000
Eaſt India Company - -	1,500,000
Swediſh ſubſidy - - -	1,100,000
Vote of Credit - - - -	2,500,000
Total Joint Charge	48,319,807

SEPARATE CHARGES OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Deficiency of Malt (1806) - -	275,854	
Intereſt on Exchequer Bills (1808)	1,400,000	
Exchequer Bills not funded -	4,024,200	
Five per cents (1797) to be paid off	153,696	
		5,853,741
Total Supplies		54,173,548
Deduct Iriſh proportion of Supply and Civil Liſt		5,868,515
Total to be defrayed by Great Britain		48,305,033

WAYS AND MEANS.

Duty on Malt and Penſions - - -	3,000,000
Bank Advances - - - -	3,500,000

Unappropriated Surplus of the Conſolidated Fund at the 5th of April - - - - -	726,876
Eſtimated Surplus of ditto, to the 5th of April, 1809	3,500,000
Surplus of Ways and Means, 1807 - -	2,253,111
War Taxes - - - - -	20,000,000
Lottery - - - - -	300,000
Exchequer Bills to be iſſued to replace Bills not funded	4,500,000
Ditto for the Eaſt India Company - -	1,500,000
Exchequer Bills, part of 10,500,000l. charged on Aids 1809, to replace the like amount on Aids 1808, which had been funded - - -	1,161,000
Loan - - - - - -	8,000,000
	£48,441,081
Supplies - - -	48,305,033
Surplus of Ways and Means	£136,048

The loan was concluded on the following terms. The ſum borrowed for England and Ireland was ten millions and a half, of which eight were for the ſervice of this country. The whole ſum was to be funded in the 4 per cents, and the contractors for every 100l. advanced to the public were to receive 118l. 3s. 6d. ſtock: ſo that the public paid for every 100l. capital, 4l. 14s. 6¼d. intereſt. In conſequence of the loan of ten millions and a half, there was a capital of debt created to the amount of 12,408,375l., of which, after deducting a proportion of 2-17ths for Ireland, making 2,954,375l., there would remain as a permanent burthen on Great Britain, 9,454,000l., and an annual charge for intereſt of 475,536l. In addition to this, in conſequence of the meaſure of funding four millions of exchequer bills, there was a capital of debt created of 4,239,215l. and an annual charge for intereſt, including the ſinking fund and management, of 253,247l. So that the ſum to be provided for by taxes was:

For the intereſt of the loan - -	£475,536
For the intereſt of Exchequer Bills funded	253,247
Making a total of	£728,783

This annual charge was to be provided for in the following manner:

Short-Annuities fallen in	£ 375,000
Annual Saving in the Management of the Public Debt - - -	65,000
Increaſe upon the Aſſeſſed Taxes - - - -	120,000
Stamp Duties - - -	170,000
	£730,000

The chancellor of the exchequer obſerved, that from funding four millions of exchequer bills, when ſtocks were at 63½, and by borrowing ten millions and a half in the four inſtead of the three per cents, there had reſulted a ſaving to the public of four millions of capital debt; and that by the ſingle meaſure of contracting for the loan in the four per cents there was a ſaving of 3,100,000l. capital debt, and alſo a ſaving in the an-

nual charge of 2000l.; beſides the advantage of being able to redeem the debt at comparatively a very inconſiderable loſs. In anſwer to ſome remarks of Mr. Tierney, Mr. Huſkiſſon argued, that by the mode which had been adopted, the ſinking fund for the enſuing year would be increaſed, and form 1-55th part of the whole debt. He ſtated, as the benefit to be derived from this circumſtance in providing for the exigencies of the country, and of courſe leſſening the deprivations to which the people were obliged to ſubmit, that where we formerly borrowed money at the rate of 8l. 7s. per cent., we now borrowed at the rate of 4l. 14s. ſo that there was a ſaving of upwards of 3l. per cent. per annum.

On the 27th of May, Mr. Foſter propoſed that the bank of Ireland ſhould be permitted to increaſe its capital from one million and a half, to two millions and a half, the intereſt on the additional million to be the ſame as on the preſent capital: and that the charter of the governor and company ſhould be continued till the 1ſt of January, 1837. In conſideration of theſe advantages, the bank was to advance 1,250,000l. to government for the period of the charter, unleſs miniſters ſhould, upon a certain notice, think proper to pay it ſooner; and it was alſo to manage the whole debt of Ireland free of expence, whatever addition might be made to it. Mr. Tierney having expreſſed a diſlike of the principle of borrowing money from the bank, while the reſtriction of payments in ſpecie exiſted, Mr. Foſter replied, that the million was to be raiſed by the bank proprietors, or from ſubſcribers; and that the motive for the renewal of the charter did not ariſe from any view to a money bargain, but to ſecure the exiſtence of the company, to diſcount at 5 per cent. for the public.

Mr. Parnell objected to the renewal of the charter, becauſe it would remove the tranſactions of the bank out of the controul of parliament; and Mr. Bankes ſtated that the committee whoſe report he had ſubmitted to the houſe, were of opinion that it was not expedient to continue the benefit to be attached to the paper of the national banks of England and Ireland, by its excluſive credit, longer than the exigency of the times required. It was not fit that the hands of the legiſlature ſhould be tied up, whether the circumſtances of the country were ſo materially changed, as to throw an increaſed benefit into the hands of the bank or not. He thought that an additional continuance of the charter for ten, or at moſt fifteen, years would be ſufficient at preſent.

A curious circumſtance was mentioned by Mr. M. Fitzgerald, who ſaid, in order to give ſome idea of the advantage to be derived from an accredited iſſue of paper, one banking houſe in Ireland ſet up on the price of a captain's commiſſion in the dragoons, and that it afterwards had a floating capital to the amount of 490,000l. He did not think that the bank of Ireland was entitled to much favour from the legiſlature, as at the time of the invaſion at Bantry-bay, under general Hoche, the directors of it refuſed to advance money to government, and it was by the money of a loyal individual that the army was then put in motion.

The

The chancellor of the exchequer maintained that the liberality and loyalty of the bank of Ireland could not, with the ſmalleſt juſtice, be called in queſtion. The propoſed addition to its capital was only one million Iriſh currency; and the ſecurity which the bank gave to individuals, and the benefit that it afforded to the public, by the gratuitous management of the debt, were ample reaſons for the renewal of its charter. Mr. Foſter's propoſitions were then agreed to without a diviſion.

Mr. Foſter brought forward the Iriſh budget on the 8th of June, when he ſtated that the ſums required for Ireland for the ſervice of the year 1808, amounted altogether to 9,767,550l. Iriſh currency; which he acknowledged to be a very large ſum for that country. To meet this he enumerated various items, viz. the ordinary revenue 4,800,000l.; the loan procured in England for the ſervice of Ireland 2,708,332l.; the loan to be granted by the bank of Ireland for the renewal of their charter, 1,250,000l.; the loan ſettled in Ireland, 750,000l. &c., making in the whole the ſum of 9,767,550l. Iriſh currency. The loan arranged in Ireland had been contracted for in the three and a half per cents.; and at an intereſt not exceeding that on the loan raiſed in Great Britain, namely 4l. 14s. 6d. per cent. The charges per annum of the intereſt and ſinking fund of the three loans would be as follows:

The loan raiſed in Ireland - -	£45,562
The bank of Ireland loan	75,000
The loan raiſed in England - - -	159,000
Total -	£280,462

In order to raiſe this ſum, it would be neceſſary to impoſe new taxes, and he conceived it would be better not to create a number of ſmall impoſts; but rather to lay on a large tax at once, in ſuch a way as would leaſt effect the community in Ireland. It was well known that in Ireland, as well as in England, the diſtilleries evaded the malt duties in a conſiderable degree, by diſtilling from raw corn; he therefore purpoſed to extend to all raw corn uſed in diſtillation, the duties at preſent laid upon malt. It was alſo his intention to ſubject foreign ſpirits imported into Ireland, to an additional duty. The ſums ariſing from theſe duties, with the ſaving in the management of the debt, would more than cover the charges of the intereſt and ſinking fund of the three loans, viz.

Extenſion of the malt duties to raw corn, &c.	£333,000
Duty on foreign ſpirits	22,500
Savings in the management of the public debt - - -	7,500
Total -	£363,000

Mr. Parnell remarked, that he could not agree in opinion with the right honourable gentleman that the loan for 1,250,000l. which he had negotiated with the bank of Ireland, was entitled ro thoſe terms of approbation which he had beſtowed on it. On the contrary, he conſidered it as highly diſadvantageous for the public. If this ſum had been borrowed in London, inſtead of the public having to pay 5l. per cent., they would only have had to pay 4l. 14s. 6d. the rate at which the chancellor of the exchequer for

this country had made the loan for England a few days ſince; ſo that the public ſuſtained an annual loſs to the amount of the difference of the intereſt on this ſum. The renewal of the charter to the bank of Ireland, by which it would enjoy for ſo many years the advantages of excluſive rights in the banking trade, ought to have procured better terms with reſpect to this loan. As to the agreement of the bank to manage the public debt gratis, that tranſaction was, in truth, unfavourable to the public, if at the ſame time it was to be underſtood that the bank was to make no allowance for the balances of the public money which lay in its hands. Thoſe balances amounted, on an average to 300,000l., and according to the principles laid down in the report of the committee of finance, the nation had a juſt claim to be allowed five per cent. on that ſum; but no mention being made of theſe balances, in lieu of the ſtate being benefited by the ſum of 7000l. per annum, becauſe the public debt would be managed without any charge, it loſt 8000l. which was the difference between the 15,000l. that the public had a right to receive on the balances of 300,000l. and the 7000l. which the bank might claim for managing the debt. In anſwer to what had been ſaid reſpecting the favour which the bank had conferred on the country by advancing the loan of 1,250,000l. the honourable member maintained that each ſubſcriber to it would be able to ſell his ſhare, immediately upon the bill being paſſed into a law, for a premium of 20 or 30 per cent. or even more. Since, if upon a capital of 1,500,000l., the bank had been able for ſeveral years to divide a profit of ſeven per cent., and a bonus of 5l. per cent. in each year, and if the renewal of the charter ſecured to it a continuance of all thoſe means by which theſe profits had been made, the addition of one million to its former capital of one million and a half, muſt inevitably have the operation that an increaſed capital had in all commercial tranſactions of augmenting this rate of profit. Praiſe had been given to the bank for its liberality in diſcounting at 1l. per cent. below the legal rate of intereſt; but all the bankers of Dublin, one only excepted, did the ſame. It was not a fair way of judging how far this was a liberal practice or not, by referring the caſe to the law which fixed the rate of intereſt, becauſe the only criterion of judgment was the value of money in the market; and when the public loans, and the prices of public ſecurities ſhowed that the value of money was not even 5l. per cent., it could not be urged that the bank conferred any great favour on the country by diſcounting at that rate. The great objection, however, which he entertained to the bargain that had been made with the bank by government, he ſaid, aroſe from a conviction of the impolicy of renewing the charter ſo long as the reſtriction of caſh payments continued; for as long as the bank was relieved from the neceſſity of paying its notes in ſpecie, it was at liberty to iſſue any quantity of them it thought proper. Gentlemen ought not to forget that the paper of the bank had, not long ſince, been depreciated in value full ten per cent, in conſequence of an exceſſive iſſue of it,

it, and that a report of a committee of that houſe had proved this depreciation to be the cauſe of the high rates of exchange which, for a few years, exiſted between England and Ireland. No reply was made to theſe obſervations; but in anſwer to ſir John Newport, who made ſome enquiries reſpecting the collectors' balances, which, he ſaid, in the laſt year had increaſed by the ſum of 60,000l. Mr. Foſter ſtated that every regulation on that ſubject had been enforced without effect, but that government was making all poſſible efforts to reduce the balances, and he had great hopes that before the next meeting of parliament, that object would be accompliſhed. The right honourable gentleman then moved the reſolutions connected with the budget, which were carried.

CHAP. VI.

Debates on the mutiny bill. Lord Caſtlereagh's motion for introducing a clauſe into the bill to permit men to inliſt in the army for life: It is oppoſed by Mr. Windham, but carried. Sir Francis Burdett propoſes a clauſe to prevent officers from being diſmiſſed from the army by any other means than the ſentence of a court-martial: He is induced to withdraw it: When the bill is carried up to the houſe of peers; the alteration in it is combated by the duke of Glouceſter, the earls of Darnley, Groſvenor, and lord King; and ſupported by the earl of Buckinghamſhire, and the lords Boringdon and Melville: Singular ſpeech of viſcount Melville commented on by the Duke of Glouceſter: The bill paſſed: Reflections on the principle of limited ſervice. Diſcuſſions in the houſe of commons of the bill for eſtabliſhing a local militia: Summary of the arguments for and againſt the meaſure: Objection to it urged by Sir Francis Burdett: The propoſal and motion of earl Temple reſpecting corporal puniſhment rejected: The bill carried through both houſes of the legiſlature. An act paſſed for raiſing a local militia in Scotland. Diminiſhed grant to the college at Maynooth: Sentiments of Mr. Foſter, ſir John Newport, Mr. Ponſonby, ſir Arthur Welleſley, the chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Grattan, Mr. M. Fitzgerald, Mr. Parnell, colonel Montague Matthew, Mr. Charles Wynn, Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Stephens, and Dr. Duigenan thereon. Mr. Barham's motion reſpecting the appointment of Dr. Duigenan to a ſeat in the privy council of Ireland negatived. Debate on the Roman Catholic petition in the houſe of commons: Mr. Grattan moves that the petition ſhould be referred to a committee of the whole houſe: The motion loſt. Lord Grenville makes a motion to the ſame effect in the upper houſe; but without ſucceſs: Proteſt againſt rejecting the petition ſigned by a conſiderable number of peers. Acts paſſed by the legiſlature for enforcing the reſidence of ſpiritual perſons in Ireland, and to make proviſion for building, and rebuilding churches, chapels, and glebe houſes, as well as for the purchaſe of glebe lands, glebe houſes and impropriations, in that country. Obſervations of Mr. M. Fitzgerald, Mr. Perceval, Mr. Sheridan, and Mr. Ponſonby, in the houſe of commons, concerning the commutation of tithes in Ireland.

When

WHEN the ſecretary at war produced the army eſtimates, he aſſured the houſe of commons that the military force for which it was called upon to provide, was in point of diſcipline equal to any army in the world, and in point of numbers, ſuperior to any this country ever had. The amount of it in regulars and militia was not leſs than three hundred thouſand men. It alſo contained a greater proportion of effective men than it had ever been known to poſſeſs, and the actual ſtrength of it was as near the eſtabliſhment as poſſible, being only thirteen thouſand ſhort of the regulated number. The increaſe from the laſt year conſiſted chiefly in regular diſpoſable infantry. The cavalry was on the ſame footing as that of the preceding year. The militia approached its full complement as much as ever, after having given twenty-four thouſand diſciplined men to the line, and the condition of the foreign corps was in every reſpect ſatisfactory.

Notwithſtanding it thus appeared that miniſters had every reaſon to be content with the means which had produced this flouriſhing ſtate of the army, they were determined to counteract the ſyſtem of enliſting for a term of years ſuggeſted by their predeceſſors, and ſanctioned by the approbation of parliament. For this purpoſe, the ſecretary at war gave notice, that a clauſe would be inſerted in the mutiny bill to empower men to enliſt for life, and when on the 8th of March, the houſe of commons went into a committee to conſider the bill, lord Caſtlereagh gave his reaſons for propoſing the alteration. He ſaid that to many parts of Mr. Windham's ſyſtem he had no objection. He highly approved of the inducements held forth to certain deſcriptions of men to enter the army, by the liberty to engage for limited ſervice, and by the creation of additional penſions; but why ſhould limited ſervice be in a manner enforced to the total excluſion of extended ſervice, even when men were perfectly ſatisfied, and deſirous to enter without limitation? During the period that the right honourable gentleman's meaſure had been in force, it had not augmented the prior ſtrength of the army. In the eighteen months preceding the commencement of its operation 30,748 men were raiſed. In the eighteen months while that meaſure was effective, the number raiſed was only 26,040, being a diminution of 4000. The preſent regular army of the line conſiſted of 204,000 men, and he was ſorry to ſay that of theſe, including the men enliſted under the right honourable gentleman's plan, full 70,000 were engaged for limited ſervice; for beſides the 26,040 men before alluded to, the foreign corps were from their origin raiſed for a limited time, the ſervice of the garriſon battalions was alſo limited, as well as that of the volunteers from the militia, with the exception of ſix or ſeven thouſand. He was of opinion that the principle of limited ſervice ought always to form part of our military code; and he was ſatisfied that without it, the number of our army could not be kept up. But let it be ſeriouſly conſidered what would be the conſequence of making it the excluſive principle. With no leſs than ninety thouſand men employed foreign and colonial duty, how would

would it be poſſible to maintain an efficient army in our diſtant poſſeſſeſſions, if it would be neceſſary to bring home the men at the termination of a ſhort period of ſervice? Every ſoldier ſent to India coſt 100l. for his conveyance out and home, and if a regiment was to be ſent out, the whole or greater part of which muſt be brought back at the end of three years, how little duty could be performed for an expence ſo enormous. In a more general view of the queſtion, it was a matter of importance to think think that the men enliſted this year would be all entitled to their diſcharge at the ſame time in ſeven years. The principle, too, of enliſting men for limited ſervice might have an injurious effect on a peace eſtabliſhment. Suppoſe a peace eſtabliſhment conſiſted of one hundred thouſand men, and thirty-ſix thouſand of theſe were to be diſcharged in one year, and a war to follow in that year or the next, what would be the ſtate of the country? He contended that the right honourable gentleman's meaſure would not cover its own waſte, and that of the army in general. It might be ſaid that though the ordinary recruiting under that meaſure was not equally productive, as the ordinary recruiting before, combined with the additional force act, it was ſuperior to the ordinary recruiting alone. Certainly it was ſo; but then the additional force act was becoming every day more productive, when it was repealed. Lord Caſtlereagh, in the concluſion of his ſpeech, ſeemed to have forgotten that he had ſet out with applauding the principle of giving additional penſions to veterans, for he declared that one part only of the right honourable gentleman's plan was not ſpeculative, and that was the permanent burthen of 450,000l. a year which it impoſed on the country, in the ſhape of additional penſions; and theſe, with ſurpriſing inconſiſtency, he pronounced to be *an incumbrance* which muſt continually increaſe! The noble lord then added, that he conceived the motives which he had adduced, would evince the propriety of not depriving ſuch men as were inclined, of a fair option to enliſt for life.

Mr. Windham reprobated the haſte with which it was intended to carry this proceeding through both houſes of parliament, owing to the neceſſity for paſſing the mutiny bill, and contraſted the ſhort notice given on the occaſion, with the length of time afforded by himſelf, when in office, for a due conſideration of the merits of limited and unlimited ſervice. The clauſe now propoſed, he affirmed, tended gradually to undermine the ſyſtem introduced two years ago. Did the noble lord mean that the men engaged for unlimited ſervice ſhould be kept in diſtinct bodies, and be appropriated to foreign ſervice? It would be eaſy to ſee the inconvenience which would reſult from that courſe, and the impoſſibility, indeed, of executing it. As the numbers muſt be unequal, how were they to be diſtributed between the two battalions? If the men engaged on different conditions were not to be ſeparated, the diſcontents that would prevail in the army, and the injuries which would be done to diſcipline, by having men enliſted in an inconſiderate moment for life, by the ſide of men who had entered only

for

for a term of years, were too ſtriking to need elucidation. The noble lord had denied him the credit of making any addition to the army. It was a credit which he had never claimed. His meaſure had been in full operation, not, as the noble lord had ſaid, for eighteen months, but for twelve; and during thoſe twelve months, ſuch had been its effects, as to leave the advocates of the plan nothing to require, however much might have been expected from the reſult of a farther trial. In the firſt quarter, it had produced, at the rate of eleven thouſand men in the year; in the ſecond, at the rate of thirteen thouſand; in the third, at the rate of twenty-one-thouſand; and in the fourth quarter, at the rate of twenty-four thouſand. It was certainly no little praiſe that it ſo ſoon equalled the effect of the ordinary and extraordinary recruiting which was in force before it; and the manner in which it achieved its purpoſe was, in itſelf, ſufficient to give it a ſuperiority over the meaſures which were brought in compariſon with it. As to the increaſed allowance from Chelſea, that was a reward which ſtood on its own grounds, and ought to be given on the bare conſiderations of juſtice and humanity. The military plan which he had brought forward, proceeded on the principle of meliorating the future condition of the ſoldiers, by the proſpect of future advantages; it was neceſſary therefore, that the people ſhould be inſpired with confidence to give it due effect; but the clauſe now propoſed went to deſtroy confidence and diffuſe diſtruſt. If it were intended eventually to allow the ſoldiers who had enliſted for a term of years to change that term for life, it would be an atrocious breach of faith; for the prohibition then exiſting was the protection of the ſoldier, and were it to be removed, he would be expoſed to the ſolicitations and, unleſs he complied with them, ultimately to the vengeance, of his officers. Mr. Windham expreſſed his hopes that the houſe would riſe with one common feeling of indignation againſt the inſidious attempt, which was made without any plauſible pretext whatever, to deſtroy that which, after deliberate and repeated diſcuſſion, had received the ſolemn ſanction of parliament. Mr. Windham's hopes were diſappointed, for the clauſe was voted by a majority of 100.

On the third reading of the bill, ſir Francis Burdett propoſed a clauſe to prevent officers from being diſmiſſed from the army by any other means than the ſentence of a court martial, but after ſome diſcuſſion, he was induced to withdraw it. When the bill was carried up to the houſe of lords, the duke of Glouceſter oppoſed the intended alteration in the terms of enliſtment. He contended that the ſyſtem of limited ſervice was approved of by the moſt experienced military men of this country, and by the ableſt generals of foreign countries. It was a ſyſtem that was gradually improving, and that promiſed the faireſt reſults. He was ſorry that its progreſs ſhould be interrupted, and being convinced that the change would be miſchievous, he moved, as an amendment, that the words granting the power of enliſting for life ſhould be left out of the clauſe.

March 14.

March 18.

Lord

Lord King, with the earls of Darnley and Grosvenor, supported the plan for limited service, and complained that the present clause was inserted in the bill only with an insidious intention of undermining it. Lord Boringdon and the earl of Buckinghamshire said, that they were satisfied from experience, that a mixture of the two systems in question was best calculated for the various circumstances of the empire. Lord Melville entered more at large into the business. He disliked the frequent interference of the legislature in what regarded our military establishment. In his opinion, it was best entrusted to the care and management of the chief executive magistrate; and it was found of late to improve under the auspices of the illustrious personage, to whose hands the sovereign had confided it. The country never had an army so numerous and well appointed as that which it had to boast of at the present moment: and how was that army acquired? Not by any one plan or exertion; not by metaphysical recruiting, and a philosophical investigation of the moral propensities and habits of men; but by a combination of various plans and various exertions, adapted to the nature and employments of men as they were to be found, and to the various exigences of the country. As no one system or exertion had raised our military force to its existing amount and perfection, so no one plan or exertion could maintain it in that desirable state. He consequently wished that the two systems under discussion might be united. The noble viscount in examining the merits of limited service as an exclusive measure, observed, that it was said enlistment for a term of years would introduce a better description of men into the army. What was meant by a better description of men? Would they be taller or shorter, or broader or thinner? Those who had hitherto formed the British armies were men of stout hearts—men of spirit and courage—lovers of bold enterprise. These were the materials of which an army must be composed. Give him such men, though not of the better description. The worst men were the fittest for soldiers—keep the better at home.

The duke of Gloucester answered this indecorous sally with great animation and dignity. He expressed his concern that his lordship should have represented profligates, who were insensible to the blessings of existence, as most suited to the painful but honourable duties of a military life. According to the duke's conception of the case, according to his experience of the character of the soldier, that man was most patient under suffering in the service of his country, who held most sacred the personal and social duties; and he was most ready to resign his life in the field of battle, who knew that without fortitude, all which he estimated most highly must be surrendered. From what portion of the annals of military enterprise did the noble viscount draw his inference, that profligates were most suited to the purposes of national defence? He conjured their lordships to consider the importance of rendering the army honourable in this perilous crisis, that both the moral and physical energies of the country might be combined for its security.

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The amendment offered by the duke of Glouceſter was negatived without a diviſion, and the bill with the new clauſe was paſſed by the lords; but a proteſt againſt the innovation was ſigned by the earls of Jerſey and Eſſex, earl Grey, and the lords Holland and Cawdor.

That the principle of limited ſervice would ever induce a ſuperior deſcription of perſons, to thoſe who uſually have filled the ranks of the army, to embrace the life of a ſoldier, is not reaſonably to be expected. Contraſted with the condition of the daily labourer and the inexpert mechanic, that of a private in a regiment, from the certainty of the pay, and of proper attention in ſickneſs, may be preferred; but to ſuppoſe that the able and diligent artiſan could ever be allured to give up ſuperior emolument, and the free controul of his own actions, for the hardſhips and perils of military duties, is wild and romantic. Equally improbable is the expectation, that the inferior farmer or ſhopkeeper would ever encourage a military propenſity in his ſon. The order of perſons, therefore, who compoſe the body of the troops would be the ſame, or nearly the ſame, whether the ſervice were limited or not. If however the plan of enliſting for a term of years could not procure more reſpectable individuals for the army in the firſt inſtance, independently of the humanity of permitting the ſoldiers to retire at the end of a certain term of duty, it would manifeſtly improve the character and comforts of the ſubjects enrolled. The option of withdrawing from the ſervice muſt neceſſarily give them a higher conſideration for themſelves, and ſelf reſpect is a ſtrong motive for good conduct. The idea which a man might entertain that he ſhould poſſibly chuſe again to return to peaceful purſuits, and ſubſiſt by the fruits of his own independent exertions, would naturally tend to promote habits of regularity and ſobriety. Thus the privates of regiments would, in all likelihood, become better men, and conſequently better ſoldiers. In a conſtitutional point of view, the plan of limited ſervice is unqueſtionably advantageous. It may obviate or mitigate the objections which the beſt legal authorities have ſo juſtly advanced againſt placing a large portion of the community under martial law, and diminiſh the inconvenience and danger of maintaining a ſtanding army in a free country, by throwing a great maſs of its numbers again into the rank of citizens; at all events it would, in a conſiderable meaſure, annihilate that envy of the freedom of others, and the attendant deſire to reduce it, from which ſir William Blackſtone has augured reſults ſo baneful. As far as relates to colonial defence, the plan might be expenſive; but the benefits ariſing from it, vaſtly preponderate over the evils. In military reſpects, no detriment could enſue from it; for the force would be permanent, though the materials of which it was compoſed might be changed or renewed. The chief benefit, both to the ſoldier and the conſtitution of the country, likely to enſue from the principle of limited ſervice depends on its being conſtituted an invariable rule of action. The vital eſſence of it was deſtroyed by making it only a component part of the military ſyſtem.

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An important arrangement was made for the defence of the country by the bill for eſtabliſhing a local militia, the nature of which lord Caſtlereagh explained to the houſe of commons on the 12th of April. The noble lord pointed out the inconveniences and grievances, which, according to his ſentiments, attended the Training Act ſuggeſted by his predeceſſor in office. That act he alſo conceived to be uſeleſs, becauſe the men, called out under its proviſions, were not exerciſed in regiments; and conſequently the inſtruction which they received would not qualify them to fall into the ranks with battalions of regulars or of the militia, in caſes of neceſſity. Lord Caſtlereagh then proceeded to deſcribe his plan. This was to eſtabliſh a force, which, including the volunteers, ſhould be equal to ſix times the number of the militia. With reſpect to the volunteers, he was prepared to ſtate, that as long as they could with convenience give their ſervices to the country, government would not deſire any more effectual force; but it was eſſential to fix and organize a permanent force, which would always ſubſiſt to the ſame amount. According to the laſt returns, the effective ſtrength of the volunteers in Great Britain was 290,000 men, of whom at the laſt inſpection, 240,000 were actually under arms, and reported to be in ſuch a ſtate of diſcipline as to be capable of acting with the line. When the groſs amount of the volunteers was compared with the number to which they were to be limited, viz. ſix times that of the militia, or 330,000 for Great Britain, there was found a deficiency of from 30,000 to 40,000 men on the aggregate. But when this deficiency came to be ſubdivided, there was diſcovered an inequality, ſome of the counties being more deficient and ſome leſs; and the conſequence of this inequality was that ſixty thouſand men would be wanted to complete the eſtabliſhment. He propoſed therefore to give to the crown a power to create a local militia to that amount in the firſt inſtance, to be increaſed in proportion as the volunteers ſhould diminiſh in number, and to ſuperſede them totally, if they ſhould withdraw their ſervices in the event of peace. This militia was to be raiſed by ballot, which was to apply to all perſons between the ages of 18 and 35, but a ſmall bounty of two or three guineas was to be given to ſuch as would voluntarily enter; and to prevent the confuſion of a too frequent recurrence to the ballot, the engagement to ſerve was to be for a certain time. The period of exerciſe was to be twenty-eight days in the year, excluſive of the days of arriving at and departure from the place appointed for that purpoſe; for which extra days the pay and ſubſiſtence aſſigned to his majeſty's troops on march were to be allowed; but the days of exerciſe were not be conſecutive. No ſubſtitutes were to be permitted, yet in order that the higheſt claſſes ſhould not be improperly mixed with the loweſt, parties might be exempted upon the payment of a fine of ſuch magnitude as to diſcourage a recourſe to it. All inſurances made with a view of mitigating this fine were to be prohibited. The men belonging to theſe local corps were not to be allowed to enliſt in the regular army

army or militia, during the time they were embodied. The qualifications for the officers were to be preciſely the ſame as for thoſe of the militia, retired field officers of the line, however, were to be eligible to commiſſions according to their reſpective ranks without qualifications, if perſons of adequate fortune could not be induced to become field officers. It was conceived that volunteer corps might, in many inſtances, wiſh to change the nature of their engagements, and become corps of local militia, to avoid the expences of their own eſtabliſhments, and the neceſſity of keeping up a ſtock purſe. This diſpoſition was to be encouraged, becauſe the local militia would always be effective.

The bill was read a ſecond time on the 2d of May, when, at the inſtance of lord Caſtlereagh, ſeveral regulations were adopted. Perſons who had ſerved in the militia were exempted from the operation of the meaſure. No deciſion of a majority of any volunteer corps to paſs into the local militia was to bind thoſe who were not inclined to ſuch a change of ſervice; but if a corps of volunteers did commute its engagements, the officers of it were to retain their different ranks in the local militia, and qualifications were to be diſpenſed with. Individuals in the local militia, whoſe circumſtances might oblige them to tranſfer their reſidence from one county to another, were alſo enabled to tranſfer their ſervices to the local militia of the county in which they took up their abode. The ſame proviſion was to be made for the families of the men, if dependent on their labour, as were granted to thoſe of volunteers, when on permanent duty. Theſe corps alſo, during the period for which they were called out, were to be placed under the ſuperintendence of officers of the line. Other improvements in the bill were made in a ſubſequent ſtage of it through the houſe. Perſons above thirty years of age, and poor men who had three children, were exempted from the ballot. The firſt on the ſuggeſtion of ſir W. W. Wynn, and the latter on that of Mr. Charles Wynn.

Severe comments were made on this meaſure by Mr. Windham, colonel Shipley, Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Calcraft, and ſir Francis Burdett. It was advanced that the plan would open a ſource of patronage and influence to government by the appointment of officers and clerks of diviſions, and that it could not be carried into execution without much inconvenience, conſiderable expence, and great prejudice to the morals of thoſe who were to be embodied under its proviſions. The volunteers were to have rewards given to them for tranſferring themſelves to the militia, and were thus unneceſſarily taken from a ſtation in which they were of eſſential ſervice. It was cruel to compel thoſe to act with whoſe intereſts it might ſeriouſly interfere. It went to drag the peaſant from his home, from his farm, from the family which looked to him for ſupport. It would be injurious to petty tradeſmen and others, for many perſons who had nobody to attend to their daily buſineſs, in their abſence would be ruined. It was an oppreſſive feature of the bill, that it prevented the alleviation of the burthen that might fall

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on individuals by insurance; and to compel such as claimed exemption upon the payment of fines, to swear that they had not insured themselves against those fines, or any part thereof, would promote perjury. The clause refusing exemption to apprentices was extremely detrimental: their masters would suffer by losing their services at an age when apprentices were most useful to them, and the young men would be taken from their employments, and fall into habits inconsistent with their occupations.

An objection of considerable importance was urged by sir Francis Burdett, who declared that he had no dislike to a conscription, in the full sense of the word. He could never consider it a hardship on a man to be called upon to defend his home and his country, or to qualify himself for that necessity; but before he could consent to subject the British people to any general call of this nature, he must demand an amendment in the military code. He could never allow the British people to be subject to a punishment which was now the exclusive disgrace of the British army and the British nation: he meant the lash. When by a voluntary sale of themselves, individual soldiers become liable to that mode of correction, it was a sufficient shame to the country that permitted such an abuse; but he would not suffer the people to be brought into that condition by compulsory enactments. Sir Francis Burdett unfortunately weakened the force of his arguments by the most acrimonious allusions to the conduct of lord Castlereagh, when in a ministerial capacity under the Irish government. Lord Castlereagh did not attempt to reply to the objection, and perhaps, indeed, it was unanswerable. His lordship contented himself with merely saying, that he did not think the observations of the honourable baronet detracted much from the value of the proposed plan. Lord Temple however, to whom this remark appeared by no means satisfactory, on another occasion, pro- May 31. posed that a court martial on men in the local militia, should have the power of inflicting on them any punishment but corporal chastisement, which should not be imposed on them without the consent of his majesty, conveyed through the lord lieutenant of the county. This moderate provision was opposed by lord Castlereagh, who contended that it would be improper to have one law for the regular, and another for the local militia. Lord Temple, with laudable perseverance, afterwards moved a clause, stipulating that no sentence imposing a corporal punishment should be carried into execution, till it had received the approbation of his majesty, but it was rejected by a large majority.

It was admitted by the few members who spoke in favour of the bill, for the task of defending it devolved chiefly on lord Castlereagh, that to the working manufacturer who could earn six shillings a day, the service prescribed would be disagreeable; but it was argued generally that it could be no great oppression to the head of a family to be obliged, during a period of four years, to devote one month in each to make himself useful to his country. It was as-

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ſerted that the expence incurred would not be more than 4l. per man; with reſpect to apprentices, that as the maſter would probably come within the age of exemption fixed by the bill, it could be no great inconvenience to him to have his apprentice called out, particularly as the twenty-eight days duty was not meant to be ſucceſſive; and if inſurance againſt the fines were allowed, it was ſaid that the bill could never take effect. Nevertheleſs a clauſe was ſubſequently introduced into it, by which parents were allowed to pay the fine for their children, and maſters for their apprentices.

All parties ſeemed to concur in opinion, and in fact it was ſufficiently obvious, that ſome meaſure of a more permanent nature was neceſſary for the defence of the country, than the volunteer eſtabliſhment. The bill was paſſed by the commons on the 10th of June, and carried up to the lords, who, after ſome diſcuſſion, agreed to it. Another bill, extending the proviſions of the local militia to Scotland, alſo received the ſanction of the legiſlature.

The former ſervants of the crown had prevailed on the houſe of commons to extend the uſual grant of 8000l. for the uſe of the Roman Catholic college at Maynooth to 13,000l.; but before the vote could be carried into effect, they went out of office, and that parliament was diſſolved. When the new parliament met, as the truſtees for the ſeminary at Maynooth had already acted on the faith of receiving the latter ſum, the recently appointed miniſters, although they originally diſapproved of the increaſed allowance, recommended, yet without pledging themſelves to repeat ſuch a propoſition in future, the houſe of commons to vote it for that year, and the ſum of 13,000l. was accordingly granted by parliament in 1807.

April 29. Mr. Foſter, in the reſolution which he moved this year, limited the ſum to 9,250l. Iriſh currency for the ſupport of the college. This reduction gave riſe to a debate. Sir John Newport moved to leave out the ſum propoſed, for the purpoſe of ſubſtituting 13,000l. and contended that the ſmaller fund would not be ſufficient for the education of a proper number of ſtudents to ſupply the vacancies in the catholic prieſthood. It was, he ſaid, moſt ſeriouſly important to the Iriſh community, that the catholic prieſts ſhould be well educated men, and proſecute their ſtudies in their native country, under the eye of government. Nothing could be more infatuated, than at a moment when the influence of the Roman Catholic prieſthood in Ireland was ſtated to be ſo conſiderable, to take a ſtep decidedly hoſtile to that body. By ſuch a ſtep the catholics would not be made Proteſtants, but they would be made worſe ſubjects, for by excluding from education a great part of the prieſthood, many of the pariſhes would be placed under the direction of illiterate men, who entertaining a lively reſentment for the neglect which they had ſuffered, would inſtil into their pariſhioners an abhorrence of thoſe to whom that neglect was to be attributed. It was argued by Mr. Ponſonby, that if the houſe wiſhed wholly to diſcountenance the catholic

tholic religion in Ireland, it would be better not to vote a ſhilling for the college; but if they conſented to grant any thing, they ought to grant enough; and grant it in a manner which would not be inſulting to thoſe by whom it was to be received. Why ſhould the catholics aſk for more prieſts than were wanted? It was their intereſt to have too few rather than too many, becauſe if more perſons were educated as prieſts than were requiſite, they muſt ſtarve.

Sir Arthur Welleſley ſtated that about two thouſand catholic prieſts were neceſſary in Ireland. One hundred and eleven ſtudents were educated in different parts of the iſland which he enumerated; theſe added to the two hundred and fifty whom it was propoſed to educate at Maynooth made 361. The term of education was ſeven years, but it frequently did not extend beyond five. Suppoſing therefore, that on an average fifty ſtudents ſhould annually become fit for ordination, he conceived that this number would be ſufficient to keep up the neceſſary eſtabliſhment. Sir Arthur alſo obſerved, that when the Maynooth inſtitution was firſt eſtabliſhed, it was not intended that it ſhould be maintained by the public purſe, the truſtees of it having only memorialized government for a charter in order to ſecure their funds.—The chancellor of the exchequer remarked that it was no part of religious toleration to provide for the education of the clergy of the tolerated ſect. If it were ſo, parliament ought to go much farther; for the miniſters of the Methodiſts and Anabaptiſts would on that ground have as good a claim to education as the catholic clergy. All that toleration required with reſpect to any ſect was, that no difficulty ſhould be thrown in the way of any meaſures which they might take for their own education.

Mr. Grattan contradicted the ſtatement of ſir Arthur Welleſley, that one hundred and eleven ſtudents were educated for the catholic prieſthood in private ſeminaries; for he ſaid, the ſtudies in theſe ſeminaries being only preparatory for the college, they formed no education for the prieſthood. Mr. Grattan ſpoke in favour of the amendment, as well as Mr. M. Fitzgerald and Mr. Parnell; but it was negatived and the ſmaller grant of 9,250l. was voted by the houſe. When the report was brought up, ſir John Newport repeated his objections to curtailing the grant of the preceding year. But the moſt remarkable part of this debate was what fell from colonel Montagu Matthew, who ſaid he was ſorry to be obliged to allude to the conduct of any of the royal family; but it was rumoured that even the miniſters were diſpoſed to agree to the larger grant, till they went to Saint James's Palace, and were cloſeted for ſeveral hours with the chancellor of the univerſity of Dublin. Mr. Charles Wynn having lamented the ſecret influence by which the meaſures of the government were defeated, and the intereſts of the country ſacrificed, Mr. Perceval denied all knowledge of the interpoſition of a high perſonage to influence the conduct of his majeſty's miniſters upon this queſtion, and declared, on the faith and honour of a man, his firm belief that no ſuch influence had been exerciſed in any quarter.

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Mr. Wilberforce thought that as far as an inſtitution was ſupported at the public expence, for the purpoſe of inſtructing a particular claſs, differing in ſentiment from the eſtabliſhed religion of the ſtate, we went beyond the bounds of toleration, and exerciſed a degree of liberality unknown in any other country. When he recollected the hiſtory of paſt times, it was impoſſible for him not to be jealous of the Roman Catholic religion. We could not judge of the nature and tendency of it, from its influence on certain individuals of high rank, whoſe minds were liberalized by intercourſe with the moſt refined claſſes of ſociety. The only way to judge of it was, to ſee its effects upon the great bulk of the people.

Mr. Stephens conceived, that members of a proteſtant communion could not conſiſtently or conſcientiouſly educate clergymen for the catholic church; a ground on which he would have oppoſed that particular mode of aſſiſting the catholics of Ireland, if the queſtion of founding the college at Maynooth were then before the houſe; and on the ſame principle, he felt himſelf bound to oppoſe the further, and as he conceived, needleſs extenſion of that eſtabliſhment. He was ſure that the feelings of ſincere and pious papiſts would revolt at the idea of educating, at their own charge, clergymen for the church of England, to propagate what they deemed heretical doctrines; and ſincere proteſtants, who regarded the diſtinguiſhing tenets and rites of the church of Rome as corruptions of chriſtianity, were equally bound not to be directly inſtrumental in teaching what, in a religious view, they deemed to be dangerous errors, by educating men for the catholic prieſthood. At the ſame time that he avowed his ſenſe of the importance of thoſe diſtinctions which ſeparate the two churches, he ſtrongly reprobated every degree of intolerance in religion, and diſclaimed not only the vile principle of perſecution, but the illiberality of diſliking or forming harſh judgments of men, on account of their errors in faith.

The moderation and prudence diſplayed by Mr. Stephens were forcibly contraſted with the violence and indiſcretion ſhown by Dr. Duigenan, who after reading the oath taken by catholic prieſts, in order to prove that they paid an obedience to the pope, which was inconſiſtent with the king's ſupremacy, deſcribed the catholics as bad ſubjects and hoſtile to the ſtate. The indecency of theſe latter expreſſions was reprobated by Mr. Barham, and drew from Mr. Tierney a queſtion, whether the learned gentleman who had uſed them was not about to be conſtituted a member of the privy council of Ireland? Mr. Perceval in reply condeſcended to adopt an equivocation unworthy of his character, by ſtating that he did not believe the order to that effect had gone over. Sir Arthur Welleſley, however, avowed that the lord-lieutenant had recommended the learned gentleman to be introduced into the privy council, becauſe his preſence was abſolutely neceſſary for the diſpatch of the eccleſiaſtical affairs, which were ſo conſiderable a part of the buſineſs that came before that body. The houſe then divided on the queſtion,

tion, that the reſolution ſhould be read a ſecond time, which was carried, and the limited grant of 9,250l. to the ſeminary at Maynooth, was on a ſubſequent day finally voted.

By the guarded anſwer which he made to Mr. Tierney's enquiry, it is poſſible that Mr. Perceval might be ſo diſguſted with the intemperance manifeſted by Dr. Duigenan, that he at the moment heſitated whether he ſhould not adviſe his colleagues to reconſider the appointment of that learned gentleman to a ſeat in the Iriſh privy council. Be that as it may, Mr. Barham afterwards moved, May 11. for copies or extracts of all correſpondence, which had paſſed between the lord lieutenant of Ireland and his majeſty's ſecretary of ſtate for the home department, touching this appointment, with a view to prevent it from taking place. On this occaſion, Mr. Charles Wynn contended that the preſence of the learned doctor in the Iriſh privy council for the diſpatch of eccleſiaſtical buſineſs was an empty excuſe; for the privy council in Ireland exerciſed no eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction whatever. This aſſertion was controverted by ſir Arthur Welleſley, who inſiſted that many eccleſiaſtical affairs relating to the union and diſunion of benefices came before it; and ſtated, beſides, that the recommendation of Dr. Duigenan to be a member of it aroſe from his filling the office of judge of the prerogative court, the holders of which, with the exception of his predeceſſor, had always ſat in the privy council. Sir John Newport, on the contrary, denied that it was uſual to nominate the judges of the prerogative court privy counſellors, and maintained that as two or three biſhops were always attached to the Iriſh privy council, no expediency could exiſt for the advancement of Dr. Duigenan to that board, on account of the eccleſiaſtical concerns there arranged.

Mr. Tierney, ſir Robert Williams, Mr. Curwen, Mr. W. Smith, Mr. Lockhart, Mr. Windham, and Mr. Whitbread, deprecated the appointment in queſtion, as a wanton inſult to the catholics in Ireland. They repreſented Dr. Duigenan to be a man to whom, from the prejudices which dictated his ſpeeches and writings, there exiſted every moral and political objection as a privy counſellor. It is remarkable that none of the members of adminiſtration or their friends took any part in this debate, except ſir Arthur Welleſley and Mr. Beresford, and the latter, indeed, indirectly cenſured the meaſure under conſideration. Nevertheleſs Mr. Barham's motion was rejected by a majority of 179 to 107.

It was doubtleſs conſidered a matter of policy, by the Roman Catholics of Ireland, to renew at certain periods their claims to be placed in every reſpect on an equal footing with their fellow ſubjects, leſt it ſhould be imagined that they deſiſted from proſecuting thoſe claims altogether. Accordingly they this year petitioned both houſes of the legiſlature to be relieved from the diſabilities and reſtrictions, which were not removed by an act paſſed in the thirty-third year of the reign of his preſent majeſty. Theſe reſtrictions precluded them from being eligible to

ſeats in parliament, and from filling certain civil and military offices, about forty in number. Mr. Grattan preſented their petition to the houſe of commons, and afterwards advocated their cauſe in the moſt able and temperate manner. Many of the arguments uſed by the right honourable gentleman had of courſe been brought forward by his eloquent predeceſſors in this taſk, but to theſe he imparted new force by judicious curtailment or expanſion. After ſhowing that the catholics of Ireland did not acknowledge the ſupremacy of the pope in civil matters, his right to depoſe kings, or to abſolve ſubjects from their allegiance, he ſaid, that to ſuppoſe there was any thing in the catholic religion which forbade attachment to the houſe of Hanover, or that the catholics of Ireland were incapable of feeling this attachment, ſeemed to him as great a myſtery as that of tranſubſtantiation itſelf. The catholics had denied that they had ever reſiſted the right of the eſtabliſhed church to claim tithes, or that they had ever wiſhed an excluſive eſtabliſhment for their own church. As to the power of excommunicating perſons, they declared that it was confined entirely to biſhops, and in one of their principal dioceſes, that of Dublin, only four individuals had been excommunicated during a period of thirty-ſix years. It had been mentioned that the power of the pope in the appointment of biſhops might be held to be of a dangerous tendency; but Mr. Grattan ſtated that he was authoriſed by the catholics to make a propoſition on this point, which was "that in the future nomination of biſhops, his majeſty might interfere and exerciſe his royal privilege, by putting a negative on ſuch nomination; that was to ſay in other words, that no catholic biſhop ſhould be appointed without the approbation of his majeſty *." The houſe would be aware of the benefit of ſuch a propoſition, which evinced the deſire of the catholics to conform to the government of their country; for it would effectually prevent the appointment of any catholic biſhop, who was not politically approved of by the government. Mr. Grattan then obſerved, that it was a great miſtake to imagine that the catholics were inconſiderable landholders in Ireland, as they poſſeſſed landed property to a very large amount. He concluded his ſpeech by urging the expediency, in the exiſting criſis of public affairs, of concentrating the energies of the ſtate by concord, and by admitting the catholics to an equal participation of rights. On that ground he moved to refer the petition to a committee of the whole houſe.

May 25.

The motion was ſupported by Mr. Windham, lord Milton, Mr. Fitzgerald, lord Henry Petty, ſir J. C. Hippiſley, Mr. W. Elliot, Mr. R. Martin, Mr. Ponſonby, Mr. Whitbread, and colonel Montague Matthew. It was oppoſed by Mr. Canning, lord Caſtlereagh, Mr. Wilberforce, and the chancellor of the exchequer. The arguments of the latter gentlemen were, that no good purpoſe could

* The catholics afterwards diſavowed the propoſition for this arrangement.

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be anſwered by diſcuſſing the ſubject in a committee, becauſe the period was totally unfit for agitating the queſtion, as there was then in the public mind of this country a ſtrong ſentiment againſt further conceſſions to the catholics. It would be of little value to have a majority for any meaſure favourable to the catholics in the houſe, if there were an inflamed majority againſt it out of the houſe. If petitions had not come forward from various quarters againſt granting the catholic claims, it was, becauſe it was univerſally believed, that the temper of parliament itſelf was ſo adverſe to ſuch a proceeding, as to leave no chance of ſucceſs to thoſe who might bring it forward. To argue the topic in a committee muſt, therefore, only occaſion diſappointment, and excite freſh diſcontents in the petitioners. Mr. Wilberforce thought that to grant to the catholics their preſent claims would by no means completely ſatisfy them; for it would be in vain to endeavour to reconcile them to the permanent ſupport of a proteſtant church eſtabliſhment. The chancellor of the exchequer purſued this reaſoning further. He proteſted that he did in his conſcience believe that if the object of the petitioners were conceded, although intended for ſecuring the tranquillity of Ireland, and putting the Roman Catholics of that country in ſtate of perfect ſatisfaction, it would not have thoſe effects, but a contrary tendency, and would even increaſe religious animoſity. If it were meant to ſatisfy the catholics by conceſſion, parliament muſt make up its mind to eſtabliſh the Roman Catholic religion in Ireland; for any meaſure ſhort of that would be nugatory. But let it be ſuppoſed for a moment that they would be ſatisfied, then it was aſſerted that Ireland would be tranquillized. He was not ſo ſure of that. What was to be ſaid to all the proteſtant churchmen, and the proteſtant diſſenters? It was maintained that the proteſtant diſſenters were in favour of the application. There was teſtimony to the contrary, for there was a petition on the table againſt it: there was the evidence of the common council of Dublin, that the churchmen of Ireland objected to it.

Mr. Canning demanded if the members of the oppoſition had forgotten, that when they themſelves were in power, and with the fair influence of government, attempted to carry a meaſure ſomewhat connected with this ſubject, they did every thing they could to prevent the agitation of the general queſtion, which they now thought it impoſſible to defer for a year or a month, without infinite danger to the country? If it was not the miſchief of an unſucceſsful agitation of the queſtion which they deprecated, what other motive could they have, except that of the meaneſt temporary and perſonal intereſt? If they ſaid that it was from conſiderations of prudence they had wiſhed to put off the diſcuſſion, then he ſhould be glad to know what there was now in the ſtate of Europe to render it a proper period for entering into the buſineſs? Lord Caſtlereagh ſaid he ſhould always adhere to the principles maintained by Mr. Pitt on this ſubject, but the conduct of that great man was very different

from that of the gentlemen oppoſite. He went out of place, becauſe he found he could not procure for the catholics what he thought they were well entitled to; but, when out of office, he never embarraſſed the government by wiſhing to diſcuſs their claims. The principles of the gentlemen to whom he alluded led them to ſtir up and ſupport the queſtion to extremities, when out of power; and to compromiſe and abandon it when in power, not with any view to the ſafety of the country, but from a regard to their own offices. Lord Henry Petty, on the other hand, accuſed lord Caſtlereagh of deſerting the intereſts of his former clients altogether, from a love of place. Mr. Richard Martin aſſerted that the catholics did certainly lend their aid to ſupport the union, which could not have been carried without their acquieſcence; and they as certainly did ſo upon an underſtood pledge of emancipation. To this remark lord Caſtlereagh replied, that nothing in the ſhape of a pledge took place between the government and the catholics, prior to the union, which could poſſibly fetter the diſcretion of parliament on the ſubject of their claims. After a protracted debate, in the latter part of which, as has been related, conſiderable perſonality and recrimination prevailed, the houſe divided; when there appeared for Mr. Grattan's motion 128, and againſt it 281, conſtituting a majority of 153.

May 27. Lord Grenville took the lead in the diſcuſſion of this ſubject in the upper houſe. He began by enforcing the neceſſity that their lordſhips ſhould immediately go into a committee to conſider the catholic petition, not that he had any doubt that parliament ought to comply with it at once, and to its full extent; but becauſe it was deſirable that the queſtion ſhould be fully and deliberately inveſtigated. Although in order to ſatisfy the juſt expectations which were created at the time of the union with Ireland, it was neceſſary to remove every civil diſability on account of religious belief, yet it was not to be ſuppoſed that this ſingle act of juſtice would prove an univerſal remedy for the continued evils of that country: it muſt be part of a large and comprehenſive ſyſtem. His lordſhip then detailed the plans that were in contemplation when the union was effected. They embraced the whole eccleſiaſtical ſtate of Ireland; and in the firſt inſtance, included meaſures of conſiderable benefit to the eſtabliſhed church. It having appeared that two thouſand four hundred pariſhes in the iſland were conſolidated into little more than eleven hundred benefices, of which reduced number more than a tenth part were abſolutely without churches, and that not four hundred had glebe houſes, theſe defects were to be remedied. The proviſion which the wiſdom of the government had long before granted to the miniſters of the diſſenters, by far the moſt numerous claſs of proteſtants in the country, was to be increaſed. A decent and neceſſary ſubſiſtence was to be afforded to the catholic clergy, more than that they did not aſk, and it was intended that the crown ſhould have an effectual negative over the appointment of the biſhops, a reſtriction which

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lord Grenville declared that he had always felt to be neceſſary. Inſtead of the oath of ſupremacy a new form of oath, containing an explicit pledge of ſupport to the eſtabliſhed conſtitution, and the moſt expreſs diſclaimer that could be deviſed, of any interference with his majeſty's undoubted ſovereignty, was to be ſubmitted to parliament for its ſanction. There was yet another ſubject upon which improvements were propoſed to be ſuggeſted, the important point of tithes.

Lord Grenville then, in the moſt fervid language, contraſted the bad effects of excluding ſo large a portion of the community from all proſpect of participating in the honourable rewards of laudable ambition, with the benefit which he thought the empire would derive from extending to the petitioners the enjoyment of equal rights, and thereby ſtimulating more forcibly their exertions in the common cauſe of the country. He concluded with an eloquent exhortation to the catholics, to look for the gratification of their wiſhes, to the united legiſlature of the ſtate, as by adopting any other courſe, they muſt enſure to themſelves miſery and remorſe. He wiſhed it to be indelibly impreſſed on the mind of Ireland, that it was only by cloſe and intimate union with Great Britain, that ſhe could, in the exiſting convulſion of the world, preſerve the advantages which ſhe actually poſſeſſed, protect her people, and maintain her independence.

Lord Sidmouth was apprehenſive that, from the time of preſenting the petition and the terms in which it was conceived, the perſons who had ſigned it had laid themſelves open to a charge of entertaining a diſpoſition to operate on the fears of thoſe to whom it was addreſſed; but even if the prayer of it were complied with, a meaſure ſo partial, limited in its operation, and merely calculated for the benefit of the ſuperior ranks of ſociety, could not conciliate the great body of the Iriſh catholics, whoſe reſtleſſneſs and diſcontent aroſe from an imperfect ſtate of civilization, and from its concomitants, poverty, ignorance, and bigotry. To them it would afford no relief to enable a few Roman Catholics to hold the higheſt ſituations in the army, the navy, the law, and the ſtate. The evils of Ireland were only to be obviated by encouraging a ſyſtem of inſtruction and induſtry, which would lay the foundation of a gradual change of habits and manners, the moſt favourable to the welfare of individuals and the intereſts of the country. He ſhould wiſh a moderate proviſion to be made, at the charge of the ſtate, for the deſerving part of the Roman Catholic clergy, with a view to the relief of individuals to whom the expence of contributing to the ſupport of two eſtabliſhments was burthenſome and vexatious, and for the purpoſe of convincing the clergy that, by peaceable and deſerving conduct, they would entitle themſelves to the conſideration and favour of the government. On the propoſal for a modification of tithes, he acknowledged that he had not formed an opinion. He objected to the principle of getting rid of all diſtinctions on account of religion, and his diſlike to it was ſtrengthened,

ened, in the preſent inſtance, by the tenets of the church of Rome, as detailed in her canons, all of which were in force, until repealed by the authority of a general council; and ſtill farther by the proofs with which hiſtory abounded, that the doctrines and diſcipline of that church were hoſtile to the progreſs of knowledge, and to the civil and religious liberties of mankind. To him therefore it was a ſubject of aſtoniſhment, that ſuch an alteration ſhould be countenanced by thoſe who were friendly to the principles of the revolution; an event produced not by feelings of averſion to the Stuart family, but a dread of arbitrary power, and of a religious communion, which had ever been its handmaid and inſtrument.

The earl of Moira, the biſhop of Norwich, lord Hutchinſon, the duke of Norfolk, lord Erſkine, lord Holland, and the earl of Suffolk, ſpoke for the motion. Their arguments were, that the catholics had diſclaimed every tenet which was incompatible with their duties, either as men or ſubjects. The original reaſon for excluding them from any ſituations under the government was, not on account of their religion, but becauſe they were attached to a family whoſe principles were diſguſting to the Britiſh nation. This reaſon had now ceaſed to operate. It had been admitted by ſir William Blackſtone in his Commentaries, that "whenever the period ſhould arrive, when the power of the pope was weak and inſignificant, and there was no pretender to the throne, then it would be time to grant full indulgence to the catholics." That time was now come. There was no pretender to the throne; and with reſpect to the papal power, no perſon could apprehend danger from it. The Roman Catholic church inſtead of domineering over others, was ſcarcely able to maintain itſelf. The ideas which were once entertained reſpecting the influence of ſpeculative points of faith were not applicable to the preſent times: in almoſt every country, except Great Britain, reſtrictions founded on thoſe points were annulled. It was a matter of extreme urgency to unite the hearts and hands of all his majeſty's ſubjects in reſiſtance to his powerful and inveterate enemies. The words of the coronation oath, upon a fair conſtruction of them, contained nothing to militate againſt the claims of the petitioners. At all events, it would be proper to conſider the ſubject in a committee, becauſe the oftener it was diſcuſſed, the juſtice of the catholic claims would be more apparent, and the prejudice againſt them gradually ſubſide. Truth might be ſlow in its progreſs, but it always prevailed in the end; and few great conſtitutional objects had been gained without repeated inveſtigation and long perſeverance. By diſcuſſing the buſineſs in a committee, at leaſt the catholics would be convinced that their petition had not been diſmiſſed without fair attention being paid to it, and that they had many advocates and friends in parliament; thus they would rely on the wiſdom and juſtice of the legiſlature for the ultimate attainment of their object.

The archbiſhop of York, the biſhop of Bangor, the earl of Buckinghamſhire, and the lords Mulgrave,

Mulgrave, Hawkeſbury and Auckland oppoſed the motion on theſe grounds. It did not appear that any new circumſtances had ariſen, or that any new arguments had been adduced, to ſhake the ſolemn deciſion of 1805. The fulleſt toleration ought to be conceded to the catholics, but every attempt on their part to acquire political power ſhould be reſiſted; for though temporal and ſpiritual power might be disjoined in theory, they could not be ſeparated in practice. Parliament therefore could never be ſafely opened to the catholics, as long as they owned a foreign juriſdiction, and maintained that there was no ſalvation beyond the pale of their own church. Lord Hawkeſbury declared moſt decidedly, that his objection to granting the prayer of the petition did not reſt on times and circumſtances, but on principle. If it was neceſſary that the king of Great Britain ſhould be a proteſtant, was it not neceſſary that his adviſers ſhould be ſo too?—that the lord chancellor (the keeper of the king's conſcience), the judges and the great officers of ſtate ſhould be proteſtants? And if ſuch were the caſe, was it not more wiſe and expedient to exclude catholics from the ſituations by law, than to throw upon the king the odium of rejecting them? For let the houſe bear in mind, that the principle of the prayer in the petition went to the attainment of all power, a principle which no monarch could venture to apply practically, without danger to the conſtitution. Was it not juſt, as long as the government poſſeſſed a proteſtant government and church, to require that the members of the legiſlature, and the great officers of ſtate, ſhould abjure foreign eccleſiaſtical as well as foreign temporal dominion? The large proportion of the people of Ireland which the catholics formed, had been ſtated as a reaſon for acceding to their requeſt; yet ſince the empire ought to be conſidered as a whole, parliament ſhould not be influenced, in any legiſlative queſtion, by a certain claſs, which was the majority in a part of the empire, but by that claſs which was the majority in the whole of it. On this footing, the claims of the catholics were indefenſible. If the majority in a part of the empire were to determine the regulations of the legiſlature, the conſequence of carrying the preſent queſtion would be that the catholics might ſay, that as their claims had been admitted on account of their being the moſt numerous claſs in Ireland, the ſame circumſtances would entitle them to ſubſtitute a catholic for a proteſtant church eſtabliſhment there. No ſuch object was hinted at in the petition, but as new demands had always followed conceſſions to the catholics, experience proved that it might be ultimately contemplated. The houſe then divided on the queſtion of going into a committee; for which there were, contents 74, and non-contents 161; the majority againſt it being 87. A proteſt was, however, entered on the journals againſt the rejection of the catholic petition, ſigned by a conſiderable number of peers.

Two very ſalutary acts were this year paſſed by the legiſlature, calculated to ſupport and extend the proteſtant religion in Ireland. One for enforcing the reſidence of ſpiritual perſons on their reſidences under

under certain regulations: the other to make more effectual proviſion for the building and rebuilding of churches, chapels, and glebe houſes, and for the purchaſe of glebe lands, glebe houſes, and impropriations. On the ſubject of tithes, a matter of extreme intereſt to the people of Ireland, no meaſures were actually initiated. Petitions for the commutation of theſe dues were preſented from ſeveral Iriſh counties to the houſe of commons, and Mr. M. Fitzgerald, without wiſhing to urge an immediate diſcuſſion of the topic, preſſed it on the notice of miniſters, as a point that would require attention as ſoon as poſſible after the commencemet of the next ſeſſion of parliament. The chancellor of the exchequer conſequently ſtated, that it was the intention of his majeſty's government ſeriouſly to conſider this buſineſs, of the importance of which they were thoroughly convinced. He ſaid that he had already reflected much upon it, but he regretted to obſerve that the farther he went into the examination, the more arduous did the taſk appear, and that the attempt to remedy the exiſting evil ſeemed to be beſet with difficulties almoſt inſurmountable. He declared, however, that every effort would be made to overcome them.

The importance of this undertaking to the welfare of Ireland was generally acknowledged; and though the obſtacles to it were treated as light by Mr. Sheridan, they were admitted to be great and numberleſs by Mr. Ponſonby, who nevertheleſs hoped that they were not inſuperable, but ſuch as might be obviated to the ſatisfaction of all parties by time and patience. He repoſed perfect confidence in government, that all means would be adopted to achieve this deſirable purpoſe.

CHAP. VII.

A Bill brought into the Houſe of Commons by Mr. Perceval, for the more effectual proviſion of officiating curates: Abſtract of the arguments of lord Porcheſter, Mr. Crevey, Mr. Barham, ſir Francis Burdett, Dr. Laurence, lord Milton, Mr. Weſtern, and Mr. Windham, againſt the meaſure; and of the chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. M. A. Taylor, the ſolicitor general, Mr. Charles Wynn, Mr. Luſhington, Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Tyrrwhit Jones, Mr. Burton and Mr. Hawkins Browne, for it: An amendment propoſed by the ſpeaker and modified by Mr. Perceval, agreed to. The bill paſſed by the commons. The bill ſupported in the upper houſe by the biſhop of London: Sentiments of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, the earls of Lauderdale, Moira, Buckinghamſhire, viſcount Sidmouth, the lords Harrowby, Hawkeſbury, Holland, and the biſhops of Rocheſter, Hereford, and Carliſle, on it: The bill thrown out. Lord Harrowby's motion for an addreſs to his majeſty, praying that he would order an account of all livings under 150l. per annum to be laid before the houſe, carried. The lords give judgment on an appeal reſpecting the ſtipends of the clergy in Scotland. Acts paſſed for regulating

regulating the commiſſion of teinds in Scotland; and for regulating the incomes of the Scotch clergy. A bill for amending the law of debtor and creditor rejected by the peers: another for amending the ſame law to a certain extent paſſed. A bill paſſed for holding parties to bail on informations filed by the attorney general. Sir Samuel Romilly's motion on the criminal law in the houſe of commons: A bill carried for mitigating that law as far as relates to privately ſtealing. Acts for the better adminiſtration of juſtice in Scotland, and for allowing penſions to Scotch judges, on retiring from the bench through age or infirmity. Bill for preventing the grant of offices in reverſion paſſed by the commons: After ſeveral debates, it is rejected by the lords. Another bill for preventing, during a limited time, the grant of offices in reverſion obtains the ſanction of both houſes of parliament. Act to prevent the uſe of grain in diſtilleries. Debates in the houſe of commons on the conduct of the marquis Welleſley to the nabob of Oude. The reſolutions againſt that nobleman moved by lord Folkſtone negatived, and an approval of the marquis's conduct voted. Lord Archibald Hamilton's reſolutions on the ſame ſubject rejected. Diſcuſſions of the meaſures of the marquis Welleſley and earl Powis in the Carnatic: The motives for the proceedings of theſe noble lords juſtified by a reſolution of the houſe. Mr. Roſe's motion on vaccination. Mr. Sheridan's motion on the affairs of Spain. The duke of Norfolk's queſtion to miniſters reſpecting co-operation with the Spaniards anſwered by lord Hawkeſbury. Parliament prorogued.

April 12. A Bill was brought into parliament by Mr. Perceval, for the more adequate proviſion of the inferior clergy. The mode propoſed for effecting this deſirable purpoſe was, by making, at the diſcretion of the biſhops, an allowance of one-fifth in moſt caſes out of the income of livings amounting to 400l. per annum and upwards, on which the incumbents did not reſide, to the officiating curates, but this allowance was in no caſe to exceed the ſum of 250l. a-year. The meaſure encountered conſiderable oppoſition in the houſe of commons from lord Porcheſter, Mr. Crevey, Mr. Barham, ſir Francis Burdett, Mr. Windham, Dr. Laurence, lord Milton, and Mr. Weſtern. It was ſtated that the propoſition was calculated to undermine and weaken, rather than to ſtrengthen the church. It would ſet the beneficed clergyman againſt the curate, and the curate againſt the beneficed clergyman; and conſequently be productive of diſſention amongſt the clerical order in general. It violated the rights and invaded the property of the church. It gave monſtrous and unconſtitutional power to the biſhops over the rectors in their reſpective dioceſes; a power which ſubjected the income of the rector to be mulcted, without any proof of improper conduct, merely at the caprice of his biſhop. To attack the vital principles of property in this way, was to imitate the worſt acts of the worſt periods of the French revolution. It was demanded why this ſyſtem of robbery was to be directed againſt rectorial property only? If it were neceſſary to increaſe the ſalaries of the lower orders of the clergy, why not do it alſo at the

expenſe of biſhops, deans, and chapters? Who called for this bill? The univerſity of Cambridge was hoſtile to it, that of Oxford, and the clergy of London, had expreſſed their diſapprobation of it by petitions to parliament. The purport of the bill was, not to augment the ſtipend of thoſe who moſt wanted it, but to raiſe the value of a few curacies; while the greater number of the perſons who entered holy orders were left preciſely as they were before, whoſe poverty was chiefly occaſioned by the circumſtance of too many individuals embracing the profeſſion, without any chance of preferment. Thus to raiſe the incomes of a few curates would have no other effect than that of inducing many more to commit the ſame indiſcretion; and therefore the diſtreſs of the whole body would be increaſed rather than diminiſhed. Mr. Windham obſerved that two views were entertained on the nature of clerical poſſeſſions; the one was that they were inviolable like private property; the other that they were merely to be conſidered in the nature of ſalaries for particular duties, and that the legiſlature might interfere with them, and alter them with as little ceremony as the ſalaries of any public office. He thought that neither of theſe propoſitions was juſt in its full extent. He was diſpoſed to concur in the theory that they were inviolable like private property; but that the legiſlature had a right ſo far to interpoſe its authority reſpecting them, as to provide that the duties attached to them were regularly performed. Still he muſt aſſert that to meddle with theſe poſſeſſions, in the manner propoſed by the bill, was dangerous to the church eſtabliſhment; for the bill ſeemed to be founded on the tenets of thoſe who argued, that all clergymen not employed in parochial duties were uſeleſs members of that eſtabliſhment. The law allowed pluralities. Clergymen therefore could not always reſide on their livings; and attaching penalties to that which the law permitted, he held to be unjuſt. Lord Porcheſter feared that the honourable mover of the bill was in this meaſure the organ of a ſecret influence behind the altar, as formidable and deſigning as that which was aſcertained to exiſt behind the throne; and Mr. Crevey declared that the chancellor of the exchequer derived his ſupport in this inſtance, from a ſet of men who were adverſe to the church—the members of the foreign bible ſociety, the ſociety for the ſuppreſſion of vice, and thoſe dealers in miſſionaries who, by their late conduct, had nearly overturned the power of Britain in India.

The ſupporters of the bill were Mr. M. A. Taylor, the ſolicitor general, Mr. Charles Wynn, Mr. Luſhington, Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Tyrrwhit Jones, Mr. Burton, and Mr. Hawkins Browne. They contended that reſidence was the duty of the rector, and if he accepted a ſecond benefice, it could not be a hardſhip upon him to make a proper allowance to the curate who officiated in his pariſh. They denied that the bill was an invaſion of church property, and quoted ſeveral precedents from hiſtory, to ſhow that ſuch changes had often taken place from the time of Richard II. The property of the church was in

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fact that of the people, and certain relative duties were expected to be performed by the clergy to qualify them for poſſeſſion. In the eye of the law, there was another party in reſpect to church property beſides the rectors and the curates; this was the people of the pariſh, who had an indiſputable right to their ſervices; and the preſent bill only made ſuch a proviſion for the clergy as would enable them to perform, with credit to the church, thoſe duties preſcribed by the religion which they profeſſed. The incomes of the curates did not keep pace with thoſe of the rectors, nor with the circumſtances of the times. The only object of many clergymen who poſſeſſed a plurality of livings was to get the duties of them done as cheaply as poſſible. Hence one curate was often obliged to ſerve two or three pariſhes; and thus baptiſms and burials ſtood over for certain fixed days. Mr. M. A. Taylor remarked that the clergy reſidence act had in a great degree failed, from the facility of procuring licences. He knew an inſtance of a clergyman who, having two livings in different parts of the country, procured an exemption from reſiding at either of them; from the one upon a certificate that the country did not agree with his conſtitution, and from the other, becauſe the country did not agree with that of his wife! The chancellor of the exchequer could not perceive that the bill ought to be objected to, becauſe it did not go entirely to remedy the evils under which the poorer clergy laboured. It was no reaſon that the houſe ſhould refuſe to do that quantum of good which was in its power, becauſe a ſtill farther degree remained to be achieved, which it could not reach. Far from endangering, he conceived that by the preſent meaſure, he was ſtrengthening and ſecuring the foundations on which the church of England reſted. When the bill was committed, a variety of amendments were made in it; particularly one ſuggeſted by the ſpeaker. The clergy of the epiſcopal dioceſes having a right of appeal from their peculiar biſhop to the archbiſhop, that right honourable gentleman propoſed a clauſe, by which the clergy of the archiepiſcopal dioceſes ſhould have a right of appeal to the king in council. The chancellor of the exchequer wiſhed to modify this amendment by making the appeal lie, not to the king in council, but to the king who ſhould be empowered to appoint delegates under the great ſeal from the biſhops, for the purpoſe of reviewing the deciſions of the metropolitan courts. The clauſe thus modified was agreed to. The proviſions of this bill were extended to Ireland, and it was paſſed by the commons on the 21ſt of June. The biſhop of London, who was ſuppoſed to have an equal ſhare with Mr. Perceval in originating the meaſure, advocated the bill in the houſe of peers. He mentioned the evils that had ariſen in the church, on account of the non-reſidence of the clergy. It was not merely reading prayers, and preaching on a Sunday, which formed the chief functions of a clergyman. Reſidence amongſt the people of a pariſh, viſiting them frequently, praying with and comforting the ſick, inſtructing the ignorant, encouraging the virtuous,

tuous, reproving the vicious, catechiſing the children, and ſuperintending the ſchools inſtituted for their education, were duties which immediately belonged to the office of a clergyman, and eſſentially promoted the cauſe of religion. To accompliſh this purpoſe, it was neceſſary to reſort to the means provided by the preſent bill, which took from thoſe who did nothing, a reaſonable allowance for the curate, who performed the whole of the ſervice for which the living itſelf was firſt granted. To execute the ſeveral duties which he had enumerated, it was highly proper that the reſident clergyman ſhould poſſeſs that degree of property which would enable him to appear with reſpectability, and have wherewith to relieve, on particular occaſions, the diſtreſſes of his indigent pariſhioners. After deſcribing the calamitous condition of curates, from the deficiency of their ſalaries to procure the neceſſaries of life, his lordſhip ſaid that the canons of the church, and various conventions, clearly ſhowed that the eccleſiaſtical law had inveſted biſhops with a right to interfere with the whole living of an incumbent, by taking it from him who neglected to perform his functions, and granting it to another under their own appointment. This right had continued, in uniſon with the eccleſiaſtical and ſtatute law, from the time of Edward III. down to the preſent hour—a period of five hundred years. The archbiſhop of Canterbury addreſſed the houſe, to prove that the bill was not oppreſſive in its operation, and that it did not violate the intereſts of the church. The power which it gave to the biſhops was only ſimilar to that which they had in the earlieſt times, and the very evil now ſought to be redreſſed was in a great degree to be traced to the enactment of a legiſlative proviſion, which, for purpoſes then perhaps apparently wiſe, deprived the biſhops of ſuch power, and ſubſtituted an act of parliament as the mode of regulation; but while he approved of the principle of the meaſure, he by no means pledged himſelf to accede to any one of its proviſions. The lord chancellor alſo ſpoke to the ſame effect.

The lords Harrowby and Hawkeſbury defended the bill; but the earls of Lauderdale, Moira, and Buckinghamſhire, viſcount Sidmouth, and lord Holland, were decidedly hoſtile to it. The arguments both for and againſt it were nearly the ſame as thoſe which had been previouſly uſed in the lower houſe. On the motion for the third reading of it, the lord chancellor having appealed to the bench of prelates for their opinions on the ſubject, the biſhop of Rocheſter declared, that the bill in its preſent form was completely inadequate for the attainments of the objects propoſed, and that it would create one ſcene of confuſion, diſtruſt and jealouſy. In this view of the queſtion the biſhops of Hereford and Carliſle coincided; and the archbiſhop of Canterbury having ſtated that it would introduce vexation and miſchief into the church, the bill was on the 30th of June rejected without a diviſion.

It was agreed, and ſeemed to be generally wiſhed, that ſomething ſhould be done towards improving the condition of inferior clergy; and in one of the debates on the bill, a meaſure was adopted on the motion

motion of lord Harrowby, the aim of which was to afford ſome data whereon future proceedings might be grounded. The noble lord ſaid, it had all along been his opinion that the houſe had not adequate information on the ſubject, he therefore moved an addreſs to his majeſty, praying that he would direct an account of the number of livings under 150l. a year to be laid before the houſe. The archbiſhop of Canterbury, and lord Moira entirely concurred in the propriety of this ſtep, and lord Hawkeſbury aſſured the houſe that every thing ſhould be done to give effect to it. The queſtion was then put and carried.

The houſe of lords gave judgment on an appeal, involving a point of much importance to the church of Scotland; which was, whether the ſtipend of a miniſter, having been once increaſed ſince the year 1707, could legally receive a ſecond augmentation. The court of ſeſſion had decided in the affirmative, and its deciſion was ſanctioned by the lords. An act of parliament was afterwards paſſed for defining and regulating the powers of the commiſſion of teinds, or tithes; and for augmenting and modifying the ſtipends of the Scotch clergy.

The earl of Moira produced a bill for amending the law of debtor and creditor, as far as related to arreſt on meſne proceſs, and impriſonment in execution. In the former caſe, he propoſed to ſhorten the duration of confinement, by compelling the plaintiff, where the writ was iſſued in one term and returnable in the next, to declare in the term of the return, and to proceed to trial in the ſucceeding term; and in the latter caſe, by releaſing debtors at certain ſpecified times, at the quarter ſeſſions, on aſſigning over their property in poſſeſſion and reverſion, and alſo rendering their future property liable to their debts. The latter mode was the principle of the ceſſio bonorum introduced into the Roman law by Cæſar, and ſubſequently, after long experience, adopted by Juſtinian. A ſimilar law had long prevailed in Holland and in Denmark, where it had been found equally efficacious. Lord Ellenborough decidedly oppoſed the bill, and condemned any attempt to innovate on a long eſtabliſhed law, without taking a clear and comprehenſive view of the whole bearings of the queſtion. The bill, he ſaid, had been drawn up (not of courſe by the noble earl) with a great ignorance of the law, and with proviſions which could not be carried into effect, without great injuſtice and injury. A plaintiff was at preſent obliged to declare within two terms; and as to arreſt, it was the beſt means of producing payment, or a compoſition of the debt. The creditor was more frequently an object of compaſſion than the debtor, from the frauds practiſed on him. Lord Holland argued generally in favour of the bill; but it was thrown out on a diviſion. March 11.

Lord Ellenborough afterwards took up the matter to a certain extent, and May 2. preſented a bill for the relief of perſons impriſoned for ſmall debts in certain caſes; viz. where the party had been confined in execution for twelve calendar months, and where the debt, excluſive of coſts, did not amount to 20l. In ſuch caſes, upon application to any of

of the ſuperior courts at Weſtminſter, the party might be diſcharged, but with a proviſion that his goods and effects ſhould be liable to execution, in the ſame manner as if the plaintiff had not taken in execution the body of the defendant. Lord Ellenborough ſaid it might be aſked why this power of diſcharge was not given, as in other caſes to the judges at their chambers; but ſo many openings for fraud had been found with reſpect to applications to judges at their chambers, that it was thought better to confine the application to the courts. If it were demanded, why the proviſions of the bill were not extended to larger ſums, he anſwered that this was an expedient, which, if found beneficial, might be ſubſequently extended; but he could not conſent, in the firſt inſtance, to run the riſk of affecting public credit by carrying principles of this nature too far. This bill was carried.

A bill enacting that parties might be held to bail on informations filed by the attorney general, in the ſame manner as on an indictment found by a grand jury, had paſſed through the houſe of commons without comment. Earl Stanhope called the attention of the houſe of peers to it. He was ſupported in his oppoſition to the meaſure by lord Holland and lord Erſkine. Theſe noble lords contended that it was not only unneceſſary, but of a dangerous tendency to the liberty of the ſubject and the freedom of the preſs. Lord Ellenborough anſwered, that conſiderable miſconception had taken place with reſpect to the bill, which but ſlightly altered the law, and defined more accurately the courſe to be purſued. As the law ſtood at preſent, it was well known that perſons might be held to bail by any juſtice of the peace upon a charge of miſdemeanor as well as upon an indictment. The attorney general was himſelf a ſworn officer, and he never filed informations without previous affidavits to ſubſtantiate the charge; therefore when an information was filed by him, it was a preſentment on oath as much as that of a grand jury. With reſpect to indictment and information, it ſhould be recollected, that the perſon accuſed had much better means of juſtifying himſelf in the latter caſe than in the former. Before a grand jury the evidence was *ex parte*, and the proceedings ſecret. A perſon accuſed had no means of puniſhing another for a falſe accuſation before a grand jury, but he might, if falſely accuſed, indict the perſon who ſwore the affidavit on which an information was founded, for perjury. His lordſhip thought that the proviſions of the bill were humanely adapted to give relief to the priſoner; they would prevent a perſon committed to priſon for want of bail, from remaining there, as it might happen for years, without the means of bringing on his trial; and enable the judge who tried him, although not belonging to the court of king's bench, to diſcharge him, if acquitted. The lord chancellor alſo enforced this laſt argument in favour of the bill, which was finally carried on the 30th of May.

The criminal law was brought under the review of the houſe of commons by ſir Samuel Romilly in a ſpeech of ſome length. He began by obſerving, that he had always conſi- May 18.

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dered it a very great defect that capital punishments were appointed for so many crimes. No principle could be more clear, that it was the certainty, and not the severity of punishments, which rendered them efficacious. This had been acknowledged ever since the treatise on that subject was published by the marquis Beccaria; but it was notorious that comparatively few of those who were condemned by the British laws, actually suffered punishment. From the returns which were to be found in the secretary of state's office, it appeared that in the year 1805, there were three hundred and fifty persons who received sentence of death, of whom only sixty-eight were executed; in the year 1806, three hundred and five received sentence of death, of whom fifty-seven were executed; in the year 1807, the number was three hundred and forty-three, of whom there were executed sixty-three. If the number of those condemned to death for crimes, for which pardon is never, or very rarely granted, was deducted from that of those convicted of felonies, which had been made capital from some circumstances, that were not in truth circumstances of aggravation, perhaps it would be found that of twenty persons condemned to die, only one suffered death. His present purpose was to call the notice of the house to one class only of these severe statutes, that had acquired a harshness which was not originally intended: those in which the capital part of the charge depended on the amount of the property stolen; such as the statute of Elizabeth, which punished with death the stealing privately from the person of another, property to the value of twelve pence; the act of William and Mary, which made privately stealing in a shop to the amount of five shillings a capital felony, and many other statutes of the same kind. Such an alteration had taken place in the value of money since those statutes passed, that it was astonishing the law should be suffered to remain in words the same to the present day, the offences having become altogether different. Perhaps there was no case, which could render more striking the truth of lord Bacon's observation, that time was the greatest of all innovators; for in proportion as every thing which contributed to the support, the comfort, and the luxuries of life had grown dearer, the life of man had become cheaper and of less account. Many mischievous consequences resulted from such a state of things. Juries were placed in the painful situation of violating one of two duties: they were reduced to the alternative of infringing their oaths, or what they were sometimes erroneously induced to think more binding on them, the dictates of humanity. Often against the plainest evidence, juries found the property not to be of the value of which they and every body else knew it to be; and this came to be considered, as Blackstone expressed it, "a pious perjury;" words which every body must be sorry to see put together, for nothing could lead to more immoral consequences, than that men should familiarize themselves with the violation of a judicial oath. Offenders were often acquitted against the clearest evidence, and the very severity of those laws, by a necessary

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conſequence held out an encouragement to crimes. While there were thus two laws, one upon the ſtatute book, and another in practice, a total change had taken place in the nature of that which is held to be the moſt valuable prerogative of the crown, the prerogative of ſhowing mercy; and the crown had the painful duty impoſed on it of ſelecting thoſe upon whom the judgment of the law ſhould be executed. In London and Middleſex this was done by the privy council; but upon all the circuits, the duty devolved upon the different judges of aſſize. No rules were laid down to govern them in the diſcharge of it, but they were left to their own diſcretion, which muſt neceſſarily be ſo various as their ſeveral habits, ſentiments, and modes of thinking. It might be the opinion of one judge, that puniſhments ought to be inflicted moſt ſtrictly when crimes were moſt frequent; another, with the ſame anxiety for the diſcharge of his duty, might think it was moſt uſeful to be rigorous when crimes made their firſt appearance. One judge is more influenced by humanity; another more ſwayed by a ſenſe of what is due to the ſafety of the community. Thus their diſcretion was apt to be exerciſed under motives not only different but quite contrary. He therefore ſhould move, in the firſt place, for leave to bring in a bill to remove ſo much of an act made in the 8th year of queen Elizabeth, as took away the benefit of clergy from individuals convicted of ſtealing privily from the perſon of another.

There was another ſubject which he thought required the interpoſition of the legiſlature; it was to provide in certain caſes, a compenſation to perſons tried and acquitted, after having been long detained in priſon. At preſent they had no compenſation, except by an action for a malicious proſecution, where the judge was ſatisfied it was proper to grant a copy of the indictment. If ſuſpicion of having committed a crime fell upon an individual in the labouring claſs of the people, whoſe family depended on his daily wages for ſubſiſtence, he might lie eight months in gaol (for that was ſometimes the interval between the ſummer and lent aſſizes, in the four northern circuits he might be impriſoned above a year), and his family in the mean time would probably be conſigned to the workhouſe. On his return home, after an acquittal which fully eſtabliſhed his innocence, he might find that family ruined in their health, or corrupted in their morals. Whenever private property was interfered with, by the authority of parliament, for the utility or convenience of the public, an ample recompenſe was carefully made to the owner; but what was that loſs which was thus compenſated to the opulent, compared with the injury ſuffered by the poor man in the caſe which he had mentioned? It would be ſaid ſuch a caſe did not happen often, but it ſometimes did happen, and in ſuch caſes a remedy ought, no doubt, to be provided. The difficulty was, that it was not every man who was acquitted that deſerved compenſation; becauſe many were acquitted who were ſtill guilty, acquittals from defects of form being unavoidable under the beſt ordered laws. Another difficulty was, that if ſuch a remedy were given by law,

it might have a miſchievous effect towards thoſe very perſons who were the objects of redreſs, as the evidence was ſometimes in trials ſo nicely balanced, that if the jury felt themſelves reduced to the alternative of convicting, or of giving a reward to the priſoner by acquitting him, this conſideration might have the effect of determining them to convict. The diſcretion of ſaying in what caſes compenſation ſhould be given could only be repoſed in the jury or in the court; and he thought that there could be no heſitation which ſhould have it. The attention of the jury ought not to be diverted from the ſingle point of aſcertaining the fact of guilty or not. He meant to take as a model for the bill which he purpoſed to bring forward, an act paſſed in the 25th year of the reign of George II. which placed it in the power of the court, upon conſideration of the proſecutor's circumſtances, to grant him an order on the treaſurer of the county for his expences, and a reaſonable allowance for his time. Perhaps it might be thought that the ſame reaſon exiſted for giving a ſimilar recompenſe in caſes of miſdemeanor, but he meant to confine it to felonies, following the principle of the act of George II. and to give compenſation to perſons acquitted only in the ſame caſes where it was already by law given to the proſecutor.

Leave was given to bring in the bill to regulate the law on the crime of privately ſtealing, and in the committee the ſolicitor general propoſed a clauſe enacting that the higheſt puniſhment for this offence ſhould be tranſportation for life, and the loweſt tranſportation for a period not leſs than ſeven years, but giving the judge a power to ſubſtitute for this permanent or temporary baniſhment, impriſonment in the houſe of correction, for three years or a ſhorter time, according to the circumſtances of the caſe. The clauſe was adopted; and, with this amendment, the bill paſſed.

On the ſecond point ſubmitted to the houſe by ſir Samuel Romilly, the propriety of giving a compenſation to perſons tried for felonies and acquitted, ſir Francis Burdett and the ſolicitor general thought, that in ſuch a plan the evil would preponderate over the good. A heavy reſponſibility muſt attach to the judge in conſequence of it. If he refuſed to give the recompenſe, it would be ſuppoſed that he entertained an unfavourable opinion of the innocence of the perſon by whom it was required. The ſolicitor general moreover demanded how a judge could decide on a claim of compenſation, if a man were acquitted on an error in the indictment, before the merits of his caſe were inveſtigated? As a novelty, he ſaid, this propoſition ought to be watched with jealouſy. It appeared to him impoſſible to execute the meaſure without much miſchief. If the compenſation were to be made out of the county rate, it might prove a great diſcouragement to proſecutions, or in the event of a trial, that circumſtance might operate on ſome minds againſt the accuſed. This queſtion was not farther agitated during the ſeſſion.

The manner in which lord Grenville's propoſal for the better adminiſtration of juſtice in Scotland was rendered abortive in 1807, has been related in the volume for

that period. The lord chancellor this year brought forward a bill to divide the court of ſeſſion into two chambers of ſeven and eight judges, to give thoſe courts certain powers of making regulations in regard to proceedings, and with reſpect to interim executions while appeals were pending; and alſo to iſſue a commiſſion in what caſes it might be proper to eſtabliſh a trial by jury. To that mode of trial, his lordſhip obſerved, England owed her happineſs and liberty; but it did not follow, that the trial by jury was equally applicable to Scotland. To force it upon a country where, in civil caſes, its benefits were not underſtood or appreciated, would neither be wiſe nor politic.

Lord Grenville retained his opinion, that it would be better to divide the court of ſeſſion into three chambers than two; and he thought that the bill ought to contain a ſtronger recommendation of the trial by jury. In the laſt ſentiment, the earl of Lauderdale concurred; but lord Melville conceived that the recommendation was already too ſtrong, and lord Hawkeſbury ſaid he did not believe, that trial by jury in civil cauſes was ſufficiently underſtood in Scotland. This bill was carried, as well as another for allowing judges who retired from the bench in Scotland, in conſequence of old age and infirmity, a proviſion equal to three-fourths of the ſalary attached to their offices.

It will be recollected that the bill for preventing the grant of offices in reverſion was unexpectedly thrown out by the houſe of lords, towards the cloſe of the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, and that the houſe of commons addreſſed his majeſty, praying him not to grant any office, place, emolument, or ſalary in reverſion, or for joint lives, with benefit of ſurvivorſhip, until ſix weeks after parliament ſhould meet this year, with which petition the king moſt graciouſly complied. Mr. Banks renewed the bill as early as the 25th of January, and it paſſed through the houſe of commons with no oppoſition, except from Mr. William Dundas, who objected to the principle of it altogether, becauſe he thought it invaded the inherent prerogative of the crown, not merely by ſuſpending, but by taking away and deſtroying its right of granting certain offices according to eſtabliſhed uſage. In the houſe of lords, it was again deſtined to encounter the unqualified hoſtility of lord Arden, who not only conſidered the bill as an infringement of the prerogative of the crown; but, by the manner in which it was brought before their lordſhips, as an encroachment on their privileges. Without actually comparing it to the meaſures which plunged the country in a civil war in the ſeventeenth century, he pretty plainly inſinuated that it was nearly of the ſame caſt; and when the houſe was proceeding to go into a committee on the bill, he moved that the order of the day ſhould be diſcharged. Lord Redeſdale took up the ſame line of argument. He could ſee nothing to fear in the influence of the crown, which had been diminiſhed rather than increaſed, ſince Mr. Burke's bill. Its influence was no more than what it ought to be for the maintenance of its own dignity, and

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and was fully counterbalanced by the growing influence of the other eſtates. It was ſaid that the meaſure went no further than to a temporary ſuſpenſion of the prerogative. Whether the bill was for one, two, or four years, was juſt the ſame to him. The principle, not the duration of the meaſure, was the object of his diſlike; in the principle was the miſchief, and he would oppoſe it in the very beginning. Let their lordſhips look to the beginning of the French revolution. Let them conſider what irreparable miſchief followed the advice of Mr. Neckar to increaſe the number and conſequently the weight of the *tiers etat*. The *tiers etat* prevailed; the nobility were ſoon proſcribed, deſpoiled of their poſſeſſions, and driven into beggary and exile. What was the pretext for that violent change? The reform of abuſes; the adoption of an economical ſyſtem. If, therefore, their lordſhips were wiſe, they would reſiſt this firſt attempt of a ſimilar nature.

The extreme imprudence of thus making the dignity, the privileges, and the exiſtence of the peerage, depend on the royal power of granting offices in reverſion, on the continuance of abuſes, and the rejection of every plan of economy, unfortunately paſſed without any comment. This very bad and dangerous reaſoning of his lordſhip ought to have been expoſed and refuted; and the uſefulneſs and neceſſity of the illuſtrious body of which lord Redeſdale is a member, to the happineſs and welfare of the ſtate ſhould have been vindicated.

The lord chancellor oppoſed the bill in its preſent ſhape, as wholly unfit to paſs into a law, from the vague manner in which it was drawn up, and the general enactments which it contained. The earl of Carliſle, the earl Moira, lord Auckland and lord Hood objected to it, becauſe no neceſſity for it had been proved. Earl Grey obſerved, that it had been found, while grants of offices in reverſion continued to be made by the crown, impoſſible to aboliſh or regulate thoſe offices, which, from a change in circumſtances, had conſiderably varied in the nature of their importance, and the extent of their duties, ſince the period when they were originally beſtowed. There were alſo offices enjoyed by perſons under ſuch grants, wherein from many cauſes, ſuch a conſiderable advance in the ſalary and profits had taken place, as never could have been in the contemplation of the crown, when it conferred them, or in the view of the public when it aſſented to that prerogative, in virtue of which the power of giving them was exerciſed. Indeed, in the caſe of the noble lord (Arden), who had thought proper to move the amendment, he perceived the ſtrongeſt illuſtration of the propoſition. In adverting to this fact, he was as ſincerely impreſſed, as any man who heard him, with the valid and juſt title of the noble lord to the benefits of the ſituation which he held under this ſpecies of grant. He did not attribute to him any other motive for the line of conduct which he had adopted on this occaſion, than the conviction he entertained of the injuſtice and impropriety of infringing on the prerogative, a conſequence which he, in lord Grey's opinion, had ſo deluſively attached to the meaſure. But was there a man preſent, who who was not fully convinced, that

the ſalary of the reverſionary office which the noble lord held, had, by the operation of unexpected and recent cauſes, totally changed its original extent, and advanced in profit far beyond any eſtimate that was ever entertained, either by the perſon who granted, or by him who received the office? If he were not much miſinformed, that place had increaſed in income, from comparatively a very trifling amount, to the enormous ſum of 20,000l. per annum! Could there be wanting any further proofs to eſtabliſh the expediency of the prohibition contained in the bill? Or could the houſe believe that this was a ſolitary caſe, or one not ſufficiently ſtrong to induce their lordſhips to interpoſe a legiſlative correction againſt the continuance of ſo dangerous a ſyſtem? Lord Grey contended that the bill, far from infringing the prerogative of the crown, would prevent its being ſtripped of thoſe rights which were neceſſary to its honour and ſecurity. In the recital of the evils which might probably enſue from adopting this bill, alluſion had been made to the hiſtory of this country during part of the ſeventeenth century, and to the French revolution. In reviewing the dreadful occurrences of thoſe unhappy times, and particularly in the period of our own hiſtory, we were induced to overlook the errors of that unfortunate monarch, Charles I., in the tragic cataſtrophe which befel him. But were the calamities of that reign to be attributed to any conceſſions to the claims of the people? Unhappily the melancholy fate of that prince could be traced to the obſtinacy with which every improvement was oppoſed, to the unbending diſinclination to conform to the ſpirit of the times, and to the progreſs of mental advancement. With reſpect to the French revolution, where could be found a more ſignal and terrible exemplification of the danger of not yielding to thoſe plans of ſalutary and wholeſome correction, which the defects of all human eſtabliſhments render abſolutely neceſſary? Lord Grey conjured the houſe to heſitate, before it committed itſelf with the country, by rejecting a meaſure which the people expected, and which in its operation muſt tend to alleviate the preſſure of the ſevere, though unavoidable burthens, under which they laboured.

The houſe divided on lord Arden's motion, and the numbers on each ſide being equal, the non-contents, according to the uſage of the houſe, carried the queſtion for going into a committee. Lord Hawkeſbury then moved, as an amendment, that the bill ſhould be continued till the 1ſt day of June 1810. This propoſition was ſupported by lord Harrowby and lord Mulgrave, and reſiſted by lords Grey, Holland, and Spencer, though they ſaid that rather than give up the bill itſelf, or riſk the chance of loſing it altogether, they would not, if the ſenſe of the houſe ſhould be for the amendment, oppoſe the bill ſo amended. Lord Hawkeſbury's motion was loſt on a diviſion. When the bill was to be read a third time, lord Redeſdale renewed his hoſtility to it, and earl Grey again combated his arguments. Lord Hawkeſbury obſerved, that the propoſed amendments having been rejected in the committee, he muſt give the bill his decided negative; and the houſe immediately proceed-

March 15.

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ing to a diviſion, it was thrown out by a large majority.

March 28. Having been thus twice diſappointed in accompliſhing his object, Mr. Bankes brought a bill into the lower houſe to ſuſpend the grant of offices in reverſion for a limited period; in order that the committee of finance might, in the mean time, conclude their enquiries what officeswere fit to be reformed or aboliſhed. At firſt he propoſed that the bill ſhould be in force for two years; but though he thought even that term too ſhort, yet as Mr. Perceval ſuggeſted that it was the very period which the lords had rejected, he afterwards altered the duration of it to one year from the paſſing of the act, and from the cloſe of that year to the end of ſix weeks from the commencement of the ſubſequent ſeſſion of parliament. Lord Porcheſter, Mr. Whitbread, ſir Francis Burdett, and Mr. Tierney gave full credit to the motives which had induced Mr. Bankes to make theſe alterations in the meaſure, but thought the changes an abandonment of the principle which the houſe had ſo frequently aſſerted. In one of the debates on the ſubject, Mr. Tierney aſked whether the bill in its preſent form would have the full and cordial ſupport of

April 7. his majeſty's miniſters? No anſwer being given to this queſtion, Mr. Whitbread gave notice, that he would the next day move to reſtore the bill preciſely to the ſtate in which the laſt bill was ſent to the houſe of lords. The ſpeaker having appriſed him, that ſuch a propoſition would be contrary to the courſe of parliamentary proceeding, Mr. Whitbread intimated that he ſhould propoſe to make the bill literally different from the laſt, but ſubſtantially the ſame; the ſpeaker ſtill declaring that it was irregular to make ſuch a propoſition, Mr. Whitbread ſtated, that he ſhould probably move to extend the limition to the term of 99 years. By the advice of his friends, however, he wiſely deſiſted from all ſuch proceedings. Mr. Wilberforce argued in favour of modifying the meaſure, in order that the objections which the lords had to it might be removed, and applauded the conduct of Mr. Bankes for evincing a deſire to achieve every good that was practicable. Little was ſaid on the ſubject by miniſters; but Mr. Perceval profeſſed, that he never ſaw the great benefits which ſome ſuppoſed likely to reſult from the bill, in point of public economy. This opinion ſurpriſed ſir John Newport, who mentioned that in the cuſtomhouſe of Ireland, there were no fewer than nine offices held in reverſion, to each of which a ſalary of three hundred a year was annexed; and the ſerious part of the evil was, that an inſurmountable obſtacle was thus raiſed to reform in that department. The office of ſtorekeeper of the port of Dublin had been originally granted for three lives, and was now held for two (the two Beresfords), to which was attached a ſalary of 2135l. which might be ſpared to the public, after paying a deputy for performing all the duties of the office. The appointment of craner and wharfinger of the port of Dublin, all the duties of which were executed by a deputy for 300l. was held by two brothers of the marquis of Hertford, with reverſion

to lord H. S. Conway, and the ſalary of it was 1000l. a year. The office of comptroller of the port of Cork was held by ſir John Lees, with reverſion to his two ſons, with a ſalary of 800l. a year, after paying a perſon for diſcharging the duty. The officer of taſter of wines, which had been dropped for two centuries, was renewed in favour of the right honourable J. Beresford, with a ſalary of 1000l. a year. Sir John Newport ſaid, if he were to go into the law department, he could find places, not merely of 8 or 900l., but of 9, 10, or 12,000l. per annum.

April 11. The bill was paſſed, and ordered to the upper houſe, where it was ſupported by lord Hawkeſbury, earl Groſvenor, lord Harrowby, lord Somers, lord Holland, and the lord chancellor; it was combated by the earl Moira, and lord Redeſdale, but was finally carried without

May 12. producing any debate of importance. The public felt a ſtrong intereſt in the ſucceſs of this meaſure. Soon after the laſt bill was thrown out by the lords, the corporation of the city of London preſented petitions to both houſes of the legiſlature, expreſ-

April 1. ſive of their regret that it had been rejected, and praying that ſteps might be taken to carry into effect ſome proceeding to prevent the grant of offices in reverſion, a meaſure which they deemed neceſſary to conciliate the affections of the people, under the preſent circumſtances of the country.

The diſtreſs of the planters in the Weſt India iſlands belonging to Great Britain, and of the perſons engaged in the trade of thoſe colonies, having become extremely urgent, owing to a large accumulation of produce for which there was no ſale, a ſelect committee of the houſe of commons was appointed, on the motion of Mr. Perceval, to enquire how far it might be practicable and expedient to confine the diſtilleries of the united kingdom to the uſe of ſugar and molaſſes only, and alſo what other proviſion could be made for the relief of theſe individuals. The firſt report of the committee decidedly recommended the propriety of reſtraining the diſtilleries in Great Britain to the uſe of the articles pointed out in their inſtructions, inſtead of grain; but ſtated that the reſtriction would be inapplicable to Ireland, where it would only lead to an increaſe of illicit diſtillation, in conſequence of the ſtrong preference entertained by the people for corn ſpirit, and the corrupt habits of the revenue officers; therefore to ſuſpend all intercourſe in the ſupply of ſpirits between the two iſlands, while the reſtriction continued, was the beſt ſecurity that could be afforded to the Britiſh revenue and commodity. The report went on to intimate that, independently of giving relief to the Weſt India planters and merchants, the prohibition would be a wiſe meaſure for ſecuring the intereſts of Great Britain, as the committee had found that the iſland was generally dependent for a ſufficient ſupply of corn and flour upon foreign countries, and that this ſupply was cut off in the preſent ſtate of Europe, without any proſpect of an adequate reſource in the laſt year's crop at home. It appeared that

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Great Britain imported annually about 770,000 quarters of grain, and that the diſtilleries conſumed about 470,000 quarters; conſequently the reſtriction would very conſiderably lighten the preſſure of any ſcarcity that might enſue for want of the uſual importation, by leaving the 470,000 quarters of grain for the food of the people. As, however, the committee were aware that in the event of a ſuperabundant harveſt, the propoſed ſuſpenſion might be found very hurtful to the agricultural claſſes of the community—that the return of peace might relieve the Weſt India planters from their diſtreſs, and that probably ſome meaſures might be deviſed which would alleviate that diſtreſs, before the period to which it was intended to limit the ſuſpenſion, they recommended in the ſtrongeſt manner, that any bill to be brought in, founded on this report, ſhould contain a clauſe granting a power to the king in council, upon a ſufficient notice, to remove the reſtriction, and allow the diſtillers to carry on their trade in the accuſtomed manner. Three other reports were ſubſequently laid before the houſe, but they either chiefly related to matters of detail for the advantage of Weſt India produce, or contained ſuggeſtions on which no parliamentary proceedings were inſtituted.

A bill to confine the diſtilleries to the conſumption of ſugar and molaſſes, for a limited time, was ſubmitted to parliament. It was warmly conteſted in every ſtage of its progreſs; and upon every diviſion the majorities were unuſually ſmall. It was aſſerted that there was no reaſon to apprehend a deficiency in the enſuing harveſt, and if the landed intereſt were left to itſelf, it would be able to ſupply the nation with grain. But the chief arguments againſt the general principle of the bill were, that it was a dangerous experiment on the agriculture of the country, by tending to make it depend on temporary circumſtances. It would naturally diminiſh the growth of grain; for if the conſumption of the diſtilleries were taken out of the market this year, the farmer, having no ſecurity that the experiment might not be repeated, would only cultivate a quantity adequate to other purpoſes. The corn raiſed for the uſe of the diſtilleries could at any time be appropriated to the food of the people; and thus a reſource was always certain in caſes of real dearth, by ſuſpending the operation of the diſtilleries; a reſource which would be cut off by the ſubſtitution of ſugar and molaſſes for grain. To encourage diſtillation from corn was therefore as advantageous to the nation, as the eſtabliſhment of public granaries.

A great alarm was excited throughout the country by this meaſure. The comments in the newſpapers increaſed the general apprehenſion. Numerous petitions were preſented to the houſe of commons againſt the bill, but without effect. It was paſſed by the lower houſe on the 14th of June, and by the upper, a few days before the cloſe of the ſeſſion. In the latter, though ſtrongly oppoſed, it produced but one debate.

As Mr. Paull was not returned a mem-

a member of the houſe of commons for the laſt or exiſting parliament, no proceedings had taken place on the original charges brought by that gentleman againſt the marquis Welleſley; but upon the papers which had been produced, other accuſations were this year founded by lord Folkſtone. Theſe related to the tranſactions of the marquis in Oude, and were to the following effect. In 1798 the Eaſt India company expelled an uſurper from the throne of Oude, and elevated the legitimate claimant to the ſovereignty of the ſtate. On that occaſion the newly created nabob entered into a treaty with his protectors, by which it was provided that the entire defence of his territories, both againſt internal and external enemies, was to reſt with the company, in return for which he was to pay, by monthly inſtalments, an annual ſubſidy of 76 lacs of rupees, or 912,000l. ſterling; that for this purpoſe of defence, the company ſhould conſtantly maintain in Oude a force of from ten to thirteen thouſand men, and if more than the larger number ſhould at any time be neceſſary, the nabob ſhould defray the expence of the difference. It was farther ſtipulated, that if the monthly inſtalments ſhould fall in arrear, the company ſhould then require ſecurity for the regular diſcharge of the ſame. All political power, and even all communication with other ſtates, were taken from the nabob; but full authority over the internal affairs of the country, over his houſehold concerns, hereditary dominions, his troops and ſubjects, was left to him by the expreſs words of the treaty. It appeared that the nabob's predeceſſor, conſcious of the defect of his title to the throne, had endeavoured to acquire the affection of the troops by unbounded largeſſes, ſo that the new nabob found them totally undiſciplined, diſcontented with the change that had taken place, and diſaffected to his perſon. The two preceding reigns had been ſignalized by great profuſion and expenſe, the welfare of the country had been neglected, its finances dilapidated, agriculture unattended to, and the moſt burthenſome taxes impoſed on the people. According therefore to the evident intereſts of the contracting parties, an article was inſerted in the treaty, that a reform of the civil and military affairs of the country ſhould be undertaken, and that the nabob ſhould adviſe with the government of Bengal on the ſubject. The prince on his part faithfully acted in conformity with this ſtipulation, endeavouring by every means to remedy the diſorders in his government, particularly the bad condition of the army, and with this intent, in a ſhort time he actually reduced his regular battalions to half their complement of men. Four months after the ſignature of this compact of 1798, lord Welleſley arrived in India, and he forthwith formed a plan in direct oppoſition to the proviſions of it; but other circumſtances of more importance prevented his lordſhip from proceeding in the buſineſs till the following year. During this period, the nabob had been moſt punctal in remitting the inſtalments of the ſubſidy. As ſoon as lord Welleſley had overthrown

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Tippoo Sultan, he began to take ſteps for executing his project in Oude. With this view, in November, 1799, he ordered troops to march into the country. The profeſſed object of their introduction was defence againſt the threatened invaſion of Zemaun Shah; but the real reaſon was, ſo to overburthen the nabob's treaſury as to compel him to diſband his own forces. His lordſhip had alſo another motive for this meaſure, which was to relieve the company's finances, as the additional troops were to be paid by the nabob. Lord Welleſley's principal deſign was accompliſhed. Notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the nabob, ſo many troops were poured into his dominions, that in order to provide for them, he totally reduced his own army. By degrees the country was exhauſted, and haraſſed by his difficulties, the nabob expreſſed his apprehenſion to the government at Bengal, that at ſome future time the ſubſidy could not be regularly paid. He joined with this intimation, aſſurances of his beſt endeavours to prevent the inconvenience that might ariſe, and an offer to lay open the ſtate of his affairs to the Engliſh reſident at his court, and to conſult with him how the neceſſary funds might be raiſed. The nabob alſo wiſhed to reſign the throne to his ſon. Theſe propoſals were rejected, becauſe lord Welleſley wiſhed this unfortunate prince to transfer to
1801. the company, the excluſive controul of the civil and military government of Oude, which the nabob refuſed to do. At length, however, after a protracted negotiation, the nabob was, by threats and embarraſſments, compelled to cede in perpetual ſovereignty to the company, a portion of his dominions, yielding an alleged revenue of one crore and twenty-five lacs of rupees (1,620,000l.) to defray the amount of the ſubſidy for the augmented forces; and beſides to eſtabliſh in his remaining provinces, a ſyſtem of police under the advice and management of the company's officers. This demand of the ſpecific territory was the more unjuſt, becauſe the diſtricts were undervalued, and did actually produce, in the year immediately ſucceeding that when the transfer of them was made, a revenue of one crore and fifty-ſeven lacs of rupees. In the three next years they yielded annually, on an average, one crore and eighty lacs of rupees. Moreover, Mr. Henry Welleſley, who was appointed governor of the ceded provinces, ſtated that he had no doubt, that for the ſecond period of three years, the revenue would not be leſs than two crores of rupees, and that when the land was fully cultivated, it would amount to two crores and fifty lacs of rupees.

Lord Folkſtone brought this matter before the houſe of commons on the 9th of March, and concluded his ſpeech, of which the narrative that has been given is an abſtract, by moving twelve reſolutions, recapitulating the caſe, and aſſerting that the marquis Welleſley had acted in this reſpect, with a total diſregard of the recorded opinions of the houſe of commons, and the proviſions of two ſeveral acts of parliament; in direct violation of every principle of good faith and equity, and in

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open breach of the ſacred obligation of a ſolemn treaty; and that he had thereby affixed a laſting ſtigma and reproach on the Britiſh name and character, and contributed to deſtroy all confidence in the moderation and juſtice of the Britiſh government in India.

Several debates enſued on theſe reſolutions. The friends of lord Welleſley * firſt argued that it would be enough for his vindication to ſtate, that the principles on which he had acted had been approved of by the government which employed him. He was beſides guided by the directions of the Eaſt India company repeatedly given to their ſervants, to exchange ſubſidy for territory. When the marquis went out to India, he was charged by the court of directors with inſtructions to the ſame effect; and for the meaſures which he had purſued in Oude, he had received the thanks of the Eaſt India directors, at leaſt of the ſecret committee. No man, conſidering the relation which ſubſiſted between the Britiſh territories and the province of Oude, could poſſibly queſtion the right of the government of Bengal to interfere in the affairs of that province. By policy as well as treaty, Oude was to be defended by the Britiſh; for to protect Bengal without defending Oude was impoſſible. Both lord Teignmouth and marquis Cornwallis had ever regarded Oude as a dependent ſtate, and had actually interfered in the government of it. By the treaty which lord Welleſley concluded with the nabob in 1801, the latter enjoyed from his reſerved dominions a larger income applicable to his perſonal comforts, than he did when he poſſeſſed the ceded diſtricts, ſubject to the payment of an inferior ſubſidy; and at the ſame time the ſecurity and happineſs of millions, who had been formerly oppreſſed by his armed rabble, were materially improved. Soon after the arrangement had taken place, an opportunity occurred for the nabob to ſhew his feelings reſpecting the change, and another for the inhabitants of an important ceded diſtrict to manifeſt their opinions on the ſubject. During the conteſt with the Mahrattas, a difficulty ariſing from a delay in the ſupply of money and other requiſites for the company's army, the nabob voluntarily advanced a loan without intereſt to the Britiſh government, and aſſiſted it with all the reſources of his country. On the incurſion of a formidable Patan chief into the ceded diſtrict, whereof he was a native, where he had powerful connexions, and where formerly he would have found much co-operation, ſo few ſhewed themſelves in his favour, that he thought it prudent to retreat. The advocates for lord Welleſley then expatiated on his general ſervices and great achievements, and inſiſted that the policy and ſagacity of his meaſures had been equally beneficial to India and Great Britain.

On the other hand it was aſ-

* Mr. Whitſhed Keene, ſir John Anſtruther, colonel Allan, Mr. Wallace, Mr. Henry Welleſley, ſir James Hall, and lord Caſtlereagh.

ſerted

ſerted by thoſe who blamed the conduct of the marquis *, that any danger likely to ariſe to Oude or Bengal from the invaſion of Zemaun Shah, had ſubſided when the treaty of 1801 was negotiated with the nabob. It was denied that the court of directors had ſanctioned the tranſaction in Oude; for though when the treaty was ſent home to them, without any explanation of the manner in which it had been obtained, they approved of the advantages which it ſecured; yet as ſoon as all the circumſtances attending it came to their knowledge, they officially expreſſed their reprobation and abhorrence of it. It was obſerved, that lord Teignmouth and marquis Cornwallis had been ſenſibly affected by the diſorders in Oude; but neither of them had interfered in the government of the province, otherwiſe than by remonſtrance and advice. As to any improvement in the police of the country, none had been effected; on the contrary, the police during the laſt four years had been ſo bad, that diſturbances perpetually aroſe, and the zemindars and nobles were in a conſtant ſtate of revolt. Since the ſignature of the treaty, the uſe of ſpirituous liquors, ſo ſtrictly forbidden by the Mahomedan law, had been introduced and legalized in Oude. Could any advantage ariſe from this meaſure? The Britiſh troops had been made the inſtruments of oppreſſion, as they were employed in collecting the revenue, to the great annoyance of the natives, and the ruin of the diſcipline of the army, as had been ſtated by ſir James Craig in his evidence at the bar of the houſe.

No improper motive was aſcribed to marquis Welleſley in the proceeding under conſideration, except that of immoderate ambition; and to this charge his friends replied, that if he had been ambitious, it was in the ſervice of his country. The reſolutions moved by lord Folkſtone were negatived by a majority of 182 votes to 31. Immediately afterwards ſir John Anſtruther moved a reſolution— March 16. "That it appears to this houſe, that the marquis Welleſley, in carrying into execution the late arrangements in Oude, was actuated by an ardent zeal for the public ſervice, and by the deſire of providing more effectually for the proſperity, the defence, and the ſafety of the Britiſh territories in India." This reſolution was carried by 180 votes againſt 29, and thus the debates terminated as far as regarded the accuſations of his lordſhip brought forward by lord Folkſtone.

Lord Archibald Hamilton ſubſequently moved a March 31. ſeries of reſolutions on the ſubject, the purpoſe of which was to ſtate, that the Britiſh government in India was bound in honour, juſtice, and policy, to reviſe the treaty of 1801, in order to aſcertain whether it would not admit of ſuch modification, as might ultimately prove ſatisfactory to the nabob of Oude, and at

* Mr. Luſhington, Mr. Charles Grant, ſir Thomas Turton, Mr. George Johnſtone, Lord Milton, Mr. William Smith, and Mr. Sheridan.

that

the ſame time be productive of reciprocal advantage to his highneſs and the company. His lordſhip mentioned that the members of the Eaſt India company themſelves, having peruſed the documents reſpecting this affair, were ſo impreſſed with a ſenſe of the ſufferings and oppreſſions heaped upon this unfortunate prince, that they had come to a reſolution that a recompenſe ought to be made to him; but that the propoſal had been defeated by the board of control. Lord Archibald Hamilton's motions were rejected by large majorities, after a ſhort debate.

The Carnatic queſtion, which had ſo long ſlumbered, was brought forward on the 17th of May by ſir Thomas Turton. The caſe related by the honourable baronet was, that when Omdut ul Omrah, the reigning ſovereign of Arcot, was at the point of death, colonel Macniel on the 5th of July, 1801, advanced to the palace of Chepauk with troops, under pretence of preventing any diſturbance that might ariſe on the nabob's diſſolution. When the forces entered the place, the old monarch, labouring under the diſorder which in ten days afterwards terminated his exiſtence, ſprang from his bed, and entreated major Grant not to expoſe him to the contempt of his ſubjects, by penetrating into the interior of his palace. Major Grant applied to colonel Macniel, who from motives of humanity ordered the troops to proceed no further, though he cauſed them to ſurround the palace from the 5th to the 15th, when the nabob died. On that day the prince his ſon was dragged from his apartment, and called upon to anſwer interrogatories on a charge of treachery preferred againſt his father and grandfather. He was told that they had carried on a treacherous correſpondence with Hyder Ally and Tippoo Sultan, and that he would be ſet aſide and another placed on the throne, unleſs he complied with certain requiſitions, which were that he ſhould give up the civil and military adminiſtration of his dominions, and accept an indefinite ſum to maintain his dignity, and a body of guards furniſhed by the company. The prince, with the advice of two old khans appointed regents by his father, declined acceding to this propoſal. Amongſt the expedients tried to procure the prince's conſent to it, intimidation was one. Troopers with drawn ſabres were paraded before the tent in which one of the conferences was held, and the prince was told that the propoſitions did not originate ſolely with lord Clive, but that they were ſanctioned by the governor-general, by the court of directors, and by the Britiſh government. The prince, however, ſtill claiming the protection of the company, rejected the offered conditions, and was then informed that his future ſituation would be that of a private perſon conſidered as hoſtile to the Britiſh intereſts. When the prince was thus ſet aſide, the two perſons next in ſucceſſion to the ſovereignty were paſſed over, and a negotiation was opened with Azum ul Dowlah, a relative of the deceaſed monarch, who from his ſituation it was imagined would be moſt likely to comply with

with every demand. According to the cuſtom of the country, he had been kept in confinement, and when brought forth, he was greatly alarmed leſt he ſhould be killed. Glad to commute his priſon for a throne, he readily accepted the conditions on which it was to be held, by acknowledging that his anceſtors had forfeited the right to it by their actions. This puppet was preſented in form to lord Clive on the 26th of July, and on the 28th was inſtalled on the throne, on which occaſion none of the nobles of the country attended, except one who had ſince become an outcaſt from all parties. A treaty was executed on the 31ſt, in which it was ſtated, that the hereditary right of Azum ul Dowlah to the throne of his anceſtors was acknowledged by the company. But this circumſtance being communicated to the governor-general, the expreſſion of right was objected to, and a direction ſent to lord Clive to get the words altered, if he conveniently could, and to have it declared that Azum had been eſtabliſhed in the poſſeſſions of his anceſtors by the liberality and moderation of the company's government, which generouſly extended the proviſion of a guard of their own for him, and a promiſe of a ſum to ſupport his dignity. The rightful prince was, from the 15th of July, 1801, to the 6th of April, 1802, the day of his death, confined with his mother in the palace of Chepauk, which was his own private property, but where nevertheleſs Azum reſided. Sir Thomas Turton, with great juſtice, dwelt upon the imprudence and indecency of placing the prince in the ſame palace with the uſurper, and though he did not ſuppoſe that lord Clive could intend that he ſhould be aſſaſſinated, the honourable baronet greatly blamed that nobleman for conſenting to ſuch an arrangement, which Mr. Addington, who was then at the head of the adminiſtration in England, no ſooner heard of, than he ordered the prince to be removed. In the mean time, the unhappy youth petitioned ſeveral times to be placed in ſome other reſidence, inſtead of being conſtantly kept in the power of his oppreſſor, from whoſe enmity he apprehended his life to be in danger. The fears of the prince were prophetic, for not long afterwards he died of a dyſentery.

Sir Thomas Turton then entered into an examination of the alleged treacherous correſpondence, which had been found in Tippoo's palace, on the taking of Seringapatam. He contended that there was nothing in theſe papers to juſtify the accuſation of Omdut ul Cmrah and his predeceſſor; on the contrary, the correſpondence related to a propoſal of marriage between the families of the ſultan of the Myſore and the nabob of the Carnatic, and independently of that object was purely of a complimentary nature. He inſiſted, nevertheleſs, that even if the father and the grandfather had been guilty, their improper behaviour could not warrant the depoſition of an innocent prince. The honourable baronet then moved ſix reſolutions, the object of which was to convey a general cenſure on the conduct of the marquis Welleſley and earl Powis, in regard

gard to the affairs of the Carnatic.

It was ſhown however by Mr. Wallace, that this correſpondence, which was carried on in cipher, the key to which was found with it, could refer to nothing but deſigns hoſtile to the Britiſh intereſts; and particularly that the demeanour of Omdut ul Omrah, after he aſcended the throne of the Carnatic, tallied with the inimical ſentiments expreſſed in the papers; for when Tippoo meditated hoſtilities againſt the company, he furniſhed that ſovereign with ſecret intelligence and advice; and afterwards during the war in the Myſore, at the time when the Engliſh government was moſt preſſed, he aided the ſultan to the extent of his power, by treacherouſly obſtructing the ſupplies of the Britiſh, and embarraſſing the progreſs of their arms. So much ſo, that long previouſly to the diſcovery of the correſpondence at Seringapatam, the governor general repeatedly and pointedly declared, that the perverſeneſs and diſaffection diſplayed by the nabob was reconcilable to nothing but a connexion and ſecret underſtanding with the enemy. It was argued, that the puniſhment of the young prince was not in any reſpect the intention of the Britiſh government; its ſole object was ſecurity for its own legitimate rights, a ſecurity which the violation of thoſe rights had impoſed on it the duty of enforcing, and the claim to which, according to the beſt principles of public law, applied as ſtrongly to him who inherited, as to his guilty and faithleſs predeceſſor. Lord Welleſley's advocates nevertheleſs overlooked one point of ſome importance, becauſe it defeated their whole train of reaſoning on the ſubject of ſecurity. The danger of the Britiſh government was over, when the prince was deprived of his ſucceſſion, and conſequently their arguments could not apply to the caſe. They proved indeed, from the teſtimony of lords Cornwallis and Buckinghamſhire, that the Carnatic had been very badly governed by Omdut ul Omrah, and that the people were miſerably oppreſſed. They alſo read a letter from lord Cornwallis ſtating, "if there had been the leaſt chance of obtaining the nabob's acquieſcence, he ſhould without heſitation have been ready to propoſe to him, as the beſt plan calculated for his own intereſt and comfort, and the happineſs of the inhabitants of the Carnatic, that he ſhould intruſt the company with the entire management of the country, under an engagement to pay him regularly a liberal portion of its revenues for the maintenance of his family and the ſupport of his dignity." But the faults in the father's government could not juſtify the act of depriving the ſon, whoſe merits had not been tried, of his inheritance; and even to extenuate the interference in the ſucceſſion of the Carnatic, and the aſſumption of all power in the territory, by the Britiſh, becauſe the affairs of the people had been improperly adminiſtered by the native ſovereigns, it ought to have been eſtabliſhed, that the improvements afterwards effected in every department of the ſtate preponderated over the evil of ſo violent a proceeding. As to the letter of lord Cornwallis, it proved that he would not have encouraged a transfer

a transfer of exclusive authority in the Carnatic to the company, without the consent of the reigning nabob.

After three long debates, the investigation of this case ended in vote, which must have been highly to the satisfaction of the marquis Wellesley and earl Powis. Mr. Wallace moved the following resolution: "That it is the opinion of this house that the marquis Wellesley and the earl Powis, in their conduct relative to the Carnatic, appear to have been influenced solely by motives of anxious zeal and solicitude for the permanent security, welfare, and prosperity, of the British possessions in India." This resolution was carried in triumph, for it was supported by 98, and opposed by only 19 members.

June 17.

On the 9th of June, the attention of the house of commons was called to a subject of much consequence to the health of the community by Mr. Rose, who proposed to establish a public and central institution in London for the purpose of rendering vaccine inoculation generally useful to his majesty's subjects, and whence the real vaccine matter might be distributed to all parts of the empire. This institution he wished to be superintended by a certain number of the royal college of physicians and of the royal college of surgeons, and by such persons under them as they should think fit. Mr. Rose added that the expense of it would not be more than 3000l. per annum.

Sir Francis Burdett reminded the house of the different complexion which the discovery of vaccination had now assumed, from that under which it was first introduced to the public. It was at first said to be a thing so simple in itself, that any old woman might perform the operation; whereas it was now described as one so extremely difficult, that it ought only to be entrusted to men of great professional skill and experience. There was some danger, therefore, that the house might be fostering a very fatal mistake. With this impression, he confessed, that in the present circumstances, he felt great difficulty in voting for any measure, the object of which was to disseminate the vaccine matter. He thought at all events, that it would be better to appoint a committee to enquire farther into the efficacy of the discovery, before the project was adopted. Sir Thomas Turton also conceived it would have been a preferable mode to move for a committee to investigate the subject. There were, he said, already three institutions in London for the express purpose of propagating the cow pox, and in his opinion, the object which the right honourable gentleman had in view was more likely to be obtained by them, with any assistance which government might think proper to grant them, than by an establishment expressly formed under the auspices of the legislature.

Lord Henry Petty contended, that the evidence being still in some degree incomplete respecting the efficacy of vaccination as an infallible preventive of the small pox, it was highly proper that the investigation should be continued under the eye of the public; and as this was one point which he conceived the right honourable gentleman

gentleman was desirous of accomplishing, he thought it more likely to be attained by one general institution than by a number of small ones, some of which were not altogether exempt from the imputation of being guided by mercenary motives. On the other hand Mr. Wilberforce said, that in foreign countries there was a firm and decided opinion of the efficacy of vaccination, as a preventive of the small pox; and he did not think that the instances of alleged failure in this country were sufficient to shake our confidence in it. But if any doubts were entertained, he did not see that there could be a better method of solving them, than by forming such an establishment as that recommended by Mr. Rose, to the enquiries of which every case of failure would in future be submitted.

No farther remarks were made on the question; but Mr. Davies Giddy and Mr. Canning protested against the principle of initiating any compulsory measure for promoting vaccination, even on the most favourable report of its infallibility. The house then came to a resolution, that the proposed establishment would be advantageous, and agreed to present an address to his majesty, praying that he would be pleased to give such directions as would be suitable to the case.

Towards the end of the session, the affairs of Spain having excited a very strong interest in every class of the British public, Mr. Sheridan made an appeal to the house of commons on the situation of that country. He was far, he said, from wishing his majesty's government to embark in any romantic enterprise, but if upon ascertaining the state of the popular mind in Spain, it should be found warmed by a patriotic and enthusiastic ardour, he was desirous that such a feeling might be met by Great Britain with corresponding energy. He observed that Buonapartè had run a victorious race, because he had contended against princes without dignity and ministers without wisdom; but he had yet to learn what it was to fight against a country, in which the people were animated with one spirit to resist him. Mr. Sheridan concluded his remarks by moving for copies of such proclamations as had been received by his majesty's secretary of state for foreign affairs, issued after the arrival of the French army at Madrid, whether by the Spanish government, the French commander in chief, or by persons since claiming to act on behalf of the Spanish nation.

June 15.

Mr. Canning's comments on this speech were perfectly satisfactory. He declared that his majesty's ministers saw, with a deep and lively interest, the noble struggle which a part of the Spanish nation was making to resist the unexampled atrocity of France, and to preserve the independence of their country; and that the British government was animated by the strongest disposition to afford every practicable aid in a contest so magnanimous. In endeavouring to afford this aid, it would never occur to ministers to consider that a state of war existed between Spain and Great Britain. They would proceed on the principle, that any nation of Europe which started up with a determination

determination to oppoſe a power which was the common enemy of all nations, whatever might be the exiſting political circumſtances in which that nation was placed relative to Great Britain, became inſtantly her eſſential ally, and engaged in a common object, which undoubtedly was not perpetual warfare, but the ultimate attainment of a ſafe and honourable peace. His majeſty's miniſters, in this exerciſe of their diſcretion, would have three objects in view. The firſt to direct the united efforts of the countries againſt the common foe; the ſecond to direct thoſe efforts in a way that ſhould be moſt beneficial to the new ally; and the third to direct them in a manner conducive to intereſts peculiarly Britiſh. Of theſe objects, the laſt would be out of the queſtion, as compared with the other two.

Mr. Whitbread having commented on the third object of this country, in caſe of a co-operation with Spain, and having expreſſed his opinion, that it would be a narrow policy to ſubject the intereſts of the great cauſe to thoſe of Britain, Mr. Canning explained that he had mentioned Britiſh objects, for the purpoſe only of diſclaiming them, as any part of the conſideration which influenced his majeſty's government. In the conteſt in which Spain was embarked, he ſaid, no intereſt could be ſo purely Britiſh as Spaniſh ſucceſs; no conqueſt ſo advantageous for Great Britain, as conquering from France the complete integrity of the dominions of Spain.

The papers moved for by Mr. Sheridan, as indeed he muſt have anticipated that they would be, were refuſed from prudential motives; and he withdrew his motion, ſatisfied, as he declared he was, that much benefit would accrue from the diſcuſſion of the topic.

The duke of Norfolk, taking advantage of the latitude of debate allowed on a money bill, brought the ſame ſubject before the houſe of peers, after premiſing that he did not wiſh to draw any anſwers from miniſters, which they ſhould not deem it perfectly proper and ſafe to make. In reply to the noble duke, lord Hawkeſbury ſtated that, owing to the very peculiar and delicate nature of the buſineſs, his obſervations muſt be very general; but he aſſured the houſe, that what every individual poſſeſſing a generous heart muſt wiſh ſhould be done in ſo glorious a cauſe, his majeſty's miniſters would feel it their duty to effect. June 30.

Parliament was prorogued by commiſſion on the 4th of July. The ſeſſion was as much diſtinguiſhed by the length of the debates on ſeveral of the ſubjects diſcuſſed during its continuance, as by the momentous affairs which were ſubmitted to the conſideration of both houſes of the legiſlature.

CHAP. VIII.

Account of the rupture between Ruſſia and Sweden. Convention between Sweden and England. Count Buxhövden with an army of Ruſſians enters Finland. He publiſhes two inſidious proclamations—one to the inhabitants of the country in general, and another to the military claſſes. The king of Sweden places a guard over the Ruſſian ambaſſador at Stockholm, and arreſts a Ruſſian courier. Contents of the diſpatches found on the meſſenger. Declaration of Ruſſia againſt Sweden. Reply of Guſtavus. Manifeſto of Denmark againſt Sweden, with the anſwer of the latter. The king of Pruſſia's declaration againſt Guſtavus. Progreſs of the Ruſſians in Finland. Admirable retreat of count Klingſpor. State paper publiſhed by the court of Saint Peterſburgh. Capture of Sweaborg by the Ruſſians. The Swedes obtain ſome advantages in Finland, and expel the Ruſſians from the iſle of Gothland. Death of the king of Denmark. Invaſion of Norway. The king of Sweden demands a body of Britiſh auxiliaries. The troops, under the command of lieutenant-general Moore, ſent to his aſſiſtance. Conduct of Guſtavus reſpecting theſe forces. The king of Sweden propoſes ſeveral objectionable enterpriſes to ſir John Moore. Interview between that monarch and the Engliſh general, who is put under arreſt by order of Guſtavus, but eſcapes from Stockholm, and returns with the troops to England. The king of Sweden greatly irritated by that circumſtance. Campaign in Finland. Klingſpor gains an important victory over the Ruſſians near Waſa. Cruelty of the Ruſſians in that city. Guſtavus addreſſes a letter to the emperor Alexander, on the enormities committed by the Ruſſians in Finland. Various expeditions undertaken by the Swedes. Klingſpor driven from his poſition in Eaſt Bothnia, and compelled to conclude an armiſtice with the enemy. The king of Sweden breaks his regiments of guards. Klingſpor ſuperſeded by general Klercker in the command of the Swediſh army in Finland. The Ruſſians terminate the armiſtice, and force Klercker to retreat. The Swediſh general ſigns a convention, by which the whole of Finland is virtually given up to the Ruſſians. Naval tranſactions in the Baltic. A Ruſſian ſhip of the line burnt. The Ruſſian fleet blockaded in the harbour of Rogerſwick by the Engliſh and Swedes. The blockade abandoned, and the Ruſſian fleet eſcapes to Cronſtadt. Operations of the Swediſh flotilla.

AFTER the peace of Tilſit was ſigned, if the king of Sweden did not foreſee that the emperor of Ruſſia would ſpeedily endeavour to draw him over to the intereſts of France, the progreſs of events ſoon convinced him, that his imperial majeſty was animated with a ſtrong deſire to effect ſuch a purpoſe. On the 24th of September 1807, a note was tranſmitted to the Swediſh ambaſſador at Saint Peterſburgh, ſtating that the emperor had informed the king of Great Britain, that he ſhould not remain inſenſible to the inſult and

and injury which England had offered to Denmark by the attack on Copenhagen. This note was followed by a ſecond, dated the 26th of October, propoſing to Guſtavus to co-operate in the ſame manner as in 1780, in an attempt to ſhut the Baltic againſt foreign ſhips of war, according to the ſtipulations of a treaty concluded in that year between Ruſſia, Sweden, and Denmark, for preſerving the Baltic from all acts of hoſtility, on the principle of its being an encloſed ſea. The king of Sweden returned for anſwer, that as long as the French government held ſway over ſo conſiderable a part of the ſouthern ports of the Baltic, and was practiſing its excluding ſyſtem, there could be no tranquillity in that ſea; therefore his imperial majeſty muſt firſt prevail on the French to quit the ports which they occupied. On the 27th of November, the emperor notified to his Swediſh majeſty, that he had come to a rupture with Great Britain, and demanded his co-operation. As the hoſtile intentions of the Czar, were now evident to Guſtavus, unleſs he acceded to a propoſal which he was determined to reject, he took every meaſure to unite himſelf ſtill more cloſely with the king of England, and to procure aſſiſtance to meet the ſtorm with which he was threatened. He conſequently made no reply to the laſt Ruſſian communication for nearly two months, when he declared that as compliance with the emperor's demand was required in conformity with the convention of the year 1780, by the arrangement made between England and Ruſſia in 1801, which Sweden was a party by the to deſire of the latter, and under her guarantee, the former armed neutrality had been annulled: that his Swediſh majeſty then entered into direct engagements with England, which he could not in juſtice violate as long as that power continued to fulfil them on its part—that along with the other armed neutrality the ſtipulation to ſhut the Baltic naturally ceaſed; a ſtipulation which was the leſs fitted for the preſent circumſtances, as the former Daniſh navy then reckoned upon did no longer exiſt, and as England had beſides opened a paſſage through the Great Belt; but that as Sweden was not at liberty to contribute with an armed force to preſerve tranquillity in the Baltic, ſhe would endeavour to obtain by negotiation with England, that the latter ſhould ſend thither no ſhips of war, unleſs ſome other power rendered ſuch a meaſure neceſſary by hoſtilities committed in it.

Nov. 13, 1807.

Jan. 21, 1808.

In purſuance of the application made by the miniſters of Guſtavus to the Britiſh cabinet for aid, a convention between Sweden and England was ſigned at Stockholm, on the 8th of February, 1808. The ſubſtance of it was, that as the reſult of the recent connexion between Ruſſia and France threatened Sweden with a ſpeedy invaſion, for the purpoſe of forcing her to embrace the French ſyſtem, and as his Swediſh majeſty therefore found himſelf under the neceſſity of bringing forward a greater force to oppoſe it, than he had at his ordinary diſpoſal, the king of Great Britain engaged to pay him a ſubſidy of twelve hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, in equal inſtalments of one

hundred thouſand pounds each per month, beginning with the month of January in the current year; and in return for this aſſiſtance, his Swediſh majeſty ſtipulated to employ the ſaid ſum in putting in motion, and keeping on a reſpectable eſtabliſhment, all his land forces, and ſuch part as ſhould be expedient of his fleets, particularly his flotilla, in order to make the moſt effectual reſiſtance to the common enemy. The contracting parties bound themſelves to conclude neither peace, truce, nor convention of neutrality with the enemy, but by mutual conſent. By a ſeparate article, they alſo agreed, that in caſe a war ſhould actually take place between Sweden and the powers, her neighbours, to concert as ſoon as poſſible the meaſures to be taken, and the auxiliary ſuccours to be provided for.

About the middle of February, count Buxhövden, at the head of an army of Ruſſians, croſſed the Swediſh frontiers, and entered Finland. On the 18th, he iſſued a proclamation to the inhabitants of that province, in which he informed them, that the king of Sweden, far from joining the emperor in his exertions to reſtore the tranquillity of Europe, which could only be effected by the coalition that had ſo fortunately been formed by the moſt powerful ſtates, had, on the contrary, entered into a cloſer alliance with the enemy of peace: therefore, and as a ſecurity to his own dominions, the emperor had taken the country under his protection. Count Buxhövden then aſſured the Fins, that he came amongſt them as a friend, to render them more proſperous and happy, and to avert from them the calamities which, if war would become indiſpenſable, muſt neceſſarily befall them. He exhorted them not to be ſeduced to take arms, or to treat the troops committed to his orders in a hoſtile manner. He ſtated that it was his imperial majeſty's will, that all the affairs of the province ſhould purſue their uſual courſe, and be managed according to ancient laws and cuſtoms; that prompt payment would be made for all proviſions required for the troops; and as a proof of his ſovereign's paternal ſolicitude for the welfare of the people, that magazines would be formed, in addition to thoſe already eſtabliſhed, out of which the indigent inhabitants ſhould be ſupplied with neceſſaries in common with the Ruſſian ſoldiers. He added, that if circumſtances ſhould occur which required amicable diſcuſſion, the Fins were to ſend deputies choſen in the uſual manner, to the city of Abo, in order to deliberate on thoſe ſubjects, and adopt ſuch meaſures as might be requiſite; that Finland would thereafter be conſidered and treated as other conquered provinces of the Ruſſian empire, and remain in full poſſeſſion of the freedom of religious worſhip; and that the taxes payable to the crown, as well as the ſalaries of public officers, would continue unaltered. The Ruſſian general publiſhed another proclamation to the Finniſh ſoldiers, conceived in theſe terms. "It is his majeſty's pleaſure, that I am to aſſure you of his moſt gracious ſentiments towards the inhabitants of this country in general, and towards you, ſoldiers, in particular; your fate is ſtill more to be lamented than that of other Fins, becauſe you are obliged

to

to leave your wives, children, relations, and friends, to fight for an unjuſt cauſe. Soldiers, I have my moſt gracious emperor's command to declare, that ſuch of you as ſhall lay down your arms ſhall be perfectly at liberty to go to your friends and relations, and receive beſides two rubles for a muſket, one for a ſword, and ten for a horſe. Can there be amongſt you, ſoldiers, any man who ſets ſo little value on his own felicity and welfare, as not to liſten to a propoſal ſo well calculated to procure him a peaceful and happy life under the protection of my benevolent maſter?"

At this period the cabinet of Saint Peterſburgh had not even delivered its conditional declaration of war againſt Sweden to baron Stedingk, the ambaſſador of Guſtavus at the Ruſſian court; although it had diſpatched a meſſenger with that ſtate paper amongſt others to M. Alopeus, the Ruſſian miniſter at Stockholm, but which meſſenger neceſſarily could not arrive at his deſtination for a conſiderable time after the invaſion of Finland. The firſt notice which the king of Sweden had, that the Ruſſians had entered his territories, was by a telegraphic diſpatch. As ſoon as he was appriſed of this proceeding, and of the inſidious proclamations iſſued by Buxhövden, he felt indignant at the ſtep which the emperor had taken without the uſual formalities obſerved in ſuch caſes, and particularly at the two addreſſes to his ſubjects. In the tranſports of his anger, he committed as great an outrage againſt the law of nations as had been perpetrated by the Czar; for-affecting to conſider M. Alopeus as deprived of his public character by the atrocious aggreſſion of his court, and as a hoſtage for baron Stedingk, from whom his majeſty had received no intelligence ſince the 14th of February, he gave orders that the Ruſſian miniſter ſhould be confined to his own houſe, and that a military guard ſhould be placed over him. This tranſaction occurred on the 2d of March, and on the 7th a farther violation of propriety took place at the command of Guſtavus, by the arreſt near Hernoſand of the Ruſſian courier, who, having taken the route of Tornea, was on his way to Stockholm. The diſpatches found on the meſſenger, indeed, furniſhed ſome excuſe for this extraordinary meaſure, for they unfolded a project of a moſt ſcandalous and diſhonourable nature. Beſides the public letter from count Romanzoff, the Ruſſian ſecretary of ſtate, to M. Alopeus, which directed him to tranſmit the emperor's declaration to the Swediſh miniſtry, there were alſo private communications to him. In theſe it was mentioned, that the emperor had been gratified with the receipt of the details concerning the ſtate of the Swediſh fleet, already ſent by M. Alopeus, and that his promiſed account of the condition of the land forces, as well as of the particulars regarding the interior of the country, were anxiouſly expected. "At preſent," continued count Romanzoff, "ſuch intelligence is of the higheſt importance to us, and you, ſir, will yourſelf perceive how important a ſervice you render to his imperial majeſty, in providing us with information as accurate as poſſible. If ſafe opportunities ſhould not be afforded for ſuch advices, you will take

take eſpecial care to be ſupplied with the documents, in order to bring them with you, in caſe it ſhould be expedient for you to quit the kingdom of Sweden. Until that event ſhall take place, you will continue at your poſt, following the ſame line of conduct which you have hitherto purſued; but it will be prudent, that without appearing to prepare yourſelf, you ſhould be ready for departure whenever it ſhall ſeem neceſſary." Although this part of the correſpondence was objectionable, it is notorious that ambaſſadors always endeavour to acquire as much information reſpecting every department of the ſtate in which they are reſident as they can; another paper, however, was of a moſt deteſtable tendency. It intimated that there was reaſon to ſurmiſe, that general Armfeldt was diſcontented with the treatment which he received from the king of Sweden, and that he might, perhaps, be diſpoſed to forſake the court of Stockholm altogether, as in point of fact he was not a Swede by birth, but a native of Finland. It was added, that if he could be gained over, it would be a matter of great importance to the Ruſſian intereſts. M. Alopeus was therefore inſtructed immediately to ſound the diſpoſition of general Armfeldt, and if that perſonage encouraged the overture, the Ruſſian miniſter was enjoined to flatter his ambition by holding forth the higheſt hopes of preferment, and even to diſcuſs matters in detail with him, but not to enter into any poſitive engagements.

The declaration of Ruſſia was dated the 10th of February, although it was not ſent from Saint Peterſburgh until the 17th. After ſetting forth the tranſactions between that court and the cabinet of Stockholm, which have already been given, it ſtated the opinion of Alexander, that his empire would be badly aſſured as long as the king of Sweden, his neighbour, ſhould, from the commencement of the warfare between England and Ruſſia, for a certain time, cover his notorious partiality for the former under the cloak of neutrality; a neutrality which his imperial majeſty could not allow, becauſe he could not ſuffer the relations of Sweden towards Ruſſia to be any longer uncertain. No courſe therefore remained for his imperial majeſty, but that he ſhould, without farther delay, employ all the means which Providence had placed in his power to ſecure the welfare of his dominions; and he deemed it incumbent on him to notify this to the king, and to all Europe. The emperor declared, however, that he was ſtill ready to change the ſteps which he was compelled to take, into meaſures of protection, in caſe the king would immediately attach himſelf to Ruſſia and Denmark, in order to ſhut up the Eaſt Sea, until a maritime peace could be effected. He entreated the king, his brother in law, for the laſt time, and with ſentiments of true friendſhip, no longer to heſitate reſpecting the fulfilment of his engagements, and the adoption of a ſyſtem which became the northern powers.

In anſwer to this manifeſto, the king of Sweden iſſued another on the 11th of March. It began by juſtly complaining of the invaſion of Finland without a declaration of war, and proceeded to advert to the alliance

alliance that had lately ſubſiſted between the two monarchs for the advantage of Europe, and the relief of diſtreſſed countries. How far theſe objects had been obtained by the peace of Tilſit, it obſerved, contemporaries had already decided, and futurity would more clearly diſcover. The king, although at his poſt on the theatre of war, was contrary to the expreſs tenor of his convention with Ruſſia, neither informed of the armiſtice, nor of the definitive negotiations, till peace was concluded. Having received advice of theſe tranſactions, accompanied with a cold and ſlight invitation to aſſiſt in the object of peace, the king applied to France for an armiſtice (which ought to have been ſtipulated for in the treaty of Tilſit), but received only evaſive anſwers; and finding himſelf conſequently unable to defend his German ſtates, he was compelled to abandon them. Notwithſtanding he had ſuſtained this loſs by the deſertion of Ruſſia, his majeſty promiſed himſelf, that though ſhe had adopted a different ſyſtem, a juſt retroſpect would be given to former occurrences. The king had ſupported the operations of Ruſſia with his ſhips of war, had ſhared with the emperor his military ſtores, had rejected and immediately communicated the offers made to him by the French government; one of which was, that on condition of his breaking with Ruſſia while in the midſt of the war, and when her frontiers and her very capital were defenceleſs, he ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of all the provinces loſt during the reign of Charles XII. together with ſuch further part of the Ruſſian empire as he might determine. His majeſty ſtood on higher ground, than to make a merit of having reſiſted temptations ſo mean and deſpicable; but he was not without hopes, that the aggregated cenſure due to a power, thus ſpared in the hour of danger, would be proportioned to its oppreſſive conduct towards his kingdom. The conſequences of the ſecret articles of the treaty of Tilſit began by degrees to unfold themſelves. The commercial monopoly of England, that ridiculous pretext formed by France, in order to uſurp to itſelf the continent, was alſo brought forward for extending to the North the oppreſſion and miſery, which from port to port, and from ſtate to ſtate, Europe had been ſubjected to. No government was any longer left to its own light and experience—no people to their own lawful induſtry—no middle claſs was to be acknowledged between the vaſſal and the enemy. Peace ſignified confederacy—confederacy ſubmiſſion; and from Paris were to proceed the mandates, which were to dictate both principles, laws, and ordinances, to the ſelf-ſtyled independent confederacy, while they promoted only a luſt for power, and violated what was moſt ſacred in ſociety.

After noticing in the ſame manner as the Ruſſian manifeſto had done, the intercourſe between the two courts, the declaration thus continued—That Sweden ſhould be called upon to ſerve Ruſſia as an outwork, becauſe ſhe had thought proper to provoke England—that Sweden ſhould ſacrifice her fleet and commerce for Cronſtadt and Revel, was aſking rather too much; yet immediately after making theſe claims, Ruſſia actually commenced her preparatory meaſures for war on the frontiers of Finland. His majeſty

majeſty continued, nevertheleſs, to view them with calm forbearance; for as yet no ſpecific complaints had been preferred, nor had any unconditional demands been made. The propoſals which the king had made of an agreement to protect the Baltic, preſented aſpects of tranquillity and advantage to Ruſſia, and to all the North, which it would appear could not, but under great reſponſibility, be refuſed. They were made with a well grounded confidence, that England would concur in them. Inſtead of giving any reply to them, Ruſſia cauſed her troops to enter Finland in a hoſtile manner, and by bribes and artifice endeavoured to call forth treaſon to her aid.

The hoſtility of Denmark to Sweden, in the new poſition of affairs, was to be expected; accordingly ſhe iſſued her declaration on the 19th of February. In this paper it was obſerved, that while all Europe was indignant at the crime committed by Great Britain againſt a neutral and peaceful ſtate, the court of Stockholm alone took no notice of that event. The cabinet of Copenhagen would have been extremely embarraſſed to interpret this conduct, if it had not quickly ſeen cauſe to ſuppoſe, that the king of Sweden was not merely indifferent on the ſubject. The firſt indication which he gave of having a ſecret underſtanding with England at the expence of Denmark, was the extraordinary facility with which he conſented, ſeveral weeks before the reduction of Stralſund, to the departure of moſt of the Britiſh forces from Pomerania; whither, as it ſhould ſeem, they went with no other view, than to await the opportunity of being conveyed to Zealand. To this indication of a hoſtile mind, others were ſoon added. The Daniſh government was not acquainted with the extent of the aſſiſtance which its enemy received in the ports of Sweden; but it had felt the conſequences of that aſſiſtance in a manner moſt lamentable to itſelf. The king of Sweden repaired to the coaſt oppoſite to the Sound, and appeared to take pleaſure in beholding perſonally all the injuſtice and outrage committed againſt a neighbouring country. He laviſhed numberleſs marks of diſtinction on the leaders of the Engliſh forces; while they, on their part, affected to render him honours as the ally of their ſovereign. Theſe inimical appearances were ſoon ſucceeded by facts. The government of England firſt developed the openly hoſtile diſpoſition of his Swediſh majeſty *, who when called upon, in the moſt frank and friendly manner, to explain himſelf on this point, gave equivocal and inſulting anſwers. Still as theſe anſwers ſeemed to contradict the aſſertions of the Britiſh cabinet, the court of Copenhagen was content with them for the moment, and diſſembled its juſt reſentment againſt the king of Sweden, in the hope that enlightened concerning his true intereſts, he would yield to the remonſtrances which the Ruſſian government had made, with as much tenderneſs as patience, in order to engage him to renounce his connexion with Great

* This paragraph relates to a threat ſaid to have been held forth by the Britiſh cabinet, after the ſignature of the capitulation at Copenhagen, that unleſs Denmark abandoned the alliance of France, Swediſh troops would be introduced into Zealand to retain poſſeſſion of it, and that Norway would be guaranteed to Sweden.

Britain, evidently become incompatible with the tranquillity of the North, and the ſecurity of Denmark. The reſolution of the king having, however, fruſtrated the laſt hopes of his neighbours, the court of Denmark could no longer heſitate to take thoſe meaſures, which its ſafety, the general intereſt of the North, its attachment to Ruſſia, and the nature of its alliance with that power imperiouſly preſcribed to it. At a moment when Zealand was again threatened by the forces of England, to which the ports of Sweden ſerved as points of union; when the enemy of the North had juſt aſſured himſelf of the dependence of the Swediſh government upon him for freſh pecuniary aſſiſtance; when the public declarations of the Engliſh miniſtry ſufficiently unfolded the nature of the engagements ſtill ſubſiſting or renewed between the two allies, the cabinet of Copenhagen deemed it right to prefer a ſtate of open hoſtility to precarious and equivocal relations towards a potentate whoſe ſentiments were become more and more ſuſpicious, and who during a long period could be conſidered only as a diſguiſed enemy. His majeſty the king of Denmark conſequently declared, that he adopted altogether the reſolutions of Ruſſia in reſpect to Sweden, and that he would not ſeparate his cauſe from that of the emperor Alexander, his auguſt and faithful ally.

The king of Sweden's reply to this declaration appeared on the 27th of March. Denmark, ſaid he, had formed an alliance with France, was prepared to receive French troops in its country, collected tranſport veſſels in its harbours, fitted out all its ſhips in the road of Copenhagen, to cover a French expedition againſt Sweden, and then declared war. Denmark accuſed Sweden of being the cauſe of this rupture, becauſe ſhe did not preſent compliments of condolence on the loſs of the Daniſh fleet, becauſe ſhe would not co-operate to avenge that humiliation, and eſpecially becauſe ſhe ſought aid from England againſt aggreſſion. The relations of Sweden towards Denmark were thoſe of mere peace. There was no alliance or convention between them, pointing out to the two courts any political courſe for their common conduct. When Sweden, Ruſſia, and Pruſſia, fought in conjunction againſt France, Denmark ſheltered by her neutrality, appeared the friend of all. The king, beholding this ſyſtem, and convinced by ſome explanations demanded in 1806, that it was impoſſible to obtain from Denmark a change of meaſures, favourable to Sweden, could not entertain a hope that the naval force of Denmark would ever be ſerviceable to him; on the contrary, after the peace of Tilſit he had every reaſon to fear, that by the ſuggeſtion of Ruſſia and France, it might be one day turned againſt him. His majeſty therefore thought proper to obſerve a profound ſilence relative to the events which paſſed in his vicinity laſt autumn, leaving to England the taſk to juſtify thoſe events hereafter. It was due to truth, however, to declare, that the court of London did not invite Sweden to take part in this expedition, nor confide it to her until the moment when it was carried into effect. The auxiliary troops landed in Pomerania, were given back by virtue of a ſeparate article of the convention,

vention, concluded at London on the 17th of June, 1807, when certainly there was as yet no reference to this expedition. The Engliſh fleet arrived in the Sound, and departed from it after the attack on Copenhagen, without entering a Swediſh port. It was proper here to render to his Britannic majeſty the moſt authentic and ſolemn teſtimony, that in all his tranſactions with Sweden, he never demanded offenſive meaſures, nor required any thing that was not perfectly compatible with its tranquillity and independence. The moſt recent and convincing proof of this, was the promptitude with which his miniſtry acceded to the propoſal of the king for the pacification of the Baltic by a formal promiſe, on conditions uſeful and honourable to all the North, not to ſend into the Eaſt Sea any ſhips of war. Let the Daniſh government read in this propoſal the complete refutation of the complaints contained in the manifeſto againſt Sweden: let it compare the ſtate of things which the king had deſired, with that which Ruſſia and France wiſhed. When the North was outraged by the devaſtation of Lower Saxony, and by the oppreſſion of the Hanſeatic towns, England, Pruſſia, Ruſſia, and Sweden, made war to avenge them, but no one thought of forcing Denmark to take part in it. She was then the ally of Ruſſia as well as at preſent. Why did ſhe not embrace her cauſe? What could ſhe then allege for her tranquillity, which Sweden could not now allege? But the conduct of Denmark, although in order to juſtify her proceedings, ſhe heſitated not make all kinds of aſſertions, and dared to defend the injuſtice of Ruſſia, was explained by the fact, which ſhe vainly endeavoured to conceal—that ſhe was under the influence, and was the ally of France.

To the declarations of Ruſſia and Denmark againſt Sweden, that of Pruſſia was added on the 6th of March. Frederick William diſdained to degrade himſelf by endeavouring to account for a procedure which he was compelled to adopt, by an artful fabrication of ſpecious pretexts. He ſimply ſtated, that he had been ſolicited by both the imperial courts of Paris and St. Peterſburgh, conformably with the ſyſtem of the other powers of the continent, to extend the ſame meaſure againſt Sweden, which had been taken againſt England, on account of the freſh alliance concluded between thoſe countries. Following the example of the emperor of Ruſſia, his majeſty had accordingly broken off all relations with Sweden. He alſo ſignified, that no veſſel belonging to Sweden, nor any ſhip coming from her ports, ſhould be admitted into the Pruſſian harbours.

Feeling that the hoſtility of the king of Pruſſia was involuntary, Guſtavus contented himſelf with recapitulating to his ſubjects the contents of the ſtate paper publiſhed by the former, with a ſlight comment on the oppreſſion to which that unfortunate ſovereign was obliged to ſubmit.

The Ruſſians had by this time made a great progreſs in Finland. Guſtavus had conferred the chief command of the Swediſh army in that province on count Klingſpor, who, unable to repel the numerous force which the enemy had poured into the country, retired before it. In conducting the re-

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treat of his troops, Klingſpor developed much talent, and juſtly obtained high honour. The Ruſſians were not only numerous, but well ſupplied with every ſpecies of warlike ſtores and proviſions; they had the advantage derived from the ſcience of French engineers, and were beſides led on by Swediſh traitors, who were well acquainted with the roads. Nevertheleſs, Klingſpor, by judiciouſly avoiding a general engagement, though he made an obſtinate ſtand at every tenable poſition, purſued his courſe for above four hundred miles, through a territory deeply covered with ſnow, which had fallen in immenſe quantities during the winter, and at length reached the town of Waſa with all his magazines and artillery. The merit of this retrograde movement is increaſed, when it is conſidered, that through tenderneſs to the inhabitants of Finland, he did not attempt to lay the country waſte, and thus to impede the march of the enemy. At Waſa the Ruſſians hoped to be able to take him in flank with a column under the orders of general Tutſchkoff, and to force him to ſurrender, as the paſſage acroſs the gulph of Bothnia to Sweden was rendered impracticable by the floating ice, and as the route by Tornea, along the uninhabited coaſt of Eaſt Bothnia, muſt have expoſed his troops to the danger of periſhing with hunger; but by the reſources of his military ſkill, he was enabled to diſappoint the expectations of his opponents, and to effect a junction with the diviſions of count Cronſtedt, who had brought off all the Swediſh forces from Savolax.

The emperor of Ruſſia now publiſhed a manifeſto, March 28. in which he obſerved, that ſince every thing clearly ſhewed that he could not expect any favourable change in the ſentiments of his Swediſh majeſty, he had been compelled to alter the character of his meaſures. He declared, that as his ambaſſador at Stockholm was unwarrantably put in a a ſtate of arreſt by the king's order *, he proteſted againſt that act; and he ſignified that though he might uſe repriſals, he preferred to direct his miniſters to double the attentions which they had always paid to the Swediſh ambaſſador, who was ſtill at St. Peterſburgh, and to provide that he ſhould have the power to take his departure from that city whenever he pleaſed, and that he might not experience any difficulty or unpleaſant occurrences, either there or on his journey. His imperial majeſty alſo informed all the European powers, that thenceforward he conſidered Finland as a province conquered by his arms, and that he incorporated it for ever with his empire.

Although the Ruſſians had overrun Finland, the ſtrong fortreſs of Sweaborg hitherto defied the emperor's arms. Admiral Cronſtedt, the governor of the place was, however, induced to enter into a convention for an armiſtice with the enemy on the 4th of April, by the conditions of which he engaged to ſurrender Sweaborg, as well as

* M. Alopeus was detained at Stockholm for nearly three months before he was ſuffered to depart.

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the Swediſh flotilla in the harbour, in caſe he ſhould not receive ſuccour, by at leaſt five ſail of the line, on the 3d of May. The behaviour of M. de Cronſtedt in conſenting to this extraordinary arrangement naturally expoſed his character to the imputation of extreme weakneſs or treachery. In his report of the tranſaction to the king of Sweden, he endeavoured to juſtify himſelf by alleging the inſufficiency of the garriſon to maintain the works, and the exhauſted ſtate of the ammunition, as he ſaid that he had only powder to ſupport the ſiege for fifteen days left in the magazines. The garriſon was compoſed of ſix thouſand men; and when the truce was made, no more than one officer and ſix men had been killed. As to the condition reſpecting ſuccour it was abſurd. It was evident that no relief could arrive in time from Sweden, even had a fleet been in readineſs to convey it, and if it had been likely that the harbour of the fortreſs would be clear from ice; but conſtant experience had proved, that it was never clear in the beginning of May. By one of the articles of this diſgraceful capitulation, the flotilla was to be reſtored to Sweden after the concluſion of peace, provided that England gave back to Denmark the fleet which ſhe took in 1807. The king of Sweden was greatly incenſed when he received an account of this convention, and he immediately ordered that admiral Cronſtedt and all officers concerned in it, together with thoſe who did not proteſt againſt it, ſhould be diſmiſſed from the public ſervice. While the Ruſſians ſucceeded by artifice rather than honourable warfare at Sweaborg, count Buxhövden was compelled to retreat from the northern part of Finland for want of proviſions. Klingſpor inſtantly availed himſelf of this turn of affairs, purſued the Ruſſians, and brought them to two engagements, in both of which he obtained conſiderable advantages. The Ruſſians were alſo driven from the iſle of Gothland, of which they had taken poſſeſſion.

By the death of the king of Denmark, who expired on the 13th of March, the crown prince ſucceeded to the throne of that kingdom. This event produced no change in the relations between Denmark and Sweden, as the crown prince had for many years poſſeſſed the ſovereign power, in conſequence of the mental imbecility of his father. A large corps conſiſting of French and Spaniſh troops, under the command of Bernadotte, having marched into Holſtein, the king of Sweden had reaſon to ſuppoſe that the Danes, in conjunction with theſe forces, meditated an invaſion of his territories: but he appears to have diſregarded this demonſtration of a probable attack on his ſouthern provinces. The idea of poſſeſſing Norway had captivated his imagination. Accordingly, he directed general Armfeldt, at the head of a Swediſh army, to enter that country. The Norwegian militia fell back at Armfeldt's approach to a ſtronger body of troops, aſſembled at ſome diſtance from the confines. Although the career of the Swedes was at firſt victorious, it was unattended with any important action, and it was ſoon arreſted by the enemy who had been ſtrongly reinforced. The nature of the

country

country preſents many obſtacles to an invader, from the vaſt chains of ſtupendous mountain, and the numerous defiles in which it abounds. Theſe favourable points were of courſe occupied and eaſily defended. In ſeveral inſtances the Swedes were repulſed, and after ſome trifling loſſes, they were obliged to retreat into their own territory, and aſſume a defenſive poſition. In conſequence of theſe reverſes, the king of Sweden appeared to have abandoned all thoughts of reducing Norway.

Guſtavus had demanded of Great Britain an auxiliary force, and the Engliſh government offered to ſend to Sweden ten thouſand men, to be employed either in offenſive or defenſive operations, provided that they might be recalled at the king of England's pleaſure, that they ſhould act in one body under the ſeparate orders of their own general, and that they ſhould never be engaged in any ſervice which ſhould prevent them from having a free communication with the Britiſh fleet. The Swediſh ambaſſador at London was not authoriſed to agree to theſe conditions; but aware that his country needed aſſiſtance, he endeavoured to haſten the departure of the expedition, undertaking that the troops ſhould be hoſpitably received in Gottenburgh, where they were to await his maſter's deciſion. The forces, under the orders of lieutenant-general Moore, were conſequently ſent; and when they arrived at Gottenburgh on the 18th of May, it was found that the governor of the place had been directed to admit them into the harbour, but not to ſuffer them to land. Guſtavus now required that theſe auxiliaries, though ſubject to the orders of their own officers in every thing which regarded their economy and military arrangements, ſhould be placed under his command; and that in caſe it ſhould be thought expedient to to withdraw them, a reaſonable notice ſhould be given him, leſt his own troops ſhould be endangered in any ſervice in which both parties were employed, by the ſudden recal of the Britiſh. As he had for ſome time entertained a project of atacking Zealand, he alſo propoſed that general Moore ſhould co-operate in that enterpriſe. It therefore became neceſſary to ſend colonel Murray to England, to take the opinion of his majeſty's miniſters on theſe points. When that officer returned, Guſtavus was informed, that while general Moore continued in Sweden, he was to conſider himſelf under his majeſty's command; that the king of Great Britain perfectly concurred in the propriety of giving timely notice, in the event of his troops being recalled, which ſtep, indeed, his concern for the king of Sweden's intereſt would have preſcribed to him; but that he muſt make an attack upon Zealand an exception to any plan of combined warfare. This communication was made on the 16th of June by Mr. Thornton, the Engliſh envoy, who at the ſame time complained of the oppoſition which was made to the landing of the troops, intimating that they ſhould immediately return to England, if they were longer detained on board the tranſports, and denied the refreſhment and conveniences which were become requiſite for the men and horſes.

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The king of Sweden was diſſatiſfied that his command over the Britiſh forces ſhould be limited to their continuance in his dominions, and particularly diſguſted with the proviſo that the troops ſhould not be employed againſt Zealand; he determined therefore not to allow them to diſembark, in the hope of inducing general Moore to comply with his wiſhes, and aſſiſt him in an attack on that iſland, an object which entirely abſorbed his mind. To diſpel his majeſty's illuſion on this ſubject, general Moore repaired to Stockholm, and repreſented the impoſſibility of ſucceſs in ſuch an undertaking, even if his inſtructions would permit him to co-operate in it. Guſtavus perceiving that general Moore declined to act in contradiction to the poſitive orders which he had received from his ſovereign, then propoſed that the Engliſh ſhould land in Ruſſian Finland, to make a diverſion in favour of the Swediſh army, which had advanced to Savolax. To this extravagant deſign of throwing a body of ten thouſand men into a territory within a hundred miles of the Ruſſian capital, and conſequently of expoſing it to the overwhelming force which might be brought againſt it, general Moore objected, ſtating with great reſpect, that in the attempt to execute ſuch a plan, the Engliſh would inevitably become priſoners of war, without affording the leaſt advantage to his Swediſh majeſty. Guſtavus next wiſhed, that the Britiſh ſhould co-operate in an invaſion of Norway. This deſire naturally aſtoniſhed general Moore, as the king had before expreſſed his decided opinion, that any attack on Norway would probably fail; and as the Swediſh army, after its retreat from that country, had been diſperſed in different cantonments, it could not be again aſſembled and prepared for an undertaking of ſo much conſequence, before the beginning of Auguſt. During all that intermediate time alſo the Engliſh forces, which had already been two months on board the tranſports, were to remain in them, his majeſty having declared that he never would permit them to land. Under theſe circumſtances, general Moore avowed his determination to return to England with the troops, unleſs they were ſuffered to diſembark. This poſture of affairs produced an interview between the king and the general, in which the former repeated all his propoſals, which were again diſcuſſed with the ſame reſults as before. At laſt, his majeſty enquired if the general was fully reſolved to ſail for England? That officer replied, that if it was his majeſty's deſire, he would wait for new inſtructions at Gottenburgh; and that his majeſty's commands ſhould be the apology for his conduct. The king intimated his wiſh that he would do ſo, and the general retired. The next day, however, general Moore wrote to Mr. Thornton, and acquainted him, that having attentively reconſidered his inſtructions, he found that he could not, on his own authority, detain the troops at Gottenburgh without tranſgreſſing the poſitive orders of his government; yet that he would by no means haſten his departure, in the hope, that while the arrangements were forming for it, new advices might arrive from England. The general requeſted that the ſubſtance of this letter might be officially

June 23.

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communicated to the king of Sweden. Mr. Thornton encloſed a copy of it to baron Ehrenheim, who gave it to Guſtavus. That perſonage much incenſed, put general Moore under arreſt. Mr. Thornton proteſted againſt the proceeding, and diſpatched a courier to London with an account of it. Fortunately general Moore found means to eſcape from Stockholm, and returning to Gottenburgh, immediately ſailed with the troops to England. The effect produced on the mind of the king by general Moore's unexpected departure, was too deep to be ſoon effaced. At firſt he thought only of violent meaſures. He conceived the idea of ſeizing on the Britiſh fleet in the Baltic, and of laying an embargo on all the Engliſh merchant ſhips in the harbours of Sweden. The effects of this impotent deſire of revenge, which did not in the leaſt diminiſh the king's hatred towards the enemies of Great Britain, were luckily prevented by thoſe about his majeſty.

The campaign in Finland was ably directed by Klingſpor, although he was not properly reinforced from Sweden. He gained an important victory over the Ruſſians near Waſa, and compelled them to retreat. Before the Ruſſians abandoned that town, the troops were permitted by general Demidoff to plunder it, and they availed themſelves of this licence with the moſt ſavage barbarity. The allowance of rapine and cruelty was firſt limited by Demidoff to two hours; but the ſoldiers prolonged their horrible exceſſes for four days; during which time, a diſgrace to the military character named Ermine, who had filled the office of governor of the place while it was occupied by the Ruſſians, and even Demidoff himſelf, frequently appeared in the ſtreets on horſeback, and encouraged their ruthleſs banditti in the work of devaſtation and horror. On this occaſion, Guſtavus addreſſed a letter to the emperor of Ruſſia, in which he remonſtrated with feeling and dignity againſt the cruelties committed by his imperial majeſty's troops, and the unmerited calamities inflicted on the Fins, who had no other fault than that of loyalty to their ſovereign.

June 25.

A plan had been concerted to facilitate Klingſpor's operations by landing troops in the ſouth of Finland, to create a diverſion in his favour; but inſtead of making one vigorous effort with all the men that could be collected for that purpoſe, the Swediſh government ſquandered its reſources in ſeveral ſmall expeditions, which conſequently failed. In the mean time, the Ruſſians, vaſtly increaſed in numbers, were again able to act offenſively; ſtill Klingſpor endeavoured to maintain a poſition which covered the moſt fruitful part of Eaſt Bothnia. His line, which extended from Lindulax and Omyſſa to Lappfjerd, a diſtance of eight and twenty Swediſh miles, was ſeveral times attacked in different parts by the Ruſſians, and every poſt aſſailed, was moſt gallantly defended by the Swedes. At length the ſuperiority of the enemy's numbers prevailed, and general Kaminſki puſhed on to Kankajocki; by which movement the communication, of the Swedes between Lappo and Lappfjerd was cut off. Klingſpor now perceiving it was neceſſary

neceſſary to fall back, by his ſkilful manœuvres aſſembled his detached corps; and without the loſs of a ſingle piece of cannon, ammunition waggon, or proviſion cart, retired in the face of the enemy to a poſition near Kanko bridge. Here circumſtances compelled him to accept an armiſtice for an unlimited time. The priſoners on both ſides were exchanged rank for rank, and man for man; and hoſtilities were not to be renewed without eight days notice.

Sept. 29.

In one of the unſucceſsful expeditions to the ſouth of Finland, a conſiderable number of the Swediſh guards was employed; but though it does not appear, that either they, or any of the troops belonging to the armament, failed in their duty, Guſtavus, who was at that time in the iſle of Aland, was ſo much chagrined at the failure of his plan, that without any trial or military enquiry, he ordered all his regiments of guards to be broken. This arbitrary ſtep, by which indiſcriminate diſgrace was thrown on a corps commanded by officers related to the firſt families in Sweden, occaſioned much ſurpriſe and diſſatisfaction. The king was not more diſpoſed to view the ſervices of Klingſpor with a favourable eye than thoſe of his guards. That diſtinguiſhed and meritorious officer was ſuperſeded by general Klercker. The Ruſſians terminated the armiſtice in Finland on the 8th of October, when hoſtilities recommenced. Klercker evinced great ability and courage in his movements, but like his predeceſſor, having to contend with a force vaſtly ſuperior to his own, was reluctantly obliged to retreat to the extreme limits of the province, and to agree to a convention, which placed the whole of Finland in the power of the Ruſſians.

Nov. 30.

The Swediſh fleet, conſiſting of eleven ſhips of the line and five frigates, was for ſome time blockaded in the roads of Oro by that of the Ruſſians, which, beſides frigates, amounted to thirteen ſail of the line; but ſir Samuel Hood, with the Centaur and Implacable, having ſucceeded in forming a conjunction with the Swediſh admiral, Nauchoff, on the evening of the 24th of Auguſt, arrangements were made for quitting the anchorage and attacking the enemy. Early the next morning, the whole force put to ſea; and ſhortly afterwards the Ruſſian fleet was diſcovered off Hango Udd. From the ſuperior ſailing of the Engliſh veſſels, they were ſoon in advance, and at night came ſo near the enemy, as to obſerve that he was in the greateſt confuſion, and apparently deſirous of avoiding a general engagement. About five o'clock in the morning of the 26th, the Implacable was enabled to bring the Sewolod of 74 guns, which was the leewardmoſt of the Ruſſian ſhips, to cloſe action; notwithſtanding the Ruſſian admiral bore up with all his force to prevent this manœuvre. Although the Sewolod fought with the greateſt bravery, in about twenty minutes ſhe was ſilenced, her colours and pendant being both down, and ſhe muſt then have ſurrendered, if ſir Samuel Hood had not been obliged to make a ſignal for the Implacable to join him, in conſequence of the near approach of the enemy's whole fleet. The Ruſſian admiral having ſent a frigate

frigate to take the diſabled ſhip in tow, again hauled his wind. When the Implacable was ready to make ſail, ſir Samuel gave chace, and ſoon compelled the frigate to caſt off her tow: but the Ruſſian admiral protected the Sewolod, by ordering ſeveral ſhips of the line to bear down on the Britiſh veſſels. Every hope was now entertained, that a general action muſt enſue, which, however, the enemy avoided by taking advantage of a favourable ſlant of wind, and entering the port of Rogerswick. The Sewolod having fallen to leeward, grounded on a ſhoal at the entrance of the port; and as there was then ſome ſwell, it was expected ſhe would be deſtroyed; but the wind moderating towards the evening, ſhe appeared to ride at anchor. At ſun-ſet, perceiving that the Ruſſians had ſent boats to tow her into the harbour, ſir Samuel ſtood in to cut her off, and laid her on board. Her bowſprit was then laſhed to the Centaur's mizen rigging, and an endeavour was made to bring her out; but it was found impoſſible to effect this deſign, as an anchor had been let go from her. A very ſpirited conflict commenced, which laſted for half an hour; when the enemy, having loſt 180 men, ſurrendered. Both ſhips had grounded during the engagement; and juſt at the moment when two of the enemy's veſſels were ſeen under ſail to attack the Centaur, ſhe was heaved off by the exertions of captain Martin, who anchored the Implacable in a poſition to perform that ſervice. The Ruſſians retreated when they ſaw the Centaur was extricated from her difficulty; and the Sewolod being faſt on ſhore, ſir Samuel Hood, after taking the priſoners and wounded men out of her, burnt her on the following morning. On the 30th the Swediſh fleet was joined by admiral Saumarez with the ſhips under his command. The combined force blockaded the harbour of Rogerswick for ſome time, but any attempt to deſtroy the Ruſſian ſquadron in it was found to be impracticable; for ſhortly after it was driven in, the Ruſſian admiral diſmantled his ſhips, with the guns of which he erected formidable batteries, not only on both ſides of the mouth of the harbour, but along the ſhore as far as the bottom of the bay, cloſe to which the Ruſſian ſhips were moored; and independently of theſe defences, all the troops in the neighbourhood were aſſembled to protect the place. Admiral Nauckhoff, indeed, requeſted that a body of land-forces ſhould be ſent from Finland, with a view of taking poſſeſſion of the iſland of Eaſt Riga, which effectually commanded the harbour; and he alſo wiſhed to be ſupplied with ſome veſſels that might be converted into fire-ſhips, for the annoyance of the Ruſſians. He was furniſhed with neither; and the reſult was, that the blockade was abandoned. The Ruſſian admiral immediately ſeized a favourable opportunity to quit the port in which he had been ſo long confined, and arrived in ſafety at Cronſtadt for the winter. Guſtavus, however, had felt ſo aſſured of the deſtruction or capture of the Ruſſian fleet, that in the letter which he wrote to the emperor, complaining of the atrocities practiſed by the Ruſſians in Finland, he expreſſed his conviction to that monarch, that the ſhips

would never come out of the port of Rogerswick, but as prizes to the Swedes.

During the whole ſummer, the flotilla of Swediſh gallies gained ſeveral advantages over that of the Ruſſians. It was principally employed to aſſiſt the operations of the army; in which ſervice both the officers and ſeamen belonging to it manifeſted great gallantry and nautical ſkill.

CHAP. IX.

A Decree paſſed by the Conſervative Senate of France, for uniting Kehl, Weſel, Caſſel, and Fluſhing to the French Empire. Eighty thouſand Conſcripts placed at the diſpoſal of Government. A large number of Pruſſian Priſoners forced into the ranks of the French army. Buonapartè creates a new Nobility: Speech of the Arch-chancellor, when he preſents the Statutes for regulating this new Order, to the Senate. Account of the Imperial Univerſity. Decrees concerning the Jews. French Expoſé. Buonapartè requires the Pope to enter into an offenſive and defenſive Alliance with the other States of Italy. Correſpondence between the Court of Rome and the Cabinet of the Thuilleries. Proceedings of the French at Rome. Cardinal Caprara, the Pope's Nuncio at Paris, notifies the ceſſation of his powers as Legate from the Holy See, and demands his paſſports as Ambaſſador. Note of the French Miniſter for Foreign Affairs to his Eminence. The Paſſports granted. Memorial publiſhed by his Holineſs. Buonapartè incorporates the Roman States with the kingdom of Italy. Tuſcany added to the French Empire. The French take the Town and Caſtle of Scylla, in Calabria. Treaty between his Britannic Majeſty and the King of Sicily. The French obtain poſſeſſion of the Iſland of Capri. Sir Edward Pellew deſtroys ſome Dutch ſhips in the Harbour of Grieſſe, in the Iſland of Java. Gallant action between the Saint Fiorenzo and Piedmontaiſe, near the iſland of Ceylon. Naval and Military operations in the Weſt Indies. Capture of the Iſlands of Saint Thomas, Santa Cruz, Marie Galante, and Deſeada, by the Engliſh. A French Squadron eſcapes from Rochefort: it is purſued by Sir John Duckworth and Sir Richard Strachan; but gets into Toulon. Affairs of America. Diſcontents in that country, in conſequence of the Embargo. Petitions on the ſubject to the Preſident of the United States: his Anſwer to that of the inhabitants of Boſton. Mr. Jefferſon cauſes Propoſals to be made to the Britiſh Government, relative to the Embargo and the Engliſh Orders in Council. Mr. Canning's reply to Mr. Pinkney, the American Ambaſſador at London. The Papers laid before the Congreſs of the United States. Revolution in Turkey.

WHILE the powers of the North were engaged in deſtructive enmity, and improvidently exhauſting their reſources, through the intrigues of the French ruler, that reſtleſs perſonage was endeavouring to appeaſe the cravings of his active and unbounded ambition, by adding new provinces to his dominions, projecting inſtitutions

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to ſtrengthen and perpetuate his authority, or planning and watching the progreſs of ſchemes ſtill further to enlarge the wide ſphere of his tyrannic influence. A decree, paſſed at his command by the conſervative ſenate on the 23d of January, united the towns of Kehl, Weſel, Caſſel, and Fluſhing to the French empire. Another decree of that ſubſervient body, bearing the ſame date, placed eighty thouſand conſcripts, conſiſting of youths born during the year 1789, at the diſpoſal of government; thus anticipating by twelve months the period when theſe victims of oppreſſion were liable to be enrolled for ſervice even by the laws of the oppreſſor. The armies of France were alſo augmented in another manner. During the late fatal campaign in the north of Germany, the number of Pruſſian priſoners ſent to France amounted, it is ſaid, to little ſhort of one hundred thouſand. By the treaty of Tilſit they were to be immediately reſtored; but various pretexts were urged for not executing the article relative to them, until many of theſe individuals were forced into the ſervice of France, or her German allies. This manœuvre was the more eaſily effected, as it was inſiſted that the ſoldiers who had been enrolled in the provinces ceded by Pruſſia, were to be conſidered as belonging to the ſovereigns to whom the provinces were transferred. Buonaparté formed ſeveral regiments from theſe priſoners, and placed them on the ſame footing as the Swiſs and Hanoverian battalions in his pay*.

It had been announced for ſome time that there was an intention of creating an order of nobility in France, and indeed it appears ſurpriſing, notwithſtanding the various concerns of magnitude which had occupied the attention of Buonaparté ſince he had aſſumed the ſovereignty, that he did not ſooner avail himſelf of ſome opportunity to form an inſtitution ſo obviouſly calculated to confirm the attachment of his adherents to his perſon, and to increaſe the train of his partiſans, by conferring on civil and military officers hereditary honours and dignities which would depend on the ſtability of his power. The ſtatutes by which this nobility was eſtabliſhed, were laid before the ſenate on the 11th of March, by the arch-chancellor Cambacérès. It was decreed that the great officers of the empire, viz. the grand elector, the arch-chancellor, the arch-treaſurer, the conſtable, and the grand admiral, were to have the title of prince and ſerene highneſs. The eldeſt ſons of theſe perſons were to bear, in their own right, the title of duke of the empire, as ſoon as their fathers ſhould aſſign them an entailed eſtate, yielding an annual income of 200,000 francs. This title, with the eſtate, was to paſs to lineal and legal deſcendants, whether of the body or adopted, from male to male, according to the order of birth. The miniſters, ſenators, counſellors of ſtate named for life, the preſidents of the legiſlative body, and the archbiſhops, were conſtituted counts. The title of count was to deſcend in the ſame

* Prince William of Pruſſia, after much ſolicitation, ſucceeded in obtaining paſſports for the Pruſſian priſoners remaining in France; but he was mortified to find that the total number which he could redeem, fell ſhort of ſeven thouſand.

manner as that of duke, but with reſpect to the archbiſhops, it was to paſs to nephews choſen by them, in whoſe favour it was to become hereditary. To bear this title, it was neceſſary for the party to prove that he had a certain income of 30,000 francs, ariſing by eſtates from which an entail might be made, and one-third part of the income was to be attached to the title by way of endowment. The preſidents of the departmental electoral aſſemblies, when they had preſided in them for three ſeſſions, the firſt preſident and the attorney-general of the court of caſſation, the firſt preſident and the attorney-general of the chamber of accounts, and the firſt preſident and attorney-general of the court of appeal, after they had exerciſed their functions for ten years to the ſovereign's ſatisfaction, the mayors of thirty-ſeven cities, who had a right to be preſent at the coronation of the emperor, having performed their duties agreeably to his deſires for the ſame period, and the biſhops, were to receive the title of baron. To be qualified for this hereditary diſtinction, it was neceſſary to poſſeſs an income of 15,000 francs, one-third of which was to be appropriated as an entail to ſupport the dignity. The members of the departmental electoral aſſemblies having attended during three ſeſſions, and whoſe conduct was approved by the emperor, might petition to be created barons. The members of the legion of honour were to bear the title of knights, which was to be hereditary, and their qualification was to be an income of at leaſt 3000 francs. Buonapartè reſerved to himſelf the right of granting ſuch titles, as he might deem adviſable, to generals, prefects, civil and military officers, as well as others, who ſhould diſtinguiſh themſelves by ſervices rendered to the ſtate. The perſons who were gratified by theſe new diſtinctions, were to uſe no other arms than ſuch as ſhould be contained in the letters patent of their elevation; and the aſſumption of any title of dignity not conceded by Buonapartè was prohibited. Each member of the new eſtabliſhment was to take the following oath. "I ſwear to be faithful to the emperor and his dynaſty; to be obedient to the conſtitution, laws, and inſtitutions of the empire; to ſerve his majeſty as a good, upright, and faithful ſubject: to educate my children in the ſame principles of fidelity and obedience, and to march in defence of my country as ſoon as its territory ſhall be threatened, or as ſoon as his majeſty ſhall take the field." It muſt be acknowledged, that the terms of this oath approached as nearly as circumſtances would permit to thoſe of the old feudal vow, in which the vaſſal ſwore to become the liege's "man," and to attend him in all his warlike expeditions.

The arch-chancellor, in the harangue which he pronounced to the ſenate before he preſented the ſtatutes, appealed to the teſtimony of the beſt writers on political philoſophy, to prove that the meaſure had become neceſſary. "They," ſaid he, "have conſidered the exiſtence and ſupport of hereditary diſtinctions as being in ſome degree eſſential to monarchical government." He next dwelt on the advantages, which would reſult to the ſtate by originating theſe dignities, in the ſubſequent manner.

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"A purer ſource of diſtinction cannot exiſt than that which we have now in view. Titles ſhall henceforth be ſhared by all who, by their ſervices, their attachment to their prince and their country, have already rendered themſelves celebrated, and whoſe reward is aſſigned by univerſal gratitude. Great models will impoſe great duties, and the exertion of power which this obligation will demand, will be for France a never-failing ſtream of fame and proſperity." M. Cambacérès was alſo careful to point out that the patent of nobility would confer no excluſive privileges. "The new order of things," he obſerved, "raiſes no wall of ſeparation between the citizens. The regular diſtinctions which are thereby introduced, are no infringement on the rights which make all Frenchmen the ſame in the eye of the law; on the contrary, they ſtrengthen thoſe rights, by promoting morality, and guiding thoſe general ſentiments which many want when they are not ſupported by motives of honour." A point of ſome delicacy ſtill remained to be touched on, and that related to the legion of honour, thus become a conſtellation of the leaſt magnitude in this brilliant firmament. "The legion of honour," ſaid the arch-chancellor, "cannot be unaffected by the approaching eſtabliſhment: eſpecial proviſions render it the firſt degree in this hierarchy of fame. The title revered as it was before, appears to have acquired a new ſplendour; it becomes an inheritance of honour, which the deſcendants of thoſe who have acquired it, will be eager to increaſe and render more illuſtrious."

Two paragraphs in this ſpeech require ſome notice. The firſt runs thus: "Europe, which has witneſſed our political eſtab'iſhment, admires the powers of a genius, who has been able to bring it to a happy termination. She is covered with our trophies, and will receive with reſpect names to which our ſovereign has been pleaſed to add new luſtre." By way of perpetuating the memory of theſe "trophies," ſo ſoothing to French vanity, Buonapartè conferred on his marſhals and miniſters titles taken from foreign places, which had either become ſubject to him, or which had been the ſcenes of victories and conſiderable military tranſactions. The other paragraph is to this effect: "The principal end of theſe proviſions has been to fix in the projected inſtitution the rudiments of utility and permanence, to purify its ſource from corruption, and by the eſtabliſhment of *imperial titles*, to eradicate the laſt roots of a tree which the hand of time has thrown far away, and which cannot flouriſh again under a prince not leſs great in intellect than power." By this paſſage, it is evident, that Buonapartè hoped to conſign the inſtitutions of the old monarchy to oblivion, by annihilating all traces of the ancient nobleſſe, and to remodify every element of power by making it paſs through new combinations.

Amongſt the improvements ſo confidently promiſed to France by the firſt reformers of the government, was a ſyſtem of national education, upon which every party that had ſucceſſively excited and diſappointed the hopes of a credulous public, had at leaſt ſedulouſly and pompouſly declaimed. The defenſive war of the revolution againſt

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againſt all the powers of Europe in the firſt inſtance, and ſubſequently the offenſive wars generated by the vaſt project of enſlaving all thoſe powers, had equally impeded the progreſs of any plan for general inſtruction. A variety of incomplete projects were adopted and abrogated; central and other ſchools were afterwards diſtributed throughout the departments, and ſome ſplendid eſtabliſhments were founded in the metropolis. At length, on the 17th of March an imperial decree completed the ſtructure, by connecting all the ſchools and academies, or colleges, of France together, under the title of the univerſity, to which the public inſtruction throughout the whole empire was excluſively confided: for it was ordained, that no one could open a ſchool, or teach publicly, without being a member of the imperial univerſity, and graduated by one of its faculties. The diviſions of each academy, or college, were arranged in the following order: 1. The Faculties for the more profound ſciences, and for conferring degrees. 2. The Lycæa for the ancient languages, hiſtory, rhetoric, logic, and the elements of the mathematical and natural ſciences. 3. The colleges (ſecondary ſchools of the communes) for the elements of the ancient languages, the firſt principles of hiſtory, and of the ſciences. 4. *Les Inſtitutions*, viz. Schools kept by private maſters, in which the inſtruction approached to that of the colleges. 5. *Penſions* or Boarding Schools, alſo belonging to private maſters, and devoted to ſtudies leſs ſevere than thoſe of the *Inſtitutions*. 6. The lower, or primary ſchools, where reading, writing, and the firſt rules of arithmetic were taught.

The Faculties were increaſed to the number of five: 1. Theology; 2. Law; 3. Medicine; 4. The Mathematical and Phyſical Sciences; 5. General Literature *(Lettres)*. There were to be two theological faculties, one at Straſburgh and the other at Geneva, for the reformed religion. In each faculty were three degrees, viz. Bachelors, Licentiates, and Doctors. A grand maſter, appointed by Buonapartè, and removable at his will, was to preſide over the imperial univerſity; and all the profeſſors, tutors, and functionaries, of the eſtabliſhment, were to be abſolutely under the authority of the government, though nominated by the grand maſter.

Several decrees for carrying into effect the meaſures, determined on in the preceding December relative to the Jews, were alſo made on the 17th of March. By the firſt, a ſynagogue and conſiſtory were to be eſtabliſhed for every two thouſand jews; but there was to be only one conſiſtorial ſynagogue for a department. The conſiſtory was to ſuperintend the rabbis, and take care that their teaching was conformable with the doctrines of the grand ſanhedrim. It was to give information reſpecting the Jewiſh conſcripts of its diſtricts. Every Jew who wiſhed to ſettle in France or Italy, was to give three months previous notice to the neareſt conſiſtory. There was to be a central conſiſtory at Paris; and each conſiſtory was to have a grand rabbi, elected by twenty-five notables. The ſecond decree annulled all obligations for loans made to Jews by minors, without the ſanction of their

their guardians; by married women without the consent of their husbands; and by military men without the authority of their officers. Bills granted by French subjects to Jews could not be demanded, unless the holders proved that full value was given for them without any fraud. All debts accumulated by interest above 5 per cent. were to be reduced by the courts of law. After the 1st of July no Jew was to be allowed to trade without a patent, annually renewable; and this patent was not to be granted by the prefects to any individual, until he produced a certificate of his character, testifying that he was no usurer. No Jews, not actually domiciliated in the departments of the Upper and Lower Rhine, could be permitted to reside there. In the other departments, the Jews were not to be allowed to settle, except upon condition of their purchasing landed property, and abandoning commerce. The emperor might, however, grant to individuals exceptions from this law. The Jews of the conscription were required to perform personal service, and were not allowed to find substitutes. These regulations were to be continued during ten years only, in the hope that after that period, there would be no difference between the moral character of the Jews and the other citizens of the empire. If the contrary should appear, the law was to remain in force. The Jews of Bourdeaux, of the Gironde, and the Landes, having given no cause for complaint, were not subject to these regulations.

The annual *exposé* of the French empire was not produced until the 2d of November. The particular economy of the country having been so minutely described in the former volumes of this work, it does not appear to be requisite to expatiate much on the subject; because nearly every point which could be adduced must consist of repetition. It was declared that the finances, since France had generously consented to adopt the mode of indirect taxation, were brought to a state of prosperity. The measures taken by Buonaparte in respect to the restrictions on commerce, were affirmed to have been provoked by the British laws; and it was admitted that from those measures, and the almost total discontinuance of maritime intercourse, many privations for the French merchants, manufacturers, and consumers, must have ensued; but the privations were declared to have been endured with resignation, to have become habitual, to have awakened the genius of invention, and to have produced a thousand resources by substituting other objects for those which had been required. Besides, it was observed, that a great nation, by possessing in abundance all articles of utility, could easily forego those which only formed certain luxuries, or conveniences of life, particularly when its independence and glory were at stake. The war against England, it was said, would thenceforth consist in repelling from all points the British commerce, and in employing all the means calculated to promote that end. Amongst the arts of industry, the manufactory of tin was stated to have made great progress, and to be by no means inferior to that of the English. The creations of titles of nobility, it was remarked, had environed the throne

throne with new ſplendour; that ſyſtem would inſpire all hearts with a laudable emulation: it perpetuated a remembrance of the moſt illuſtrious ſervices repaid by the moſt honourable reward. There was in the *expoſé* a long detail concerning the adminiſtration of juſtice, the principal improvement of which was in the eſtabliſhment of the trial by jury on the principles of the Engliſh law. Such were the chief circumſtances enumerated in this document; for as to the account of the marine, it is wholly unworthy of notice.

Having ſurrounded himſelf with a hereditary nobleſſe, and embodied all the profeſſors of inſtruction in a regular corps, to be drilled in any manner which he might approve, Buonapartè had leiſure to attend to other matters, which were already in a train of accompliſhment. He had long determined to extort from the fears of the Pope a ſubmiſſion to his arbitrary demands; which were, that his Holineſs ſhould enter into an offenſive and defenſive alliance with the other ſtates of Italy. Conſcious that this alliance would commit him in all the iniquitous deſigns of the French cabinet, the ſovereign pontiff was unwilling to become an inſtrument in the hands of Buonapartè, for purpoſes which neither religion nor morality could warrant; and he was conſequently threatened with the loſs of his territories, unleſs he conſented to ſacrifice his principles by becoming a member of the propoſed league. Againſt this menaced uſurpation the Pope, in order to maintain his duties in guaranteeing the rights of his temporal authority, publicly proteſted on behalf of himſelf and his ſucceſſors, at the ſame time declaring that he could not comply with demands which were contrary to his ſacred obligations, and the dictates of his conſcience. The reſult of this meaſure was, that at the latter end of February a French army marched to Rome, and the commander of it ſeized the general poſt-office with a picquet of ſoldiers, for the purpoſe of examining all correſpondence, placed guards over the printing-offices, to prevent the Pope from promulgating his ſentiments by means of the preſs, incorporated by violence the Roman ſoldiers with the French troops, and confined ſeveral cardinals as ſtate priſoners. His holineſs remonſtrated againſt theſe outrages, and particularly on the treatment of the cardinals, ſome of whom were natives of the kingdom of Naples, and others of the kingdom of Italy, and the countries united with France. On this ſubject he obſerved, that he could not be ignorant that it was not only intended to deprive him of his temporal authority, but that there was alſo a deſign to deſtroy the ſpiritual government of the church of Rome, repreſented by the ſacred college, the ſenate of the ſovereign pontiff; and that he had ſeen with horror and ſurpriſe, the maxims which broke the moſt ſacred bands by which the cardinals were united to the Pope by all the force of a ſolemn oath, preceded and followed up by the indignities to which the head of the church had been expoſed.

The Pope was yet to receive new inſults. Cannon had been planted before his palace, when the French firſt entered Rome, but on the 7th of April, at ſix o'clock in the morning, a French detachment forced

forced their way into it, disarmed the Swiss and noble guards in the anti-chambers; and, on their refusing to obey in future the orders of the French general, put them under arrest. His holiness having protested against these contumelious proceedings, ordered the inconsiderable number of his guards, and militia who had not been incorporated with the French army, to adopt a different cockade, with the design, as he immediately informed M. Lefebvre, the French chargé d'affaires at Rome, of manifesting by every means in his power, his firm determination to remain neutral, and that he no longer considered the incorporated troops as belonging to him. The French general, to foil the intentions of his holiness, directed all the troops who had been compelled to enter into his ranks to wear the same cockade; but at the same time inserted a notice in the order of the day, which was conspicuously posted up at his headquarters, that the change of insignia ordered by the Pope had been intended as the signal of an union against the French army. Cardinal Gabrielli denied the inference drawn from the order, and required the liberation of the arrested officers and soldiers; but of course no attention was paid to the demand.

Cardinal Caprara, the Pope's nuncio at Paris, had been officially acquainted with the transactions which occurred in February, and enjoined to complain of them, as well as to endeavour to obtain redress for the wrongs and insults which had been offered to the sovereign pontiff, both in his temporal and spiritual capacity; as no satisfactory reply had been made to the notes of his eminence, he was afterwards instructed to notify the cessation of his powers as legate, and obtain his passports as ambassador, in order that he might quit the capital of France. The communication in obedience to his last orders was made on the 30th of March, and it drew an answer from M. Champagni, embracing the general matter at issue between the courts of Paris and Rome, in these terms. "The emperor cannot recognise the principle, that prelates are not subjects of the sovereign under whose authority they are born. As to other points, the proposal of his majesty is, and from which he never will depart, that all Italy, Rome, Naples, and Milan, shall enter into an offensive and defensive treaty, for the purpose of removing from the peninsula commotions and hostilities. If the Holy Father accede to this proposal, every thing is settled. If he refuse it, he announces by such a determination that he wishes for no arrangement, no peace with the emperor, and that he is at war with him. The first consequence of war is conquest, and the result of conquest is a change of government: for if the emperor is under the necessity of going to war with Rome, is he not also under the necessity of conquering it, of changing the government, of establishing another, which shall make common cause against the common enemy with the kingdoms of Italy and Naples? What other guarantee could he have for the security and tranquillity of Italy, if these two kingdoms were separated by a state, in which their enemies would be certain of meeting with a cordial reception? These alterations, become necessary if the Holy Father persists

perſiſts in his refuſal, will take away from him none of his ſpiritual rights. He will continue biſhop of Rome, as his predeceſſors were during the eight firſt ages, and under Charlemagne. It will, however, be a ſubject of grief to his majeſty to ſee the works of genius, of political wiſdom, and of underſtanding, deſtroyed by imprudence, obſtinacy, and blindneſs."

M. Champagni pretended to have written thus far, in purſuance of orders to anſwer the remonſtrances of cardinal Caprara, before the note of his eminence, dated the 30th of March, had been received. On that document he added ſome comments. "This note," he remarked, "has two objects in view; the firſt to announce the ceſſation of the powers of the legate of the Holy Chair, to notify it againſt the ordinary forms and uſages, at the eve of Holy Week; at a time when the court of Rome, if it were ſtill animated by a truly evangelical ſpirit, would feel it to be its duty to multiply ſpiritual ſuccours, and to promote, by its example, union amongſt the faithful. But be it as it may, the Holy Father having withdrawn his powers from his eminence, the emperor no longer acknowledges him as his legate. The French church reſumes the full integrity of its doctrine. Its knowledge, its piety will continue to preſerve in France the catholic religion, which the emperor will always conſider it his glory to defend, and cauſe to be reſpected."

"The ſecond object of the note of his excellency cardinal Caprara, is to demand his paſſports as ambaſſador. The underſigned has the honour to encloſe them. His majeſty ſees with regret this formal demand of paſſports, which the practice of modern times regards as a real declaration of war. Rome is then at war with France; and in this ſtate of affairs, his majeſty is obliged to iſſue the neceſſary orders which the tranquillity of Italy renders neceſſary. The reſolution to produce this rupture has been taken by the court of Rome, at a time when it believes that its arms are powerful enough to ſhew, that it may have recourſe to other extremities, but their effects will be checked by the illumination of the age. Temporal and ſpiritual authority are no longer confounded. The royal dignity, conſecrated by God himſelf, is above any attack. The underſigned wiſhes that the obſervations which he is ordered to tranſmit to cardinal Caprara, may induce his holineſs to accede to the propoſal of his majeſty."

To M. Champagni's note ſucceeded a very able memorial from the court of Rome. The ſubſtance of it was, that his holineſs could not enter into any offenſive and defenſive league, which would by a permanent and progreſſive ſyſtem, drag him into hoſtility againſt all thoſe powers, upon which Buonaparte might think proper to make war. "Such an engagement, it was obſerved, "would compel the Pope to wage war againſt any catholic prince without a motive. Farther, war muſt be waged againſt all thoſe powers, whether catholic or not, who may, upon whatever grounds, be the enemies of any Italian prince. This engagement is too repugnant to the duties of his holineſs, and too injurious to the intereſts of religion, to be entered into by the head of that religion. How could it ever be ſuppoſed, that his

his holineſs ſhould be capable of declaring war againſt any power? He has long been enduring the moſt hoſtile treatment, and is therefore prepared to ſubmit to the loſs of his temporal dominions. What can Italy have to fear, if his holineſs ſhould not enter into the propoſed league?—Surrounded as the papal dominions are by thoſe of his majeſty, no rational fear could be entertained but of the ports; yet his holineſs having offered to ſhut them during the preſent war againſt the enemies of France, and to guard the coaſt, he thus propoſed to contribute, as far as was in his power, without betraying his ſacred obligations, to the ſecurity and tranquillity of Italy. If, in ſpite of all this, his majeſty ſhall take poſſeſſion, as he has threatened, of the papal dominions, reſpected by all, even the moſt powerful monarchies, during the ſpace of ten centuries and upwards, and ſhall overturn the government, his holineſs will be unable to prevent this ſpoliation, and can only in bitter affliction of heart, lament the evil which his majeſty will commit in the ſight of God; truſting in whoſe protection his holineſs will remain in perfect tranquillity, enjoying the conſciouſneſs of not having brought on this diſaſter by imprudence or obſtinacy, but to preſerve the independence of that ſovereignty, which he ought to tranſmit uninjured to his ſucceſſors."

"His holineſs had no need to examine the principle upon which the allegiance of the cardinals was founded. Preſuming on that freedom which the rights of nations allow to every man, to live under that ſky which is moſt congenial to him; preſuming on that new allegiance acquired by the reſidence of many years, his holineſs remarks that primitive allegiance cannot avail againſt the ſacred obligations undertaken by the cardinals in the church of God, the oaths they take on receiving the purple, and their eminent office of counſellors to the ſovereign pontiff in his ſpiritual concerns; and that, therefore, they cannot be torn from his boſom. With regard to the ceſſation of the functions of the legate, and to his departure, his holineſs could hardly have expected that they would have been attributed to the motives aſſigned in M. Champagni's note. His holineſs will repeat his motives for thoſe meaſures once more. After having tried every method to recal his majeſty to his previous ſentiments towards the papal ſee, and to concert the deſired reparation of ſo many religious innovations; after having endured for ſuch a length of time with unſubdued patience, and with unalterable meekneſs, ſo many outrages and inſults; and ſeeing them increaſe every hour, his holineſs found it neceſſary, though with the deepeſt regret, to determine on the recal of his legate, in order to overthrow at leaſt in the face of the world, the falſe and ſcandalous opinion that whatever might occur, even the moſt flagrant wrongs, would receive his tacit conſent In this very recal, the preciſe period of which could not have been anticipated by his holineſs, he profeſſed, along with thoſe conſtantly affectionate regards which he entertained for his majeſty, that could the emperor but conſent to the demand of the evacuation of Rome, and be ſatisfied with the conceſſions which are compatible with the duties of his holineſs, the legate might continue, in conformity with his inſtructions,

ſtructions, to exerciſe his functions. But his majeſty proved inflexible, and inſtead of receding a ſingle ſtep, preferred the diſcontinuance of the legation, and the departure of the pontifical repreſentative."

"It is not, therefore, his holineſs who, by his hypothetical recal of his legate, has declared war againſt the emperor; it is the emperor who chuſes to declare war againſt his holineſs; and not content with declaring it againſt his temporal ſovereignty, he threatens to raiſe in his ſpiritual, a wall of diviſion between the catholics of France and the ſovereign pontiff, in the aſſurance, according to M. Champagni's note, that the cardinal legate having given up his functions, the Gallican church reſumes its doctrine in all its integrity. His holineſs has too good an opinion of the illuſtrious clergy of France to doubt that the Gallican church, however jealous of its prerogatives, is yet ſo attached to the chair of Saint Peter; that it will maintain itſelf unſhaken in its true principles, without aſſerting rights which it does not, and cannot poſſeſs; nor become ſchiſmatic, by ſeparating itſelf from the catholic unity."

Finding that he could not ſubdue the firmneſs of the Pope, Buonapartè, by a decree dated the 11th of May, at once united the Roman ſtates to the kingdom of Italy. The reaſons aſſigned for this act of ſpoliation were, that the "ſovereign of Rome" had conſtantly refuſed to declare war againſt the Engliſh, and to co-operate with the kingdom of Italy and Naples for the protection of the Italian peninſula. "The gift," ſaid the French ruler, "of the lands which compoſe the eccleſiaſtical ſtates was made by Charlemagne, our illuſtrious predeceſſor, for the benefit of Chriſtendom; but not for the ſuccour of the enemies of our holy religion." A ſecond decree commanded all cardinals, prelates, and other officers of the Roman court, born in the kingdom of Italy, to retire to the places of their birth, before the 5th of June, on pain of forfeiting their goods.

On the 24th of May the French ſenate was aſſembled to paſs a vote, by which Tuſcany was to be added to the French empire. Leſt the members of this body ſhould be aſtoniſhed at the reſult of their own proceedings, M. de Saint Jean d'Angely had the kindneſs to inform them, that the whole coaſt of the Mediterranean muſt form a part of the French empire, and that the port of Leghorn had given conſtant reaſons of complaint to France. That port, it was ſaid, appertaining to a territory governed by a weak prince, had fallen under the influence of England, and was become one of the principal inlets for her commerce. In different inſtances, without wiſhing to violate the neutrality of the ſovereign, it became neceſſary for French troops to enter Leghorn, to confiſcate the Engliſh merchandize there. Theſe violations of territory, however neceſſary, were always diſagreeable; and ſince Leghorn could not be under the influence of France and England at the ſame time, it muſt become a part of France. Beſides, the Tuſcan territories produced ſailors for the extenſion of the French marine. This union was alſo deſcribed to be for the intereſt of Tuſcany, which, under the ſway of its little princes, was governed

verned without ſyſtem, without vigour, and was perpetually infeſted by the Barbary powers. Men could no longer be governed in a capricious and fantaſtic manner. There muſt be a certain rule: the government of the law protected by prince ſufficiently great, and elevated above the paſſions of men, and inflexible as the law, was neceſſary for this purpoſe. The time was paſſed in which it was believed that people were made for kings, and not kings for the people. Lands, paſtures, and foreſts, could become property; but no perſon could poſſeſs a kingdom as if it were a farm. Theſe diſaſtrous conſequences could no longer take place in great ſtates. It was in vain, then, that objections might be made to the great extenſion of the empire. The communication by land, now when neither the Alps nor Appenines oppoſed it, was as eaſy from Leghorn to Paris as from Paris to Nice. It had been the policy of European ſtates to ſubdue the moſt diſtant countries, in order to obtain new commercial and maritime reſources. Why, then, ſhould thoſe reſources and acquiſitions be neglected, which were ſo valuable to the French? The territory of the Medici, the country of the ſciences and of the arts, muſt form an immediate part of the French empire.

The appeal, it is to be preſumed, was irreſiſtibly convincing, for the ſenate unanimouſly voted the deſired incorporation; and as a corollary to the principal meaſure of union, annexed the duchies of Parma and Placentia to France. Tuſcany was divided into three diſtricts, with new names, viz. the department of the Arno, that of the Mediterranean, and that of the Ombrona. Parma and Placentia were denominated the department of the Taro.

The entire peninſula of Italy was now virtually under the French government, as the forts in Calabria, which had been occupied by the Sicilians and Engliſh, were evacuated in the month of February. General Regnier commenced his operations againſt the town and caſtle of Scylla, which were garriſoned by about two hundred Britiſh, and five hundred Calabrians, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Robertſon, at the latter end of December, 1807; but though he brought down a very ſuperior French force to inveſt them, ſuch were the gallantry and ſkill with which they were defended, that he made no great progreſs in his approaches till the beginning of the following February. At this time the ſurrender of the city of Reggio, by the troops of his Sicilian majeſty to the French arms, liberated the corps employed in reducing it, which immediately joined that before Scylla, and augmented its numbers to nearly ſix thouſand men. About the ſame period four Sicilian gun-boats, each carrying a twenty-four pounder, unfortunately fell into the hands of the enemy. In endeavouring to recover them, the Delight ſloop of war run on ſhore; and ſeveral of her crew, with her commander Captain Hanfield, being killed, the remainder became priſoners. As it was impoſſible to get the Delight off, ſhe was next day burnt by the Engliſh; but Regnier ſucceeded in landing the cannon from the Sicilian gun-boats, to add to his battering train. The Calabrians, under

under lieutenant colonel Robertſon's orders, continued to diſplay great courage, and obliged the French to purchaſe their advances with heavy loſs; on the 9th of February, however, they were compelled to yield to numbers, and retire under the guns of the fortreſs. Theſe brave peaſants were then ſent off to Meſſina. On the morning of the 11th, Regnier opened his batteries, and perſevered in cannonading and bombarding the fortifications until the 14th, when the parapet of the works was laid in ruins, and all the guns of the garriſon diſmounted. As the Britiſh were now reduced to defend themſelves by muſketry, on the morning of the 15th, lieutenant-colonel Robertſon reported by telegraph, his deſperate ſituation to general Sherbrooke, the commander in-chief of the Engliſh forces in Sicily. In the night the French puſhed round the foot of the rock on which the caſtle is built, with the intention of deſtroying the ſtair-caſe by which the fortreſs communicates with the beach, but they were happily diſcovered and driven back with great ſlaughter. The weather was ſo ſtormy from the 11th to the 16th, that it had been found impoſſible to employ the gun and mortar-boats in the aſſiſtance of the beſieged, from which it had been hoped they would have derived conſiderable advantage; and it was as impracticable to make any attempt to withdraw the garriſon from Scylla. However, on the 17th, the gale becoming more moderate, the boats of the Engliſh tranſport veſſels ran over from Faros, protected by the launches of the men of war. At this period, the French having battered the walls of the caſtle inceſſantly, it was ſuppoſed that a breach would have been practicable by the evening. The garriſon was now drawn off by degrees, and effected its retreat to the boats by the ſtair-caſe in the rock. Scarcely were the ſoldiers embarked, when they were expoſed to a tremendous and galling fire from the enemy, who took poſſeſſion of the fort before the Britiſh were at the diſtance of muſket-ſhot; but the latter reached the Sicilian ſhore in ſafety, and without ſuffering any material loſs.

On the 30th of March a treaty was concluded between Great Britain and Sicily, by which his Sicilian majeſty engaged to grant to the Engliſh troops in his fortreſſes, and to all Engliſh ſhips of war in the Mediterranean, an exemption from duties payable to him on ſuch proviſions and military and naval ſtores as they might require, on condition that the governor of Malta ſhould ſpecify the neceſſary articles for the veſſels on that ſtation. The king of Sicily likewiſe ſtipulated never to allow the enemies of Great Britain to bring into his ports any Engliſh ſhips which they had taken. His Britannic majeſty undertook, in return, to defend, during the war, the fortreſſes of Meſſina and Auguſta, and to maintain there for that purpoſe, at his charge, a body of troops conſiſting of ten thouſand men, and to increaſe their number if expedient: his majeſty further engaged to pay, during the war, to the king of Sicily an annual ſubſidy of 300,000l. ſterling, at the rate of 25,000l. a month, and a month's inſtalment was always to be paid in advance.

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The king of Sicily was to employ this ſubſidy for the uſe of his marine and land forces in the defence of his ſtates, and to render an account to the Britiſh government of the manner in which it was expended quarterly. Both parties contracted not to make a ſeparate peace with France, and a treaty of commerce was to be arranged as ſpeedily as poſſible between England and Sicily.

The ſubſidy above alluded to, was to commence retroſpectively from the 10th of September, 1805, when the combined force of Britiſh and Ruſſians ſo abſurdly landed in the kingdom of Naples, and by that inconſiderate act forced his Sicilian majeſty into a war with France, in conſequence of which, he loſt the better part of his dominions. Thus it appears, that the incomparable folly of the individuals concerned in that expedition, beſides depriving an allied ſovereign of the brighteſt and moſt valuable jewel in his crown, coſt the Britiſh nation above ſeven hundred thouſandpounds, independently of the expence which was incurred in defending the iſland of Sicily againſt the French.

At the latter end of the year the enemy recovered the iſland of Capri, which formed a deſirable place of rendezvous for the Engliſh ſquadrons, as Naples was in the power of the French. The Neapolitan government prepared an expedition againſt this poſt with much ſecrecy, and on the 4th of October, general Lamarque, with fifteen hundred men on board ſixty tranſports, ſailed from the gulph of Naples, protected by a frigate, a ſloop, and twenty-ſix gun-boats. After a ſhort and favourable paſſage, the enemy landed on the iſland, although it is ſaid he encountered a ſpirited oppoſition; he afterwards poſſeſſed himſelf of the heights of Anacapri, which command the territory, owing to the defection of the Malteſe regiments ſtationed to protect them, which did not make even a reſpectable reſiſtance. By this ſucceſs, he was enabled to compel the commander of the Britiſh garriſon to ſign a capitulation; in virtue of which, all the troops on the iſland ſurrendered as priſoners of war, and were to be conveyed to England, on an underſtanding that they would not ſerve againſt Buonapartè or his allies, until they were exchanged.

Although the naval power of the Dutch had ceaſed to be formidable, oreven conſidered in Europe, a remnant of their marine force, conſiſting of two ſhips of ſeventy-four guns, one of ſixty, and another of forty, ſtill exiſted in a diſmantled ſtate in the harbour of Grieſſe, a port ſituated in the iſland of Java. For the purpoſe of capturing or deſtroying theſe veſſels, ſir Edward Pellew ſailed from Malacca, on the 20th of November, 1807, with the Culloden and Powerful, of ſeventy-four guns, two frigates, ſome ſloops of war, and a tranſport, having on board his ſquadron a detachment of troops, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Lockhart. On the 5th of the following month the admiral arrived off Point Panka, and in conjunction with the lieutenant-colonel, he ſent a commiſſion under a flag of truce to treat with the Dutch commander for the ſurrender of the ſhips; but that officer refuſed to deliver them up, declaring that he could not, conſiſtently with his duty to the king of Holland, accede to the propoſed terms.

terms. Sir Edward Pellew thus forced to proceed to extremities, made the neceſſary preparations, and ſoon ſilencing all the hoſtile batteries, took poſſeſſion of the Dutch ſhips, which had, however, been previouſly ſcuttled, and burnt them. Sir Edward then ſailed higher up the ſtraits to Sourabaya, to negotiate with the perſons in authority at that place, for the deſtruction of the battery of Sambelangan on the iſland of Madura. The Engliſh commanders offered to abſtain from uſing force for effecting this ſervice, provided that the governor of the ſettlement would undertake to accompliſh the object which they had in view. The Dutch governor and council, not having the means of reſiſtance, conſented to demoliſh the fort, and the battery was levelled in the preſence of a party of troops ſent on ſhore to ſee the engagement fulfilled. Thus were theſe important objects accompliſhed, without any detriment to the private property of individuals in the ſettlement.

A very gallant action took place at no great diſtance from the iſland of Ceylon, between the St. Fiorenzo, a frigate mounting thirty-eight guns, commanded by captain Hardinge, and the Piedmontaiſe, a French ſhip, carrying fifty long eighteen-pounders, commanded by M. Epron. The engagement was renewed for three ſucceſſive days, and was one of the moſt ſevere and determined that had been fought during the war; it ended in the capture of the Piedmontaiſe, which was carried into Columbo; but the victory deprived the Britiſh ſervice of a moſt valuable officer, captain Hardinge falling in the laſt action by a grape-ſhot. The memory of this brave man was deſervedly honoured by the Britiſh inhabitants of India, with peculiar marks of diſtinction: it was alſo graced by a token of applauſe on the part of the ſovereign, who granted an appropriate augmentation to the armorial bearings of captain Hardinge's family. The capture of the Piedmontaiſe was of the more conſequence, becauſe ſhe had for a conſiderable time infeſted the Indian ſeas, on which ſhe had taken ſeveral valuable prizes, and being a ſwift ſailer, had hitherto contrived to elude purſuit.

The tranſactions in the Weſt Indies were of no great importance. General Bowyer, and admiral Cochrane, with a Britiſh armament, appeared before the Daniſh iſland of St. Thomas, on the 21ſt of December, 1807, which, on being ſummoned, the governor ſurrendered to them the next day, without reſiſtance. The Engliſh commanders left a garriſon in the place, and then ſailed to Santa Cruz, the admiral having previouſly ſent his majeſty's ſhip Ethalion, with brigadier-general Shipley and captain Fahie on board, to ſummon the iſland, who returned on the 24th to the ſquadron, bearing a letter from the governor, offering to ſurrender it to his majeſty, provided that three Daniſh officers were permitted to view the number of troops brought againſt it. The requeſt of the governor was complied with, in order that his conduct might be juſtified to his ſovereign, and when he was ſatisfied from the report of the officers, that he could not hope to repel the Engliſh forces, he immediately capitulated. Captain Selby, who in the month of March

was

was employed in blockading Guadaloupe, finding that the iſland of Marie Galante afforded a ſhelter for the enemy's privateers, with their captured veſſels, landed two hundred ſeamen and marines upon it with little oppoſition, and ſoon afterwards the iſland was ſurrendered at diſcretion, the commandant and military force becoming priſoners of war. An attempt was made in the month of Auguſt to recover Marie Galante by the enemy, who puſhed a party over in boats from Guadaloupe for that purpoſe; but though the party effected a landing, it was defeated by a detachment of Britiſh troops under the command of lieutenant-colonel Blackwell, which was ſent from Barbadoes by general Beckwith, as ſoon as he was acquainted with this hoſtile movement. Beſides taking Marie Galante, captain Selby alſo engaged part of the force under his orders in the capture of the little iſland of Deſeada, which ſurrendered in the month of March.

A French ſquadron contrived to eſcape from Rochefort in the month of January, while ſir Richard Strachan was forced to quit that ſtation for a ſhort time, to obtain a ſupply of proviſions and water, with which his ſhips had very improperly not been furniſhed. On learning that the French ſhips had put to ſea, ſir John Duckworth, who was cruiſing off the coaſt of France, proceeded to Madeira, and thence to the Weſt Indies, under the idea that the enemy had taken that courſe. After a long and unſucceſsful cruiſe, ſir John returned to England. Sir Richard Strachan, with more probability of falling in with the French, as it appeared in the ſequel, ſailed to the Mediterranean in the hope of overtaking the fugitive ſquadron; he was, nevertheleſs, not more fortunate than ſir John Duckworth in his enterpriſe; for the French confined themſelves to the object of quitting one of their ports to enter another, and got ſafely into Toulon.

The people of America were extremely diſcontented with the determination of the government to perſevere in enforcing the embargo; a meaſure which proved ſo very injurious to their commerce. In the ſtate of Virginia the feelings of the inhabitants appear to have been highly exaſperated; for it is ſtated that hand-bills of a moſt inflammatory nature were circulated throughout the province. Theſe productions even called on the citizens to riſe in a maſs, and recede from the union. Petitions againſt the continuance of the embargo were preſented from many parts of the country, from the ſhip-owners and captains of merchant veſſels, and from the people of Boſton. The preſident, Mr. Jefferſon, anſwered the petitioners with great calmneſs and temper, and in the moſt cordial language; his reply to the inhabitants of Boſton, as it embodied his ſentiments on the ſubject, is given without abridgment. "Your repreſentation and requeſt were received, and have been conſidered with the attention due to every expreſſion of the ſentiments and feeling of ſo reſpectable a body of my fellow citizens. No perſon has ſeen with more concern than myſelf, the inconvenience brought on our country in general, by the circumſtances of the times in which we happen to live; times to which

the hiſtory of nations preſents no parallel. For years we have been looking as ſpectators, on our brethren of Europe, affected with all thoſe evils which neceſſarily follow an abandonment of all the moral rules which bind men together. Connected with them in friendſhip and commerce, we have happily, by a ſteady obſervance of juſtice towards all, by much forbearance and multiplied ſacrifices, kept aloof from their calamitous conflicts. At length, however, all regard to the rights of others having been thrown aſide, the belligerent powers have beſet the highway of commercial intercourſe with edicts, which, taken together, expoſe our commerce and mariners, under almoſt every deſtination, a prey to their fleets and armies. Each party, indeed, would admit our commerce with themſelves, with a view of aſſociating us in their war againſt the other. But we have wiſhed war with neither. Under theſe circumſtances were paſſed the laws of which you complain, by thoſe delegated to exerciſe the power of legiſlation for you, with every ſympathy of a common intereſt in exerciſing it faithfully. In reviewing theſe meaſures, therefore, we ſhould advert to the difficulties out of which a choice was of neceſſity to be made. To have ſubmitted our rightful commerce to prohibitions and tributary exactions from others, would have been to have ſurrendered our independence. To reſiſt them by arms was war, without conſulting the ſtate of things, or the choice of the nation. The alternative preferred by the legiſlature, of ſuſpending a commerce placed under ſuch unexampled difficulties; beſides ſaving to our citizens their property, and to their country our mariners, has the peculiar advantage of giving time to the belligerent nations to reconſider a conduct, as contrary to their intereſts as it is to our rights. In the event of ſuch a peace, or ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, between the belligerent powers of Europe, or of ſuch a change of their meaſures affecting neutral commerce, as may render that of the United States ſufficiently ſafe in the judgment of the preſident, he is authoriſed to ſuſpend the embargo. But no peace, or ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities—no change affecting neutral commerce is known to have taken place. The orders of England, and the decrees of France and Spain, exiſting at the date of thoſe laws, are ſtill unrepealed as far as we know. In Spain, indeed, a conteſt for the government appears to have ariſen; but of its courſe or proſpects, we have no information on which prudence would undertake a haſty change in our policy, even were the authority of the executive competent to ſuch a deciſion. You deſire that in this defect of power, congreſs may be ſpecially convened. It is unneceſſary to examine the evidence, or the character of the facts which is ſuppoſed to dictate ſuch a call, becauſe you will be ſenſible on an attention to dates, that the legal period of its meeting is as early as, in this extenſive country, it could be fully convened by a ſpecial call. I ſhould, with great willingneſs, have executed the wiſhes of the inhabitants of the town of Boſton, had peace, or a repeal of the obnoxious edicts, or other changes, produced the caſe in which alone the laws have given me that authority: and ſo many

motives

motives of juſtice and intereſt lead to ſuch changes, that we ought continually to expect them. But while theſe edicts remain, the legiſlature alone can preſcribe the courſe to be purſued."

Notwithſtanding Mr. Jefferſon thought proper to make this reply to the application which had been made to him, he had directed Mr. Pinkney, the American miniſter reſident in London, to make a propoſal to the Britiſh cabinet, that the embargo ſhould be reſcinded as to Great Britain, provided that the orders in council were abrogated as to America. Mr. Pinkney, in his note to Mr. Canning, contended, that the effect of theſe concurrent acts would be, that the commercial intercourſe of the two countries would be immediately reſumed; while, if France ſhould adhere to maxims and conduct derogatory to the neutral rights of the United States, the embargo continuing as to her would take the place of the Britiſh orders, and lead with an efficacy not merely equal, but probably much ſuperior, to all the conſequences that ought to reſult from them. On the other hand, if France ſhould concur in reſpecting thoſe rights, and commerce ſhould thus regain its fair immunities, and the law of nations its juſt dominion, all the alleged purpoſes of the Britiſh orders would at once have been fulfilled. Mr. Pinkney expreſſed a hope that what he had ſuggeſted, might not only remove the immediate obſtacles to the ordinary intercourſe of trade between England and America, in a manner conſiſtent with the honour of both countries, but to prepare the way for a ſatisfactory adjuſtment of every queſtion important to their future friendſhip.

Aug. 23.

Mr. Canning's reply to the propoſal of the American miniſter was deferred for a month, in the hope, as he aſſured Mr. Pinkney, that the renewed application which was underſtood to have been made by the government of the United States to that of France, might, in the new ſtate of things which had ariſen in Europe, have met with ſuch a reception in the cabinet of the Thuilleries, as would have rendered the compliance of his majeſty with that propoſal conſiſtent as much with his own dignity, and with the intereſts of the people, as it would have been with his friendly diſpoſition towards the United States. As unhappily there was no longer any reaſon to believe, that ſuch a hope was likely to be realiſed, Mr. Canning communicated the deciſion which, under the circumſtances as they ſtood, his majeſty felt himſelf compelled, though unwillingly to adopt. He ſtated that the mitigated meaſure of the order in council of the 7th of January, 1807, and the further extenſion of that meaſure, were founded on the "unqueſtionable right of his majeſty to retort upon the enemy the evils of his own injuſtice, and upon the conſideration that if third parties incidentally ſuffered by theſe retaliatory meaſures, they were to ſeek their redreſs from the power by whoſe original aggreſſion the retaliatory meaſures were occaſioned. His majeſty ſaw nothing in the embargo laid on by the United States of America, which varied this original and ſimple ſtate of the queſtion. If conſidered as a meaſure of impartial

Sept. 23.

hoſtility againſt both belligerents, the embargo appeared to be manifeſtly unjuſt, as, according to every principle of juſtice, that redreſs ought to have been firſt ſought from the party originating the wrong; and his majeſty could not conſent to buy off that hoſtility which America ought not to have extended to him, at the expence of a conceſſion, not to America, but to France. If, as it had been more generally repreſented by the goverment of the United States, the embargo was only to be conſidered as an innocent municipal regulation, which affected none but the United States themſelves, and with which no foreign country had any concern; viewed in this light, his majeſty did not conceive that he was entitled to complain of it, and he had not done ſo. But in this light there appeared, not only no reciprocity, but no aſſignable relation between the repeal, by the United States, of a meaſure of voluntary ſelf-reſtriction, and of a ſurrender by his majeſty of his right of retaliating againſt his enemies. The government of the United States was not to be informed that the Berlin decree of the 21ſt of November, 1806, was the practical commencement of an attempt to annihilate the political exiſtence of Great Britain, through the ruin of her commercial proſperity; that in this attempt almoſt all the powers of the European continent had been compelled, more or leſs, to co-operate; and that the American embargo, though moſt aſſuredly not intended to effect that end, did come in aid of "the blockade of the European continent," preciſely at the very moment when, if that blockade could have ſucceeded at all, this interpoſition of the American government would moſt completely have contributed to its ſucceſs. But if the blockade of the continent, as it had been triumphantly ſtyled by the enemy, was raiſed even before it was well eſtabliſhed, and if that ſyſtem, of which extent and continuity were the vital principles, was broken into fragments utterly harmleſs and contemptible, it was nevertheleſs important to England, that this diſappointment of the hopes of her enemies ſhould not have been purchaſed by any conceſſion, becauſe no doubt ſhould remain to diſtant times of her determination and ability to have continued her reſiſtance. Theſe conſiderations compelled his majeſty to adhere to the principle on which the orders in council were founded, ſo long as France adhered to that ſyſtem, by which his majeſty's retaliatory meaſures were occaſioned and juſtified. His majeſty would not heſitate to contribute, in any manner in his power, to reſtore to the commerce of the United States its wonted activity; and if it were poſſible, to make any ſacrifice for the repeal of the embargo, without appearing to deprecate it as a meaſure of hoſtility, he would gladly have facilitated its removal, as a meaſure of inconvenience and reſtriction upon the American people. Mr. Canning obſerved in concluſion, that nothing was ſaid in Mr. Pinkney's letter of any intention to repeal the proclamation by which the Britiſh ſhips of war were interdicted from all thoſe rights of hoſpitality in the ports of the United States, which were freely allowed to the ſhips of his majeſty's enemies. The continuance of that interdiction, which amounted ſo nearly

nearly to direct hoſtility, after the willingneſs profeſſed, and the attempt made by his majeſty, to remove the cauſe on which that meaſure had been originally founded, would afford but an inauſpicious omen for the commencement of a ſyſtem of conciliation; and the omiſſion of any notice of that meaſure would have been of itſelf a material defect in the overture of the preſident; but Mr. Canning ſaid, he was commanded to dwell no farther on this ſubject, than for the purpoſe of aſſuring Mr. Pinkney, that on this and every other point in diſcuſſion between the two countries, his majeſty earneſtly deſired the reſtoration of a perfectly good underſtanding, and that he would decline no meaſure for the attainment of that object, which ſhould be compatible with his own honour, and the juſt rights and intereſts of his people.

When the American congreſs met in the month of November, Mr. Jefferſon, by a meſſage, acquainted the members of it with the ſteps which he had taken for the relief of neutral commerce, as well as with the failure of his negotiations for that purpoſe; and he recommended a continuance of the embargo. He at the ſame time ſubmitted to the aſſembly the correſpondence, which had taken place been the ambaſſador of the United States and Mr. Canning, on the ſubject.

Another revolution occurred this year in the government of Turkey. Muſtapha Bairactar, the paſha of Rudſhuck, a man of a daring and enterpriſing diſpoſition, determined in ſpite of the oppoſition of the Janiſſaries, to ſubject the military ſyſtem of the empire to new regulations. With this view, he marched to Conſtantinople at the head of a body of troops on which he could rely, depoſed the miniſters of Muſtapha, the reigning ſultan, put to death the commander of the caſtles of the Dardanelles, and on the 28th of July he proclaimed the depoſed monarch Selim emperor. Muſtapha nevertheleſs defeated the reſtoration of his uncle, by cauſing that unfortunate prince to be ſtrangled, and expoſing his dead body on the walls of the ſeraglio. This ſanguinary deed, however, did not prevent his fall; Muſtapha was depoſed; and his younger brother Mahomet was placed on the throne, who appointed Bairactar grand vizier. While the new vizier was in poſſeſſion of authority, he acted with extraordinary vigour in reforming the army and navy, and effecting many important improvements. His career was ſhort; for he fell a victim to the enmity of the Janiſſaries. That powerful corps, after deſtroying the chief officers of the regulated troops, ſcaled the walls of the ſeraglio on the 15th of November; when Bairactar ſtrangled the depoſed Muſtapha, and blew himſelf up in his own palace with gunpowder, which, having foreſeen his danger, he had provided againſt a ſudden emergency.

CHAP. X.

Affairs of Spain. Retroſpect of the tranſactions in that country. Diſſentions in the royal family. The prince of Aſturias wiſhes to marry a relation

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of Buonapartè's. The ſteps taken by him to accompliſh his deſires. He is arreſted on a charge of intending to ſubvert his father's authority, and is confined in the monaſtery of St. Laurence. Various proclamations publiſhed by Charles IV. reſpecting the prince's conduct. Ferdinand is ſet at liberty. Papers found in his poſſeſſion during his confinement. His deſigns certainly ſuſpicious. Secret treaty and convention ſigned at Fontainebleau, between the king of Spain and Buonapartè. Conſequences thereof. The prince de la Paz fears the loſs of his power and influence. His correſpondence with Murat. Letters of Charles IV. to Buonapartè: anſwered by the French ruler. French troops collected at Bayonne. They enter Spain, and take poſſeſſion of Pamplona, St. Sebaſtian, Figueras, and Barcelona. Letter of count Eſpeleta, captain-general of Catalonia, to general Duheſme, on the ſubject of eſtabliſhing depôts for the ſubſiſtence of the French forces; it creates a general ſenſation throughout Spain. Buonapartè ſends a meſſage to Charles IV. by Don Eugenio Izquierdo. The king makes preparations for emigrating to America. Alarm of the Spaniſh public. Tumults at Aranjuez. The king abdicates the throne in favour of the prince of Aſturias. Firſt acts of Ferdinand as ſovereign. The people expreſs great joy at the change of the government. Myſterious conduct of Murat. Efforts made by Ferdinand to conciliate Buonapartè. The French army enters Madrid. Ferdinand makes his public entry into the capital, and is received with great applauſe by the inhabitants. Murat's clandeſtine intercourſe with Charles IV. and the queen of Spain. He receives a declaration from the king that he was dethroned by compulſion; he demands and obtains the ſword which Francis I. ſurrendered at the battle of Pavia. Intrigues of Murat to decoy Ferdinand and his brother Don Carlos out of Spain. Departure of Don Carlos to meet the French ruler, who is repreſented as on his journey to the Spaniſh metropolis. Arrival of general Savary at Madrid; artifices of that emiſſary. Ferdinand perſuaded to quit the capital to pay his compliments to Buonapartè. He eſtabliſhes a junta of government during his abſence. He proceeds to Vittoria, where he writes a letter to Napoléon. Buonapartè's reply. Ferdinand induced to proceed to Bayonne. His firſt interview with the French ruler. He dines with Napoléon. On his return to his reſidence, he is required to renounce the crown of Spain in favour of Buonapartè and his family. Conference between M. Champagny and Don Pedro Cevallos, relative to this demand; irritation of the French ruler. Propoſals made by Champagny to Don Juan Eſcoiquiz. Ferdinand appoints Don Pedro Labrador to diſcuſs them. Inſtructions given to that miniſter. Labrador's interview with Champagny. Evaſive conduct of the latter. Reſult of the negotiations.

TO give a connected view of the revolution in Spain, it is neceſſary to enter into a ſhort recapitulation of the events that occurred in the peninſula in the year 1807. The prince of Aſturias had for ſome time ſeen with diſguſt, the ſcandalous affection which the queen, his mother, manifeſted for Don Manuel Godoy, the prince de la Paz, and the decided influence which that favour-

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ite maintained over the weak mind of the king, as well as the unbounded authority that he had uſurped in the Spaniſh dominions. The reſults of this diſguſt, were diſſentions between the heir to the throne and his royal parents. After the death of his firſt wife, it was propoſed that the prince of Aſturias ſhould marry the youngeſt daughter of the infant Don Louis, ſiſter of the cardinal de Bourbon, archbiſhop of Toledo, and of the princeſs de la Paz. This connexion is ſaid to have been offenſive to Ferdinand, chiefly becauſe it was ſuggeſted by Godoy; and to avoid it, he either expreſſed a wiſh to Beauharnois, the French ambaſſador, of eſpouſing a relation of Buonapartè's, or readily liſtened to the project of that miniſter for ſuch an alliance. To accompliſh this purpoſe, Ferdinand ſecretly wrote a letter to the French ruler, ſtating the object of his deſires. A few days after he had taken this ſtep, he was arreſted and confined in the monaſtery of St. Laurence, on a charge of conſpiring againſt the ſovereignty of his father, and of a deſign againſt his mother's life. The king iſſued a proclamation, in which he declared, that having been informed of the plot, he wiſhed to inveſtigate the buſineſs himſelf; and that ſurpriſing his ſon in an apartment of the royal palace, he had found in his poſſeſſion the cipher of his correſpondence, and the inſtructions which he had received from his colleagues in this affair. His majeſty likewiſe notified, that on this diſcovery, he had convoked the con il of Caſtile, in order that the neceſſary enquiries might be made, and that ſeveral malefactors had been conſequently detected.

Oct. 11. 1807.

Oct. 30.

The Spaniſh people, however, regarded the accuſation of the prince as a vile calumny invented by Godoy. Perceiving the attachment of the nation to Ferdinand, and alarmed at the currency of public opinion reſpecting himſelf, the favourite became deſirous of effecting a reconciliation between the prince and his parents; and he therefore prevailed on the former to ſign a paper, in which his royal highneſs acknowledged, "that he had failed in duty and obedience to his father and king," but that he was extremely penitent for his conduct, "and had denounced the guilty." Ferdinand was alſo induced to put his ſignature to a letter addreſſed to the queen, entreating that ſhe would interpoſe her good offices to procure his father's pardon. This ſubmiſſive demeanour produced the deſired effect. The king publiſhed a ſecond proclamation, intimating "that the voice of nature had unnerved the arm of vengeance; that his ſon had declared the authors of that horrible plan, which had been ſuggeſted by the evil-minded; that every thing was laid open in a legal form, and was exactly conſiſtent with thoſe proofs which the law required in ſuch caſes." A ſolemn feſtival was decreed, that the people might return thanks to the Almighty for the king's ſafety, and Ferdinand was ſet at liberty.

Nov. 5, 1807.

It is impoſſible to elucidate this myſterious tranſaction in a ſatisfactory manner. The parties implicated in it were abſolved by the council of Caſtile from any criminality;

criminality; nevertheleſs, as a meaſure of ſecurity, they were removed from Madrid, and baniſhed to different provinces of the kingdom. Beſides the ſyſtem of ciphers calculated for ſecret correſpondence, amongſt the prince's papers was found a memoir in his own hand writing addreſſed to the king, repreſenting, with profound reſpect, the injuſtice, rapacity, dangerous proceedings, and corrupt adminiſtration of Godoy. There is, however, ſome ground for ſuſpecting that Ferdinand intended to depoſe his father and aſſume the crown, becauſe he admitted that he had given a power of attorney, written by himſelf, to the duke del Infantado, authoriſing that nobleman to take the command of the troops in New Caſtile, in caſe of the king's death, leſt Godoy ſhould make an improper uſe of his influence and power *. Now there was no more reaſon to apprehend the deceaſe of Charles IV. at this particular juncture, than at any other time; and it was ſcarcely poſſible to imagine that Godoy would attempt to uſurp the throne after the death of his maſter. Still this circumſtance, though extremely queſtionable, is no deciſive proof of Ferdinand's guilt; for he might conſider the prince de la Paz baſe enough to enter into a clandeſtine intrigue with the cabinet of the Thuilleries, for altering the ſucceſſion in favour of a ſatellite of the French ruler's, on the demiſe of Charles IV.

If Ferdinand did actually form any ſurmiſe, that Buonapartè might conceive a plan of interfering with the ſucceſſion, it is a proof of his ſagacity, or of that of his adviſers; as it will be ſeen in the ſequel that the French cabinet did ſubmit ſome propoſal of that nature to Charles IV. *before he abdicated the throne in favour of Ferdinand*, although it does not appear that Godoy was inclined to be inſtrumental in forwarding ſuch a meaſure. This conjecture is as much as can be conceded in behalf of the prince of Aſturias, ſince it ſeems moſt probable that he intended to take the government at once into his hands.

While the heir to the Spaniſh throne had been endeavouring to unite himſelf with the family of Buonapartè, the prince de la Paz, through his confidant Don Eugenio Izquierdo de Ribera, was negociating with that perſonage on very different ſubjects. On the 27th of October, 1807, a ſecret treaty was ſigned, by Izquierdo and marſhal Duroc, between Charles IV. and the French ruler. The articles of this compact ſtipulated, that the king of Etruria ſhould cede his dominions in Italy to the Gallic autocrat, and receive as an indemnity the province of Entre Minho e Douro in Portugal, with the city of Porto, and that he ſhould take the title of king of Northern Luſitania; that the province of the Alentejo, and the kingdom of the Algarves ſhould belong in full ſovereignty to the prince de la Paz, and his deſcend-

* "Account of the proceedings that took place at the Eſcurial," publiſhed by Ferdinand's order, in the Madrid Gazette on the 31ſt of March, 1808, for the purpoſe of ſhowing that the duke del Infantado, and Don Juan Eſcoiquiz had not been guilty of any miſconduct.

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ants, with the title of prince of the Algarves; that if the king of Northern Luſitania or the prince of the Algarves ſhould die without having an heir to his territories, the king of Spain ſhould beſtow them on whomſoever he thought proper, provided that the two ſovereignties ſhould never be united under one head, nor either of them be annexed to the crown of Spain; that the king of Spain ſhould be the perpetual protector of theſe two powers, which were neither to make peace nor war without his permiſſion; that the provinces of Beira, Traz Os Montes, and Portugueſe Eſtremadura were to be held in ſequeſtration until a general peace, and if they ſhould then be reſtored to the houſe of Braganza, in exchange for Gibraltar, the iſland of Trinidad, and other colonies which the Engliſh had taken from the Spaniards and their allies, it was to be on condition, that the ruler of theſe provinces ſhould hold them under the protection of the king of Spain, in the ſame manner as the two potentates already mentioned, and ſubject to the like proviſions; that Buonaparte would guarantee to the king of Spain the poſſeſſion of his ſtates ſouth of the Pyrenees, and that he would be ready to acknowledge him as emperor of both Americas, as ſoon as he was prepared to aſſume that title, which he might take on the concluſion of a general peace, or at lateſt within three years from the date of the treaty; finally, that the ultra-marine poſſeſſions of Portugal ſhould be equally divided between the contracting parties.

A ſeparate convention was ſigned on the ſame day, for carrying this treaty into effect. It was agreed, that a corps of French forces, conſiſting of twenty-five thouſand infantry, and three thouſand cavalry, ſhould enter Spain and march directly to Liſbon, where it was to be joined by a body of eight thouſand Spaniſh infantry and three thouſand cavalry, with thirty pieces of artillery; that at the ſame time, another diviſion of ten thouſand Spaniards ſhould occupy the province of Entre Minho e Douro, with the city of Porto; that a third diviſion of ſix thouſand Spaniards ſhould ſeize the provinces of the Alentejo and of the Algarves; that the French troops ſhould be furniſhed with proviſions by Spain, but be paid by France; that the central corps of the combined troops ſhould be under the orders of the French general, unleſs the king of Spain or the prince de la Paz joined it, in which caſe the French commandant, and the troops themſelves, were to be ſubject to the controul of either of them; that a body of forty thouſand Frenchmen was to be collected at Bayonne by the 20th of November, to be ready to traverſe Spain, and enter Portugal, if the Engliſh ſhould ſend forces to that country, or threaten to attack it; but this corps was not to paſs the French confines, until the contracting parties had agreed on the propriety of its advancing.

It is to be remarked, that both the treaty and convention were concluded at Fontainebleau by Izquierdo, without the knowledge of Don Pedro Cevallos, at that time ſecretary of ſtate in Spain; and that this miniſter was not only unacquainted with the inſtructions and correſpondence of the plenipotentiary, but even with his appointment.

ment. The conſequences of the meaſures which had been taken by the French and Spaniſh courts, and the manner in which the allied forces overran the territories of Portugal, with the narrow eſcape of the government of that country, have been deſcribed in the preceding volume of the Annual Regiſter.

When the prince of Aſturias was impriſoned, Godoy had ſtimulated his maſter to write a letter to Buonapartè, complaining of the clandeſtine intercourſe of Beauharnois, the French ambaſſador, with the heir apparent, and expreſſing his ſurpriſe that the French ruler had not come to a previous underſtanding with him, on a point of ſo much moment as the marriage of his ſon. No notice was taken of this letter. The favourite, fearing that he had offended his foreign protector by having adviſed his majeſty to take this ſtep, dreaded the loſs of that importance which he had hitherto preſerved unſhaken. His terror was increaſed by the intelligence which he received from Murat, with whom he maintained confidential communications, through the medium of Izquierdo. Murat, indeed, aſſured him, that he would employ every means in his power to ſupport him; but acquainted him that the matter had become extremely delicate, owing to the extraordinary attachment prevalent in Spain to the prince of Aſturias, and the conſideration due to a princeſs deſtined to receive his hand, who was couſin to the empreſs; and in conſequence of the part which the ambaſſador Beauharnois, her relative, took in the buſineſs.

Anxious and alarmed at the ſtate of his own affairs, and ſuppoſing that Buonapartè wiſhed the family connexion propoſed by Ferdinand to be eſtabliſhed, Godoy endeavoured to retrieve his credit with Napoleon, which was evidently much diminiſhed. He therefore excited Charles IV. again to write to the French ruler, and to requeſt his conſent to the marriage of one of his relations with the prince of Aſturias. Buonapartè ſtill preſerved a myſterious ſilence. To heighten the ſuſpenſe of Godoy and the court of Spain, he aſſumed the air of being much diſſatisfied with the conduct of Izquierdo, whom he kept at a diſtance; and ſhortly afterwards ſet out for Italy, where, as has been ſeen, he employed himſelf, amongſt other things, in expelling the queen regent and her children from Tuſcany. While he was at Milan, he condeſcended to anſwer the king of Spain's letters. In defiance of truth, he thought proper to aſſure his majeſty, that he never had received the ſlighteſt intelligence of the circumſtances detailed in the king's firſt letter, before it came to his hands, and that no communication from the prince of Aſturias had at any time reached him; nevertheleſs he acquainted the king that he conſented to the propoſed inter-marriage.

Nov. 15, 1807.

In the mean time, meaſures had been adopted for pouring French troops into Spain. Inſtead of aſſembling forty thouſand men at Bayonne, according to the ſtipulation of the treaty of Fontainebleau, ſixty thouſand were collected at that point; and they ſoon croſſed the frontiers, ſpreading themſelves over the provinces of Burgos, Palencia, Zamora, and Salamanca. Although the court of Madrid was aſtoniſhed and even terrified by theſe

theſe proceedings, no obſtacle was oppoſed to the advance of the French forces; on the contrary, the moſt peremptory directions were iſſued, that they ſhould be received and treated in a better manner than the Spaniſh ſoldiers. The French generals were ordered by Buonapartè to obtain poſſeſſion, either by ſtratagem or force, of Pamplona, St. Sebaſtian, Figueras and Barcelona; and they executed their orders with as much violence and duplicity as their maſter could expect from them. The gates of theſe cities were voluntarily thrown open to them, and their diviſions were entertained with the moſt generous hoſpitality, in return for which they ſeized the citadels of all theſe places by fraud or ſurpriſe, to the great ſorrow and indignation of the Spaniſh people. Duheſme, who had occupied Barcelona, required the magiſtrates to ſupply him with great quantities of proviſions for the fortreſs of Monjuich. This precaution drew from the count of Eſpeleta, captain-general of Catalonia, a letter, in which he animadverted in ſtrong terms on the proceedings of the French general. "The troops in the citadel and in the forts of Monjuich," ſaid he, "may conſider the city of Barcelona as a magazine, and all its ſupplies as their own. They have no enemy to fear, nor any thing to expect, except a common intereſt with the town and Spaniſh inhabitants. Military laws preſcribe the mode of ſupplying garriſons with neceſſaries, when it happens that they are either engaged in hoſtile operations, or are beſieged, or when a ſcarcity in the country is dreaded, which obliges the general commanding, to take means for the ſubſiſtence of his troops, by eſtabliſhing depôts. But excluſive of theſe circumſtances, ſuch a meaſure as you have adopted only ſerves to create ſuſpicion and diſtruſt. The town is provided with ſupplies of every deſcription, as you will perceive from the annexed official ſtatement of the intendant; and even though there ſhould be ſome deficiency, your excellency gives us the ſtrongeſt aſſurance, that proviſions are collecting in the ports of France, which are to be ſent to this country. His majeſty the emperor and king, whoſe worthy name has inſpired us with confidence, being truly informed of our docility and honourable principles, will not be well pleaſed when he hears, that you alarm this city with terrible forebodings, as a recompenſe for its conſtantly ſubmiſſive conduct. Your excellency will be pleaſed to requeſt the opinion of his imperial majeſty reſpecting your determination, before you carry it into effect, and to accompany your requeſt with this repreſentation of mine, as I ſhall alſo lay the buſineſs before the king my maſter, without whoſe orders I cannot give to your excellency what the forts in the poſſeſſion of the Spaniſh troops have not. In the mean time, I wiſh to impreſs on your mind, that it will ſerve no good purpoſe to ſupply the forts with ſtores of proviſions; that ſuch an intention is pointed and offenſive; and that it will not be in the power of your excellency or myſelf, to remedy the conſequences of the ſenſation, which ſuch a meaſure might excite amongſt the inhabitants." This letter, which was generally circulated through the kingdom, and eſpecially at Madrid,

Feb. 1808.

Madrid, was much applauded, while it added to the alarm which was already felt reſpecting the deſigns of the French.

Buonapartè now conceived himſelf to be maſter of the peninſula, and thinking the time for accelerating his projects had arrived, he wrote a letter to Charles IV. complaining in the moſt bitter terms, that his majeſty had not renewed his application concerning the projected marriage. The unfortunate king of Spain replied, that he adhered to his former propoſal, and that he earneſtly wiſhed the union to take place immediately. It has been ſuppoſed that the French ruler was at this time deſirous of augmenting the fears of the royal family, in order that they might be induced to quit the kingdom. Whatever might be his preciſe intention, he certainly was determined to derive ſome immediate advantage from the conſternation which he had created. With that view, he directed Izquierdo, who was at Paris, to repair ſuddenly to Spain, on a ſpecial miſſion. Izquierdo carried with him no communication in writing, nor was he to receive any, and he was enjoined to remain only three days with the Spaniſh court. On his arrival at Aranjuez, he was conducted by Godoy to the preſence of the king and queen. The conferences which enſued were carried on with profound ſecrecy, but whatever elſe they might have related to, it is at leaſt clear, that ſome propoſition "for definitively regulating the ſucceſſion to the throne of Spain" was one of the objects of them*. This definitive regulation would have probably ended in forcing Charles IV. to adopt a creature of Buonapartè's, who would, under the directions of the French cabinet, have inſtantly aſſumed the government of the Spaniſh kingdom. The king and queen as well as the favourite were much alarmed by what paſſed in the conference; for ſoon after Izquierdo's departure from Aranjuez, their majeſties evinced a diſpoſition to abandon the peninſula, and to emigrate to Mexico.

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Although the arrangements for this purpoſe were made by the court with great caution, they ſoon excited the notice and ſuſpicion of the public, who expreſſed great anxiety and terror on the occaſion. To tranquillize the minds of the people, the king publiſhed a proclamation, in which he denied that he had any deſign to leave the country; and ſtated that his life-guards had been merely collected for the protection of his perſon, "and not to attend him on a journey which malice endeavoured to repreſent as neceſſary." The people placed no faith in theſe aſſurances. Their uneaſineſs was increaſed by reports that the preparations for the departure

Mar. 16.

* In a letter addreſſed by Izquierdo, after his return to Paris, to the prince de la Paz, he obſerves, amongſt other circumſtances too numerous to mention, that "in ſpeaking to M. Talleyrand about the ſucceſſion to the throne of Spain, I ſaid every thing which the king our maſter did me the honour to order me to ſtate." This letter which is publiſhed by M. Eſcoiquiz, was dated the 24th of March, and conſequently did not arrive at Madrid till after the abdication of Charles IV. when Godoy was in priſon. It was opened by Cevallos in his miniſterial capacity as ſecretary of ſtate for foreign affairs. He, however, takes no notice of it in his Narrative, for reaſons beſt known to himſelf.

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of all the royal family ſtill continued. This intelligence was circulated by the miniſters hoſtile to the plan of the king's emigration, amongſt whom probably were ſeveral adherents of the prince of Aſturias, who himſelf decidedly objected to a meaſure in which he was to be forcibly implicated. On the 17th the populace repaired in crowds to Aranjuez, where they diſcovered that the baggage of the court was already packed up, and were informed that relays of horſes were placed on the road to Seville. Rouſed to fury, they determined to prevent the execution of a project, the idea of which filled them with horror and diſmay, and to wreak their vengeance on the prince de la Paz, whom they conſidered as the author of it. A violent tumult aroſe, the accounts of which are extremely indiſtinct. Godoy is ſtated to have withdrawn from the royal palace about eleven o'clock at night to his own houſe, whence he endeavoured to make his eſcape; but his motions being diſcovered by a party of life-guards, one of them fired his piſtol, on which ſignal the reſt of the corps aſſembled, who thus appear, indirectly at leaſt, to have taken part with the people, either by the impulſe of their own inclinations, or in conſequence of a ſecret underſtanding with the partiſans of the prince of Aſturias. A throng of perſons tried to force their way through the huſſars drawn up before the manſion. Theſe huſſars belonged to Godoy's own regiment, and, by the reſiſtance which they made, muſt have been attached to the favourite. To diſperſe the populace, Don Diego de Godoy came up with his regiment of guards, and ordered them to fire on the multitude; but they refuſed to obey, and even aſſiſted the people in binding their commander. It was now aſcertained, that the prince de la Paz had fled during the confuſion. Forty life-guards ſet off at full ſpeed after him, overtook him at Ocana, and brought him back to the royal palace at Aranjuez. On the 18th, the king proclaimed to the people that he had permitted Godoy to reſign all his employments, and to retire whitherſoever he pleaſed. The diſmiſſal of the prince de la Paz from his offices by no means ſatisfied the public, who deemed it a mere expedient to ſcreen him from puniſhment. As the popular agitation was not allayed by this act, on the 19th his majeſty promulgated a decree, ſtating that in conſequence of his habitual infirmities, and his wiſh to enjoy a private life in a more temperate climate, he had abdicated the throne in favour of the prince of Aſturias, and that he commanded the nation thenceforward to obey Ferdinand as their ſovereign.

Cevallos, in his account of this affair, labours to prove that the abdication of the king was voluntary; but there can hardly be a doubt, that it was effected by conſtraint, or extorted from his fears. That his majeſty yielded to the influence of compulſion or terror on this occaſion is the more probable, when the very queſtionable conduct of Ferdinand in the preceding October is recollected. Nevertheleſs the miniſters of all the foreign courts reſident at Madrid congratulated the young monarch on his acceſſion, except the French ambaſſador, who declined doing ſo, until

until he received competent inſtructions from his maſter. The firſt acts of Ferdinand, after his acquirement of power, were to confiſcate the property of Godoy, to appoint the duke del Infantado colonel of the Spaniſh guards, and preſident of Caſtile; recall the perſons to court, who had been baniſhed to the different provinces, on account of the ſhare which they had in the affair of the Eſcurial; and to take meaſures for reſtoring tranquillity to the city of Madrid, which, as well as Aranjuez, had been the ſcene of tumult and commotion. The people were exhorted to return to their dwellings; and, by their orderly demeanor, to give the ſureſt pledges of their loyalty and affection towards the new ſovereign. The account of the revolution was received with great ſatisfaction in every part of the kingdom, and *Te Deum* was ſung in many of the cathedrals for the fall of the favourite.

Whether the propoſals made, by by means of Izquierdo, to Charles IV. were only meant to excite ſo much perturbation in the mind of that weak monarch, as to cauſe him to quit the kingdom, or not, it is certain, that after Izquierdo's return to Paris, Buonapartè conceived they would have ſuch an effect. Under this perſuaſion, and even ſuppoſing that the royal family was already upon the coaſt, prepared for embarkation, he ordered Murat, who had aſſumed the command of the French troops, to advance with the army towards Madrid. He thought that the nation was highly diſguſted with the government; but entertained no idea that it was only diſcontented with the abuſes which had crept into it; and far from conceiving that the French forces would meet with any reſiſtance, he imagined that they would be received by the Spaniards with open arms, as the deliverers of the country. As ſoon as Murat was appriſed of the unexpected occurrences which had taken place at Aranjuez, he marched at the head of his troops to the vicinity of the capital, with the deſign of availing himſelf of any opportunity to promote his maſter's views. Buonapartè had announced to Charles IV. that he intended to viſit Madrid. A report was now propagated that he had actually ſet out on his journey to the Spaniſh metropolis. This report united with the myſterious conduct of Murat, and the reſerve of the French ambaſſador, clouded the proſpects of Ferdinand, and awakened his apprehenſions. He had already communicated his acceſſion to the throne in the moſt friendly and affectionate terms to the French ruler; but as a farther proof of reſpect, he appointed a deputation of three grandees of Spain to proceed to Bayonne, and in his name to compliment the object of his fears. He likewiſe directed another grandee to pay a ſimilar token of attention to Murat. That officer induſtriouſly ſpread a rumour that Buonapartè might be expected every moment at Madrid; and the neceſſary orders were conſequently given for preparing proper apartments in the palace for his reception. Unwilling to fail in any mark of deference, Ferdinand again wrote to Buonapartè, aſſuring him, that he felt deſirous of being perſonally acquainted with him, and of expreſſing to him his ardent wiſhes to conſolidate the alliance which ſubſiſted between them.

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The French army appeared before Madrid on the 23d, and Murat entered the city in the evening with a numerous ſtaff, the imperial guards, a large body of cavalry, and the firſt diviſion of infantry, the ſecond and third remaining encamped on the ſurrounding heights. Ferdinand made his public entry into the capital on horſeback the next day, and was received with the warmeſt demonſtrations of loyalty and affection by the inhabitants. Murat kept aloof from court, and declared that till Buonapartè had acknowledged Ferdinand as king, it was impoſſible for him to take any ſtep that would appear like an acknowledgment on his part; and that he muſt, in the interim, be under the neceſſity of treating only with the royal father, of whoſe voluntary reſignation of the crown he expreſſed conſiderable doubt. According to the accounts publiſhed in the Moniteur, the French commander in chief received a letter from the queen, intimating that Charles IV. wiſhed to have a conference with him. Murat declined a perſonal interview; but ſent general Monthion to Aranjuez.

Mar. 25. Monthion ſaw both Charles and the queen. The former gave him a letter for Buonapartè claiming his protection, and a ſolemn declaration that he had been compelled to abdicate the throne. His majeſty ſaid, that Ferdinand was deſirous that he and the queen ſhould repair to Badajos on the frontiers of Spain; but that the climate would not ſuit him, and that he wiſhed for Buonapartè's permiſſion to purchaſe an eſtate in France, where he might end his days. The queen added, that ſhe had begged her ſon to poſtpone their journey to Badajos; but without effect. Every effort was alſo made by Charles to intereſt Murat in favour of Godoy, who was in confinement. He ſaid, "that there was nothing which he would not have attempted to ſave the life of his unhappy friend; but he had found the whole world deaf to his entreaties, and bent on vengeance; and that the death of the prince de la Paz would draw after it his own; for he could not ſurvive him." The papers which Charles put into the hands of Monthion were immediately forwarded to Buonapartè; but the intercourſe of Murat with their majeſties was carefully concealed from Ferdinand.

Having obtained theſe documents from the old king, Murat turned his thoughts to an object of minor importance, the attainment of which was nevertheleſs calculated to gratify the exceſſive vanity of the French people, and probably intended to injure Ferdinand in the eſtimation of the Spaniards. He acquainted Cevallos, that Buonapartè wiſhed to poſſeſs the ſword ſurrendered by Francis I. at the battle of Pavia. This national trophy, which had been kept in the royal armory ſince the year 1525, was accordingly conveyed with great pomp and ceremony to the reſidence of Murat, by the marquis of Aſtorga, groom-major to the king. The ſurrender of this ſword, united with other ſuſpicious circumſtances which daily aroſe, appears to have cauſed conſiderable agitation in the public; for ſhortly afterwards two royal ordinances were iſſued to ſecure the peace of the metropolis. The firſt directed the patroles to continue their

Mar. 31.

April 3.

their rounds according to former orders; tavern-keepers and dealers in ſpirituous liquors, to ſhut up their houſes at eight o'clock in the evening; the principals of manufacturing and commercial eſtabliſhments, to keep their people at work, and to give in the names of thoſe who abſented themſelves from their employments, to the police; and all maſters of families to exert themſelves, by good advice and other means, to prevent their children and ſervants from mixing in mobs or engaging in riots. The ſecond aſſured the people, that the revolution would only tend to ſtrengthen the alliance with France, and enjoined the utmoſt reſpect to be paid to the troops of that nation.

As Murat had witneſſed the attachment of the Spaniards to Ferdinand, it was a matter of importance to him to ſeparate the young monarch from his ſubjects. He therefore circulated a report, that freſh intelligence had arrived of the French ruler's departure from Paris on his way to Madrid. He cauſed it to be intimated to Ferdinand, that if the infant Don Carlos would ſet out to receive Buonapartè, ſuch a mark of attention would be highly pleaſing to that perſonage. Ferdinand conſequently permitted his brother to depart for this purpoſe, on the aſſurance that his royal highneſs muſt meet the French emperor before he had proceeded two days on his journey. Murat next endeavoured, by indirect means, to perſuade Ferdinand to do the ſame, to whom it was inſinuated, that the conduct recommended would be followed by the moſt happy conſequences to himſelf and the whole kingdom; but the young king heſitated to leave Madrid at a time ſo critical, and probably would have perſiſted in his reſolution of remaining in the capital, until he had certain advice of Napoleon's approach, had not other means been deviſed for entangling him in the toils that were prepared for him.

April 7. The arrival of general Savary was announced as envoy from the French ruler, and in that capacity he demanded an audience of Ferdinand, which was immediately granted. He profeſſed that he came, on the behalf of his maſter, ſincerely to compliment his majeſty, and to know whether his ſentiments with reſpect to France were conformable with thoſe of the king his father; in which caſe, the emperor would forego all conſideration of what had paſſed, and would in no manner interfere in the internal concerns of the kingdom, but immediately recognize his majeſty as king of Spain, and of the Indies. The moſt ſatisfactory anſwers were given to Savary, who continued the converſation in very conciliatory language, and aſſerted that Napoleon had already left Paris, was near Bayonne, and would ſoon be at Madrid. Having executed his public miſſion, Savary offered his private advice. He urgently exhorted Ferdinand to meet Buonapartè, repreſenting to him that the emperor would be highly flattered by ſuch a proof of reſpect and friendſhip; and at length, by his apparent candour, he unhappily induced the victim of his artifice to yield to his repeated inſtances. The credulity of the king and his counſellors was the more remarkable, as the conduct of the French army

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and of Murat had been extremely equivocal. Diſpatches were received from Valladolid, Burgos, and other places, that many meaſures had been adopted by the French, of a nature rather hoſtile than amicable; and even at Madrid, under Ferdinand's eyes, Murat had lately taken poſſeſſion of a royal palace, called the Caſa de Campo, on the right bank of the river Manzanares, the gardens of which included a piece of elevated ground, whereon artillery might be planted to batter the city.

Before he commenced his fatal journey, Ferdinand eſtabliſhed a ſupreme junta of government, conſiſting of three ſecretaries of ſtate, and appointed his uncle, the infant Don Antonio, preſident of it. On the 10th of April he ſet out, accompanied by the duke del Infantado, the duke de San Carlos, the marquis de Muſquiz, Don Pedro Cevallos, Don Juan Eſcoiquiz, and Don Pedro Labrador. Savary affecting the moſt zealous intereſt for his majeſty, ſolicited the honour of attending him on his journey, which at the fartheſt, he ſaid, according to the information that he had juſt received of the emperor's route, could only extend to Burgos. Ferdinand had no idea of proceeding beyond that city, becauſe in the proclamation iſſued by him two days before his departure, he acquainted the people that he was going thither. At Burgos, Ferdinand neither found Buonapartè, nor obtained any intelligence of his approach. Savary, who had followed the king, uſed every exertion to perſuade him to extend his journey to Vittoria; and the ſame anxiety which had drawn Ferdinand from the capital, induced him reluctantly to comply with the ſolicitations of that inſidious emiſſary. At Vitoria he learned that Buonapartè had arrived at Bourdeaux, and was on his way to Bayonne. The infant Don Carlos, who had been waiting at Toloſa, having received advices to the ſame effect, went on to Bayonne, which he reached ſome days before the French ruler. From the difficulty with which Savary had inveigled Ferdinand thue far, he felt convinced that Vitoria was a boundary which the king would not paſs, without ſome more potent inducements than he could hope to offer. He therefore left him at that place, and haſtened to Bayonne at once, to relate the ſucceſs of his enterpriſe, and concert with Buonapartè the means of accompliſhing the propoſed work of iniquity. Ferdinand, however, wrote a letter from this city to Buonapartè. He complained that he had not been aeknowledged as king, April 14. either by Murat or the French ambaſſador, and that he had not received any further communications from the French ruler; although he had done every thing which could be deſired on his part, to teſtify his reſpect for the emperor, and for the accommodation of his troops. He therefore requeſted to be relieved from the ſtate of uncertainty in which he was placed. A circumſtance now occurred ſufficient to convince Ferdinand that ſome plot was in agitation; but his judgment ſeemed paralyſed, and he acted as if he had been under the influence of faſcination. The French troops in the neighbourhood of Vittoria made ſuſpicious movements, with an apparent deſign

ſign of drawing the net round the royal prey: ſtill Ferdinand made no effort to eſcape the danger. In

April 18. this poſture of affairs, Savary again made his appearance, bringing with him a letter from Buonapartè, the contents of which were calculated to inſpire any thing but confidence. In the firſt part of it there was a comment on the impolicy of Ferdinand in ſuffering Godoy to be proſecuted. "How," ſaid Buonapartè, "can the prince de la Paz be brought to trial without implicating the king and queen your parents? Such a circumſtance would engender animoſity and factions, the reſult of which would be fatal to your crown. Your royal highneſs has no other right to it, but that which you derive from your mother; and if the proceſs ſhould ſtain her honour, that right would be deſtroyed. Do not hearken to weak and perfidious counſellors. Your royal highneſs is not entitled to judge the prince de la Paz. If any crimes are imputed to him, they are merged in the royal prerogatives. I have often expreſſed a deſire that the prince de la Paz ſhould be eſtranged from public affairs; and if I have not urged my entreaties for that purpoſe, it has been purely through friendſhip to king Charles, and a wiſh not to ſee the weakneſs of his attachment. In reſpect to the abdication of Charles IV." the letter continued, "it took place at a moment when my armies occupied Spain; and in the eyes of Europe and poſterity, it will appear that I ſent my troops thither to hurl my friend and ally from his throne. As a neighbouring ſovereign, it is my duty to inform myſelf of what has paſſed before I recognize that abdication. Nevertheleſs, I declare to your royal highneſs, to the Spaniards, and to the whole world, that if the abdication of king Charles has been voluntary, and has not been forced from him by the inſurrection and tumult at Aranjuez, I ſhall have no difficulty in admitting it, and of acknowledging your royal highneſs as king of Spain. I wiſh, therefore, to confer with you on this ſubject. When king Charles acquainted me with the events of laſt October, they gave me the greateſt concern; and I flatter myſelf with having contributed, by my intermediations, to the happy termination of the affair at the Eſcurial. Your royal highneſs is not free from blame; as a letter which you wrote to me, and which I have always been anxious to forget, proves. When you are king, you will know how ſacred the rights of the throne ought to be held. Any application of an hereditary prince to a foreign ſovereign is criminal. The marriage of a French princeſs with your royal highneſs I deem to be neceſſary to the intereſts of my people, and alſo a circumſtance which would unite me in new bonds to a houſe, which I have always had reaſon to applaud, ſince I aſcended the throne. Your royal highneſs ought to diſtruſt popular movements: ſome of my ſoldiers who are ſcattered over your country may be aſſaſſinated; but the conſequence will be the ruin of Spain. I have ſeen with ſorrow, that a letter of the captain-general of Catalonia has been circulated at Madrid, and that it has exaſperated the public mind. Your royal highneſs knows my inmoſt thoughts: you will perceive that

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I am occupied by doubts; thoſe doubts ought to be ſolved. You may be aſſured, that I ſhall conduct myſelf in every caſe towards you with the ſame reſpect that I ſhould pay to the king your father. My diſpoſition is to conciliate, and to ſeek occaſions of giving you proofs of my affection and perfect eſteem."

When the young king had peruſed this letter, Savary made many vehement proteſtations, that Buonapartè was extremely intereſted for the welfare of Ferdinand and of Spain. He even went ſo far as to ſay, "I will ſuffer my head to be cut off, if within a quarter of an hour after your majeſty's arrival at Bayonne, the emperor ſhall not have recognized you as king of Spain, and of the Indies. To ſupport his own conſiſtency, he will probably begin by addreſſing you with the title of highneſs; but in five minutes he will give you that of majeſty. In three days every thing will be ſettled, and your majeſty may return to Spain immediately." The contents of the letter, and Savary's proteſtations were far from being ſatisfactory to Ferdinand, who ſtill heſitated as to the courſe which he ſhould purſue. Cevallos declares that he, and the counſellors in the king's train, adviſed him by no means to enter France. The inhabitants of Vittoria implored him not to quit the city. The ill-fated Ferdinand determined to proceed. Scarcely was he within the French territory, when he began to doubt the wiſdom of his reſolution; for he obſerved that nobody came to receive him. At St. Jean de Luz, indeed, the mayor made his appearance, attended by the municipality, and addreſſed him with the moſt lively expreſſions of joy which, he ſaid, he felt at being the firſt to pay his compliments to a king who was the ally of France. Shortly afterwards he was met by the deputation of the three grandees of Spain, who had been directed to meet Buonapartè. Their repreſentation of the treatment that might be expected, was not the moſt encouraging He was, however, now too near Bayonne to think of returning to Spain; and he therefore continued his journey.

April 20. At the entrance of the city he found Berthier, and the marſhal of the palace Duroc, with a detachment of the guard of honour, which the inhabitants had formed to attend Buonapartè. By them Ferdinand was uſhered into Bayonne, and conducted to the place which had been prepared for his reſidence. This manſion was ſo unſuited to the rank of the gueſt who was to occupy it, that the attendants of the unfortunate Ferdinand could not help contraſting the obvious and marked neglect, which appeared in the choice of it, with the ſtudied magnificence that the young monarch had employed in making preparations for the accommodation of his ally at Madrid. While Ferdinand was ruminating on theſe circumſtances, which could not fail to ſurpriſe him, he was informed that Buonapartè was coming to pay him a viſit. That perſonage arrived, accompanied by a number of his generals. The king went down to the ſtreet door to receive him, and he and the French ruler embraced each other with every token of friendſhip and affection. Buonapartè ſtaid only a ſhort time

with the king, and they parted with renewed embraces. Almoſt immediately afterwards, marſhal Duroc came to invite Ferdinand to dine with Napoléon. Ferdinand accepted the invitation; and when he arrived at the caſtle of Marac, Buonapartè came to the coach ſteps, embraced him again, and led him by the hand to the banquet room. Ferdinand had not long returned to his reſidence after the dinner, before Savary was again introduced to him; and to the aſtoniſhment of the king, and thoſe who ſurrounded his perſon, informed him that the emperor had irrevocably determined, that the dynaſty of the Bourbons ſhould no longer reign in Spain, and that it was to be ſucceeded by his own; conſequently his imperial majeſty required, that the king ſhould in his own name, and that of all his relatives, renounce the crown of Spain and of the Indies in favour of the French emperor and his family. Amazed as Ferdinand muſt have been at this revolting propoſition, his ſurpriſe was probably equal at the hardened audacity of the infamous wretch who conſented to be the bearer of it. The brutal inſolence of the tyrant in ſelecting the vile inſtrument, who by the moſt ſolemn aſſurances of his maſter's benevolence, had drawn the royal youth from the boſom of his kingdom, to convey this meſſage, proves that Buonapartè's diſpoſition was as coarſe and vulgar as it was unprincipled and rapacious. But the miniſter was a fit agent for the ſovereign by whom he was employed. The name of Savary will live for ever, as an emblem of every thing that is monſtrous in perfidy and baſeneſs; and children yet unborn will be taught to lift it with execration.

No reply ſeems to have been made to Buonapartè's demand that night, but the next morning Cevallos was ſent for, and he repaired to the caſtle of Marac. There he found Champagny, the miniſter for foreign affairs, waiting to enter into a diſcuſſion of the propoſal. Cevallos proteſted againſt the proceedings of the French ruler; and, as a categorical and final anſwer to the requiſition which had been made, declared that the king neither could nor would renounce his crown in favour of another dynaſty; that if he did ſo, he would ſacrifice the duties which he owed to his ſubjects, to his own character, and to the members of his family, who were entitled to the ſucceſſion by the fundamental laws of the kingdom; and that he could much leſs conſent to the eſtabliſhment of another dynaſty, which ought only to be called to the throne by the Spaniſh nation, in virtue of its original right to elect another family upon the termination of the exiſting dynaſty. Champagny inſiſted on the neceſſity of the renunciation, and contended that Charles IV. had not abdicated the crown voluntarily. In anſwer to theſe remarks, Cevallos expreſſed his ſurpriſe, that the king ſhould be importuned to renounce his crown at the ſame moment that it was aſſerted, that the abdication of his father was not a free act. Cevallos, however, very properly declined diſcuſſing the queſtion, becauſe he would not acknowledge the authority of Buonapartè to interfere in matters purely domeſtic; following in this reſpect the example of the cabinet of Paris, when it objected

jected to the application of Charles IV. in favour of his couſin and ally, Louis XVI. Deſirous nevertheleſs of ſhowing that the act of Charles IV. was voluntary, he ſtated that three weeks before the diſturbance at Aranjuez, the old monarch had, in his preſence and in that of all the other miniſters of ſtate, addreſſed the queen in theſe words: "Maria Louiſa, we will retire to one of the provinces, where we will paſs our days in tranquillity, and Ferdinand who is a young man ſhall take upon him the burthen of the government *." Cevallos denied that any violence was done to his majeſty, to extort the abdication of his crown; and argued that the whole court of Spain was ſatisfied, that Charles had freely relinquiſhed the throne; and that all the foreign ambaſſadors, except Beauharnois, muſt have been of the ſame opinion by offering their compliments to Ferdinand.

M. Champagny now obſerved, that the emperor could not be ſecure of Spain, in the event of a war againſt the powers of the north, while the Spaniſh nation ſhould continue under the government of a family, feeling that its elder branch had been deſpoiled of the monarchy of France. To this objection Cevallos anſwered, that family connexions were never ſuffered to prevail againſt the intereſt of ſtates, and that the political conduct of Charles IV. ſince the concluſion of the treaty of Baſle was a recent proof, that ſovereigns could detach themſelves from the intereſts of their families, when they were inconſiſtent with thoſe of their kingdoms; and he ſhowed that the friendſhip ſubſiſting between France and Spain was interwoven with local and political advantages, conſequently that every ſound principle of action would induce Spain to maintain a perpetual peace with France. He hinted that the love of the Spaniards for their kings was proverbial, and that the nation would not ſee the rights of its ſovereign violated with impunity; but in caſe of any hoſtile attempt, would renew its pacific relations with Great Britain, to the great injury of France. He reminded Champagny of the treaty concluded in October, 1807, at Fontainebleau, by which the French government had guaranteed the integrity and independence of the Spaniſh monarchy, as it exiſted at that time; and that not only no cauſe had been given by Spain to juſtify the infraction of that treaty, but that ſhe had afforded new proofs of the claim which ſhe had to the gratitude of the French ruler. "What will be the ſurpriſe of Europe," ſaid Cevallos, "when ſhe is acquainted with the expedients, ſeductions, and falſe promiſes, by which the king has been induced to come to Bayonne, to be deſpoiled of that crown, to which, with the inexpreſſible joy of the people, he has been called by the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and the ſpon-

* This anecdote may very poſſibly be true; but it by no means demonſtrates that the abdication of Charles was not extorted from him, at the time when it was made. Haraſſed by infirmities, and placed in new and increaſing difficulties, the old monarch may have had ideas of reſigning the crown floating in his mind; ſtill it is moſt probable that he had formed no determination on the ſubject until he was terrified by the events at Aranjuez.

taneous

taneous abdication of his auguſt father! Poſterity will not believe, that the emperor could give ſo deciſive a blow to his own reputation, the loſs of which leaves nothing to contemplate in his warlike character, but the ſpirit of deſtruction."

Fired at theſe words, Buonapartè, who had liſtened to the conference, commanded both the negotiators to enter his cabinet, where he gave vent to the impetuoſity of his temper. He branded Cevallos with the name of traitor, becauſe he had transferred his ſervices as miniſter, from Charles IV. to his ſon. He commented, in a tone of aſperity, on the aſſertion of Cevallos to general Monthion, that the king his maſter, in order to be ſovereign of Spain, did not need the emperor's acknowledgment, although it might be neceſſary for the continuance of the amicable relations of the peninſula with France. He indicated yet higher diſpleaſure, becauſe Cevallos had obſerved to a foreign miniſter, accredited at the court of Madrid, that if the French army infringed the integrity and independence of Spain, three hundred thouſand men would prove, that a haughty and generous nation could not be inſulted with impunity. After ſome further remarks, Buonapartè terminated the conference in theſe words: "I have a particular policy of my own: you muſt adopt more liberal ideas; be leſs tenacious of punctilios; and not ſacrifice the proſperity of Spain to the intereſt of the Bourbons."

Buonapartè now ſignified to Ferdinand, that he muſt employ a more accommodating negotiator; and while the latter was determining who ſhould be the ſucceſſor of Cevallos, Don Juan de Eſcoiquiz was perſuaded by one of the French emiſſaries to viſit Champagny. Eſcoiquiz was informed, that as it was neceſſary that Ferdinand ſhould make the ceſſion which had been demanded, Buonapartè would give him the kingdom of Etruria, ſubject to the Salic law; and that the right of ſucceſſion ſhould paſs to the infant Don Carlos, if Ferdinand had no children: that if the throne of Spain was occupied by a brother of the French ruler's, the latter would ſtrictly guarantee the complete integrity of the kingdom, its religion, and the rights of property. If Ferdinand accepted this propoſition, and wiſhed to eſpouſe a relation of the emperor's, that the marriage ſhould be concluded as ſoon as the treaty was ſigned; but in caſe he ſhould refuſe it, he would loſe the kingdom of Spain without obtaining any recompenſe. April 22.

Theſe propoſitions were diſcuſſed in a council held by Ferdinand; and, in conſequence of the deliberations, Don Pedro Labrador was nominated to treat with Champagny. The inſtructions given to Labrador directed him to demand if his maſter were at full liberty, and if he could return to Spain; becauſe if he were not at liberty, every act ſanctioned by him muſt of courſe be nugatory. The Spaniſh plenipotentiary was alſo to declare, that Ferdinand was reſolved not to comply with Buonapartè's requiſition, as he could not make the propoſed ceſſion of Spain, conſiſtently with his duty to his ſubjects, whom he could not compel to ſubmit to the dynaſty of the French ruler; neither could he deprive them of the right which they had to elect another family to the throne,

throne, when the reigning houſe might be extinct. Labrador was farther enjoined to ſtate, that Ferdinand could not conſent to receive the crown of Etruria as a compenſation, for the legitimate ſovereign of that kingdom was yet living, whom he would not injure; and beſides that he was content with the crown which Providence had conferred on him, and was not inclined to alienate himſelf from thoſe ſubjects whom he loved with the tenderneſs of a father, and from whom he had received unequivocal proofs of the moſt reſpectful affection.

April 27. When Labrador ſaw Champagny, he communicated his full powers to the French miniſter, and deſired in return, that the latter would exchange his own for them, and alſo give Buonapartè's propoſals in ſome authentic form. Champagny evaded theſe reaſonable demands, under the pretext, that they were mere formalities unconnected with the real buſineſs of the negotiation; but Labrador inſiſted on the importance of both, adding that he could diſcuſs nothing without them, and that they were neceſſary, in order that his own inſtructions might be varied, in caſe it ſhould be expedient to have them altered. The Frenchman took no notice of theſe comments, and proceeded to talk on the laſt propoſals made to Ferdinand. Labrador now deſired to know if his maſter was in a ſtate of freedom; and Champagny anſwered, that it could not be doubted. In that caſe, ſaid the former, his majeſty may return to Spain; but to this remark Champagny replied, that as to his return to Spain, it was neceſſary, that the king ſhould have a right underſtanding with his imperial majeſty, either by an interview or a letter.

This declaration, added to other proofs, convinced Ferdinand that he was actually under arreſt. However, to bring the matter to an iſſue, Cevallos, by Ferdinand's orders, ſent a note to the French miniſter, informing him that the king was determined to return to Madrid, to tranquillize the agitation of his beloved ſubjects, and to tranſact the important buſineſs of his dominions; at the ſame time aſſuring him, that the king would continue to treat in his capital with his imperial majeſty on matters of reciprocal utility. No anſwer was made to this note, nor had it any other reſult than that of redoubling, and enforcing in a more offenſive manner, the precautions and vigilance before exerciſed over the perſon of the royal captive. April 28.

CHAP. XI.

Manner in which the Prince de la Paz is ſet at Liberty. Buonapartè draws Charles IV. the Queen of Spain, and the Favourite to Bayonne. The old Monarch requires from Ferdinand a renunciation of the Spaniſh Crown: The latter offers to comply with the demand on certain conditions. Correſpondence between the King and his Son. Interview of the French Ruler with the Royal Family, when Ferdinand is ordered to make an unqualified

qualified Ceſſion of the Throne. Ferdinand accedes to this propoſition. Treaty between Charles IV. and Buonapartè, by which the King transfers all his claims to the Spaniſh Dominions to Napoleon. Convention between Ferdinand and the French Ruler. Departure of the Royal Family of Spain for the interior of France. Inſurrection at Madrid. Conſequences thereof. Timidity and indeciſion of the Junta of Government. Murat conſtituted Preſident of the Junta, and Lieutenant-general of the Kingdom. His various Proclamations to the Spaniards. Addreſs of the Supreme Council of the Inquiſition to all its ſubordinate tribunals. Letter of Charles IV. to the Spaniſh nation. Addreſs of Ferdinand and the Infants of Spain to the people. Meaſures taken by Murat reſpecting the appointment of Joſeph Buonapartè to the Crown. Proceedings of the Junta, the Council of Caſtile, and the Municipality of Madrid. Letter from the Cardinal de Bourbon to Napoléon. Buonapartè convokes an Aſſembly of Notables to meet at Bayonne to fix the baſis of the new government, and iſſues a proclamation on the ſubject. A ſpirit of reſiſtance to the oppreſſion of Napoléon burſts forth in moſt parts of the peninſula. Juntas formed for the proviſional Government of the Provinces. Subſtance of their various appeals to the people. The Captain-general of Aragon impriſoned by the patriots, and the Government conferred on Don Joſeph Pelafox: His bold meaſures. Tranſactions of the Junta of Seville: Precautions recommended by them to be obſerved in the conduct of the war: Their Addreſſes to the Inhabitants of Madrid, and to the French ſoldiers. The patriots apply to Great Britain for aſſiſtance. Deputies from ſeveral provinces of Spain arrive in London. The Supplies which they requeſt to have granted. An Order of Council publiſhed by the Engliſh Government ſtating that all hoſtilities between Great Britain and Spain had ceaſed.

PERCEIVING by the language which Cevallos had held on the 21ſt of April, that Ferdinand would not be eaſily induced to yield to his wiſhes, Buonapartè determined to draw Charles IV. and the queen of Spain to Bayonne, if, indeed, he did not originally intend, either by artifice or force, to enſure their preſence in that place, by which he might hope to derive ſome advantage. The letter and declaration which the old monarch had given to Monthion afforded him a convenient pretext to cover his real views. Accordingly he directed Murat to cauſe Charles and his queen to ſet out for Bayonne as ſpeedily as poſſible. Their majeſties made no difficulty in complying with the French ruler's deſires, as perhaps they imagined that every thing would be arranged to their entire ſatisfaction, by the perſon whom they were weak enough to conſider as their protector; but they poſitively refuſed to quit Madrid unleſs Godoy preceded them. That favourite had already been delivered up to Murat by the junta of government, notwithſtanding the expreſs commands of Ferdinand, that he ſhould be kept in confinement. When Savary returned to Vitoria with Buonapartè's letter, he, in obedience to his maſter's inſtructions, ſolicited the releaſe of the prince de la Paz. Ferdinand then wrote to Napoléon and informed him, that he had ordered

the higheſt tribunals in Spain to try Godoy, and promiſed his people, whoſe eyes were fixed on the proceedings, to publiſh the reſult of the proceſs; but he gave his royal word, in caſe the prince de la Paz ſhould be condemned to death, to remit that puniſhment, if Buonapartè took an intereſt in the priſoner's life. Before Ferdinand quitted Vitoria, the junta at Madrid acquainted him, that Murat had actually demanded the liberation of Godoy, and even threatened to uſe force, if his inſtances were not ſubmitted to. The junta was conſequently appriſed, that ſhould Murat renew his requiſitions on this ſubject, they were to repreſent to him, that this buſineſs had been diſcuſſed between the two ſovereigns, and that it depended excluſively on the deciſion of the king. Buonapartè paid no regard to Ferdinand's letter; but immediately wrote to Murat, and falſely aſſerted, that the prince of Aſturias had made him the arbiter of Godoy's fate. Murat ordered general Belliard to addreſs a note to the junta ſtating this intelligence, and inſiſting that the prince de la Paz ſhould be given up. Don Franciſco Gil, a member of the junta, ſingly oppoſed the ſurrender; but his colleagues were ſo much intimidated by the peremptory language of the note, and the verbal menaces of Murat, that they iſſued a warrant, in the king's name, for placing the priſoner at the diſpoſal of the French commander in chief. A few days afterwards, Godoy, eſcorted by a body of horſe, was ſent to Bayonne; whither he was followed by the king and queen.

April 20.

What paſſed between Buonapartè and Charles IV. immediately after his arrival at Bayonne is not known; but it is certain that the latter had an interview with Ferdinand, and required from him a renunciation of the Spaniſh crown, although the old monarch declared that he neither wiſhed to govern his dominions again, nor to return to Spain. Notwithſtanding Ferdinand was now thrown into a ſtate of extreme difficulty, and was perfectly ſenſible, that as a captive he had no power of enforcing his good intentions, he determined to procure as much benefit to his country as the nature of circumſtances would permit, and to maintain his own dignity of character. He accordingly tranſmitted a paper to his father, containing an offer to renounce the throne on the following conditions: 1. that Charles would return to Madrid, whither, Ferdinand ſaid, he would accompany his majeſty, and ſerve him as a dutiful ſon; 2. that the cortes ſhould be aſſembled; or if his majeſty objected to calling together ſo numerous a body, that all the tribunals, and deputies of the ſtates, ſhould be convoked: 3. that, on the meeting of one of theſe aſſemblies, his (Ferdinand's) renunciation ſhould be given with proper formalities, explaining the motives of it: 4. that the king ſhould not take to his councils perſons who had juſtly excited the hatred of the nation; 5. that if his majeſty ſhould not wiſh to reign nor return to Spain, that he ſhould depute Ferdinand to govern in his name.—Ferdinand obſerved, that he had the voice of the people, and that nobody could intereſt himſelf in their proſperity with ſo much zeal,

April 30.

May 1.

zeal, nor with so high a sense of duty as he could; and that his renunciation thus limited would convince the Spaniards, that he preferred their security to the glory of possessing the crown.

May 2. Charles returned an answer to this proposal in a letter of great length, in which he recapitulated many past transactions. He stated that Ferdinand had so conducted matters as to make every thing depend on the mediation of the French emperor. Charles said, he had opened his heart to Napoléon, who therefore knew all the injuries which he had received, as well as the violence which had been done to him, and who had declared that Ferdinand should never be acknowledged as king, for that he, who had been the enemy of his father, could never acquire the confidence of foreign states. He asserted that in consequence of Ferdinand's conduct to him, it was neither for his son's interest nor for that of the country, that he should possess the sceptre. In conclusion he remarked: 'I am king in right of my fathers: my abdication was the result of force: I have no conditions to receive from you, nor can I consent to convene any assembly whatever: another wicked suggestion of the inexperienced persons who surround you. I have reigned for the happiness of my people, and I do not wish to leave popular juntas, mutiny, civil war, and revolution, behind me. Every thing should be done for the people, and nothing by them; to forget this maxim is to become accessary to all the crimes that must follow its neglect. I have sacrificed the whole of my life to my people, and in the advanced age to which I have arrived, I shall do nothing in opposition to their religion, their tranquillity, and their happiness."

May 4. Ferdinand, in reply to this letter, mentioned a number of circumstances to prove, that his father's abdication had been voluntary, which it is unnecessary to repeat, because they might all have taken place without demonstrating that Charles was wholly a free agent in that respect. He renewed all his former proposals; and as it was now evident that Charles IV. meant to resign the crown in favour of Buonapartè's family, Ferdinand entreated his majesty to consider their common situation: to reflect on the evil of excluding their dynasty forever from the throne of Spain, and substituting in its room the imperial family of France: a step which, he asserted, they could not take without the express consent of all the individuals who had or might have a right to the crown; nor without the permission of the Spanish people, represented by the cortes assembled in a place of security; "besides," said Ferdinand, "discussing as we now do the subject in a foreign country, it would be impossible that we could persuade any one, that we are at liberty to act, and this consideration alone would annul whatever we do, and be productive of the most fatal consequences."

May 4. On the day that Charles received this letter from his son, he sent a declaration to Madrid, signifying that he was determined to resume the reins of government. At the same time he ordered his brother Don Antonio to resign his office as president

preſident of the ſupreme junta, to which he appointed Murat, and likewiſe conſtituted him lieutenant general of the kingdom.

Buonapartè viſited Charles IV. and the queen of Spain, on the 5th of May about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, and the conference continued an hour, when Ferdinand was called in by his father to hear, in the preſence of the French ruler, expreſſions and language ſo derogatory and humiliating, that Cevallos, who mentions the circumſtance, declines to repeat them. It has indeed been affirmed, but there is no preciſe authority for the ſtatement, that the queen even acknowledged her own infamy, by declaring Ferdinand to be illegitimate. Something very indecorous muſt unqueſtionably have paſſed; and during this extraordinary ſcene, Ferdinand was kept ſtanding, while all the other perſonages who witneſſed it were ſeated. Charles now commanded Ferdinand to ſign an unconditional ſurrender of the crown, on pain of being treated as an uſurper, and a conſpirator againſt the lives of his parents. He was alſo informed, that his refuſal to comply with this order would implicate all his houſehold and miniſters in the fate which would await him; and Buonapartè added to the menaces of Charles theſe emphatic words: "*Prince, il faut opter entre la ceſſion et la mort.*" Prince, you muſt determine on ceſſion or death.

Ferdinand, conſcious that all farther reſiſtance to this arbitrary mandate would be uſeleſs, and anxious not to involve in his misfortunes the adherents and counſellors, who had ſo faithfully ſerved him, conſented to make the required renunciation; and on the next day, he ſent a letter to his father, in which he formally relinquiſhed the throne to him without any reſtrictions whatever. May 6.

The impatience of Buonapartè had not waited for the reception of this document, but it is moſt probable that Ferdinand's ſubmiſſion to his father's will was known on the preceding day, when, by a treaty concluded between Charles IV. and Napoléon, the former ceded to the French ruler all his rights to the throne of Spain and the Indies. Buonapartè engaged to maintain the integrity of the kingdom, and that the prince on whom he ſhould confer the crown ſhould be independent. The catholic, apoſtolic, and Roman religion was the only one which was to be permitted to exiſt in Spain; all acts committed by Ferdinand were declared invalid, and property which had been confiſcated was to be reſtored. The latter ſtipulation was evidently made that the prince de la Paz might recover his eſtates and effects. An aſylum in France was to be given to Charles, the queen, and Godoy; and ſuch of the old monarch's ſervants as choſe to follow him, were to enjoy in France a rank equivalent to that which they held in Spain. The imperial palace of Compeigne, with the parks and foreſts dependent on it, was to be at the diſpoſal of Charles during his life; and a penſion from the French treaſury equivalent to thirty millions of reals was to be aſſigned to him, and to be paid monthly. At the king's death, the queen was to have a revenue of two millions of May 5.

reals.

reals. Buonapartè agreed to grant to each of the infants of Spain an annual penſion of four hundred thouſand livres, to be enjoyed by them in perpetuity, revertible from one to the other in caſe of the demiſe of one of them, according to the inſtitutions of the civil law; but if all the branches became extinct, the penſions were to revert to the crown of France. The infants were alſo to retain the revenues of the commanderies which they held in Spain. By the ſeventh article of the treaty, it appears, that Napoleon purpoſed all theſe penſions to be really paid by Spain; for he reſerved to himſelf a power of making ſuch arrangements for diſcharging them, with the future king of that country as he might think proper; but it was expreſsly mentioned, that king Charles was to have no concern in regard to that object except with the treaſury of France. Charles exchanged all his perſonal poſſeſſions and allodial and particular property in Spain for the caſtle of Chambord in France, with the parks, foreſts and farms dependent thereon, which he was to hold in fee.

The parties to this diſgraceful transfer of ten millions of people, of courſe, endeavoured to juſtify it by the pretexts of philanthropy and benevolence. In the preamble to the act it was ſet forth, that they were equally animated with a deſire to put an end to the anarchy to which Spain was a prey, and to ſave that brave nation from the influence of faction, and the convulſions of civil and foreign war; to place it in the only poſition which, in the extraordinary circumſtances then affecting it, could maintain its integrity, guarantee its colonies, and enable it to unite all its means to thoſe of France to obtain a maritime peace. The treaty was ſigned by Duroc and the prince de la Paz; and thus Godoy was inſtrumental to the final degradation of his maſter.

May 10. Ferdinand acceded to the ceſſion made by his father by a particular convention. Buonapartè granted him in France the title of royal highneſs, with all the honours and prerogatives which the princes of the blood enjoyed. His deſcendants were to preſerve the title of prince, with that of moſt ſerene highneſs, and were always to hold the ſame rank as the princes dignitaries of the empire. The palace, parks, and farms of Navarre, in Normandy, with the woods appertaining to them, to the amount of fifty thouſand acres, were ceded to him and his heirs; in default of theſe, they were to paſs to the children of his brothers and uncle, according to the laws of ſucceſſion (provided that they acceded to this treaty,) and the heir to whom this property ſhould deſcend, was to be created a prince by letters patent. Ferdinand was to have an inheritable penſion of four hundred thouſand francs, and another of ſix hundred thouſand during life, the half of which was to be enjoyed by his conſort, if he left one. Ferdinand alſo expreſsly ſecured to himſelf and his heirs, the conditional reverſion of the penſions granted to his brothers and uncle, which indeed he muſt have had by the proviſions of the compact ſigned by his father. Finally, Buonapartè aſſured to Ferdinand's brothers and uncle, as well as to their deſcendants, the ſame titles and perogatives

prerogatives as were conceded to Ferdinand himſelf.

As ſoon as the different members of the royal family had anſwered the purpoſe for which they were brought to Bayonne, they were ſucceſſively diſmiſſed to the interior of France from the ſcene of Buonapartè's operations, on which other puppets were deſtined to play the parts aſſigned to them, and exhibit to aſtoniſhed Europe every ſpecies of degradation to which the human character can ſubmit. For centuries the higher orders of other countries had regarded the nobles of Spain with particular eſtimation. They were ſuppoſed to be the peculiar inheritors of chivalrous ideas of honour; and their lofty pretenſions to delicacy of punctilio were admitted by univerſal conſent. A Corſican adventurer unmaſked their real diſpoſition; and his tranſactions at Bayonne proved, that haughty deportment can yield to the dictates of temporary convenience, and that the inſolence of pride can be content to lick the duſt.

It has been ſeen by the precautions that were taken, and the decrees which were iſſued, that even before Ferdinand's departure from Madrid, ſtrong ſymptoms of popular agitation prevailed. After their prince was known to have croſſed the frontiers, and proceeded to Bayonne, and eſpecially after Charles IV. and the queen had ſet out for that city, the alarm and diſcontent of the people in the metropolis daily increaſed. Towards the latter end of April, either by means of private letters from the individuals in the retinue of Ferdinand, or ſome other ſources of intelligence, they received obſcure hints of the events paſſing on the other ſide of the Pyrenees. Theſe intimations gradually laid open the true ſtate of the caſe, until it was generally ſurmiſed, that the French ruler intended to effect ſome important alteration in the government.

The day fixed for the departure of the queen of Etruria, daughter of Charles IV., and her brother Don Franciſco, to Bayonne, was the ſecond of May; but it had alſo been reported that Don Antonio, preſident of the junta, was to accompany them; and when one of the carriages, which was to convey the former illuſtrious perſonages drew up in the front of the palace, the people who were there aſſembled imagined that it was for Don Antonio. Under this miſconception they cut the traces of the carriage, and forced it back into the court-yard; but being aſſured that Don Antonio was not going to abandon them, they ſuffered the horſes again to be put to it; and the carriages with the queen of Etruria and her brother were permitted to proceed. Don Franciſco, a boy of fourteen, was obſerved to weep bitterly; a circumſtance which inſtantly awakened the ſympathy of the populace, and rouſed their reſentment, which manifeſted itſelf in a diſpoſition to riot. A detachment of French ſoldiers now made its appearance on the ſpot, and a dreadful confuſion attended with horrible carnage enſued. The French diſcharged their pieces, and by theſe vollies a number of Spaniards were killed and wounded. An account of this procedure flew on the wings of indignation to all parts of the city, and

and the lower claſſes ſeizing ſuch weapons as they could find, ruſhed in multitudes through the ſtreets to attack the objects of their enmity, of whom they killed conſiderable numbers, and ſeized their arms. All the French forces in Madrid were called out, and by repeated diſcharges of muſquetry, and grape-ſhot from the artillery, cleared the ſquares and ſtreets. The French cavalry alſo bore a diſtinguiſhed part in this ſcene of ſlaughter, as they charged the populace ſeveral times. The people broken and overcome by their opponents, fled in different directions, followed by the French, who fired down the croſs ſtreets as they paſſed along, and at the windows and balconies of the houſes, from whence they had been galled by the fire of the Spaniards after they were driven from the ſtreets. Many of the houſes were broken open, and the fugitives were put to the ſword. The havoc was the greateſt at the Sun-gate, in the ſtreet of Alcala, and in the great ſquare.

A body of Spaniards had made for the arſenal, where there were arms for ten thouſand men, and twenty pieces of cannon. Before they could provide themſelves with the muſkets, they were attacked by a French regiment; but two officers of Spaniſh artillery, Velarde and Doaiz, with a few artillery-men, had time to bring out a four-and-twenty pounder, which they pointed ſo as to enfilade a long narrow lane leading to the gate of the place. The diſcharge of grape from this piece occaſioned ſuch carnage amongſt the aſſailants, that they were obliged to ſend for reinforcements, and two French columns came to their aſſiſtance. Velarde periſhed by a muſket ſhot. Doaiz, although his thigh was broken, continued to encourage his men, and give the neceſſary orders with compoſure, till he received three other wounds, the laſt of which terminated his exiſtence. The united force of the French at length ſubdued the Spaniards, and the arſenal was taken. About two o'clock in the afternoon, ſome kind of order was reſtored by the exertions of the council of Caſtile and the other tribunals, who attended by ſeveral Spaniſh noblemen, and ſome French generals, and eſcorted by parties of cavalry both Spaniſh and French, rode along the ſtreets for the purpoſe of reſtraining the mutual animoſity of the people and their ſanguinary oppreſſers.

The tumult was in fact ſuppreſſed, but not the work of death. Murat directed military tribunals to be formed, by which all the priſoners taken by the French were ordered to be ſhot. This ſentence was executed in the evening of this lamentable day. At night the inhabitants were compelled to illuminate their houſes, to prevent the poſſibility of a new inſurrection, attended with the horrors of darkneſs. The next morning, and for two ſucceeding days, numerous apprehenſions of unfortunate individuals took place. Theſe victims of cruelty were hurried before the bloody tribunals eſtabliſhed by the French, condemned on the moſt doubtful evidence, and ſhot in groups in various parts of the city and its environs. It is impoſſible to aſcertain the number of Spaniards who periſhed on the day of the inſurrection,

insurrection, or by the subsequent massacres, though it must unquestionably have been great: as to the loss of the French, it was as certainly considerable; but according to the invariable custom of that people, when they relate their misfortunes, it was represented to be trifling.

May 4. The junta of government ordered all the citizens of Madrid to be disarmed, and listening only to their fears of popular commotions, which induced them to think that the existing crisis demanded strong measures to preserve the public tranquillity, transferred the presidency of their body from Don Antonio to Murat, thus anticipating the edict of Charles IV. The edict arrived in the course of the next day, and Murat lost no time in sending Don Antonio to France.

When Ferdinand found himself in a state of captivity at Bayonne, he had authorised the junta of government to take any steps which it might deem proper for the service of the state; and that body has been greatly censured for its want of vigour, after receiving such full powers, in not immediately assuming the supreme direction of affairs, retiring if necessary to a place of security, and calling forth the energies of the people in defence of the kingdom. Had they acted with this decision, success would most probably have crowned their efforts in the cause of Spain; but accustomed to receive commands, the members of the junta would do nothing without them. They consequently dispatched a confidential person to Bayonne to propose to Ferdinand the following questions:—1. Whether his majesty thought fit to authorise the junta to be removed in case of necessity, and whether, if so removed, it was to be constituted of the same or other persons? 2. Whether it was his majesty's pleasure that hostilities should be commenced against the French army; and in that case, how and when the junta should proceed? 3. Whether it was also the king's pleasure that the junta should endeavour to prevent the entrance of more French troops into Spain, by closing the passes on the frontiers? 4. Whether his majesty thought it right that the cortes should be assembled; because in that case, his decree would be requisite, addressed to the royal council; or if such council should not exist at the time of the arrival of the king's answer, on account of the restraint which might be imposed on it, whether such decree should be addressed to any chancery or audience of the kingdom, which might be uninfluenced by the French troops? Lastly, on what subjects the cortes were to debate? The person commissioned to state these propositions arrived at Bayonne on the 4th of May, and early on the 5th, Ferdinand signed two decrees. The first was addressed to the junta. It repeated to them, that he was not at liberty, and consequently was incapable himself of taking any measures for the safety of his person and monarchy; that therefore he empowered the junta in the most ample manner, either as a body, or one or more of its members, to remove to the place conceived to be most convenient; and that in the name of his majesty,

jeſty, and as repreſenting his royal perſon, they or he ſhould exerciſe all the functions of ſovereignty. He ordered hoſtilities to be commenced the moment that he ſhould be compelled to proceed to the interior of France; and laſtly, that in ſuch caſe, the junta ſhould prevent the entrance of more French troops into the peninſula. The ſecond decree was addreſſed to the royal council, or if that ſhould not exiſt, to any chancery or audience. It ſtated, that it was Ferdinand's pleaſure, that the cortes ſhould be aſſembled in the moſt convenient ſituation, and that they ſhould be immediately and excluſively occupied in directing the levies and ſubſidies neceſſary for the defence of the kingdom, and that they ſhould be permanent for what might afterwards occur. Theſe decrees reached one of the members of the junta; after the reſult of the conteſt on the 2d of May, and the transfer of the preſidency of the junta to Murat, that member declined to communicate them to the reſt of his colleagues, or to act upon them himſelf. It is beſides reported, that this member was acquainted by Ferdinand with his reſolution to make the abſolute ceſſion of the crown to his father, by means of Don Perez de Caſtro, who was ſent off in great haſte from Bayonne, on the 6th of May, for the purpurpoſe of conveying the meſſage, and who therefore muſt have arrived at Madrid ſoon after the bearer of the decrees.

May 6. Murat being appointed preſident of the junta in the manner related, iſſued a decree, in the name of that body, to the inhabitants of Madrid. He acquainted them that their tranquillity would thenceforth be unalterable: that they would owe this tranquillity to the loyalty of their own character; but that it would be more aſſured to them by the confidence inſpired by the laws, and by the prudence of zealous magiſtrates, to whom the execution of thoſe laws was committed. He informed them, that in obedience to the dictates of humanity, the military commiſſion, rendered neceſſary by the late events, had been ſuppreſſed; and that thereafter every inhabitant, whoſe conduct had cauſed him to be apprehended by the French troops, provided that he had not borne arms againſt them, ſhould be immediately given over to his proper judges, and be tried by them; and even if he had borne arms againſt the French, that a judge nominated by the competent tribunal of the nation ſhould always aſſiſt in regulating the whole of the proceſs againſt the accuſed, till ſentence was pronounced. Every individual who ſhould have juſt complaints to make, was aſſured that, on addreſſing himſelf to the judge of police, he would obtain immediate juſtice. But it was notified, that the order againſt introducing firearms, and other prohibited weapons, into the city, muſt be enforced.

On the ſame day Murat alſo publiſhed another proclamation, in his own name, to the Spaniards, and declared that the 2d of May would be a day of mourning to him as well as to themſelves. He called on the nobles, proprietors, merchants, manufacturers, and miniſters of religion, and of the laws, to exert themſelves to prevent ſedition, and threatened them with the vengeance of his maſter if

French blood ſhould again be ſpilled. He informed the people that Charles IV. and his ſon were met at Bayonne to ſettle with the emperor Napoléon, the fate of Spain; but that the emperor did not think proper to wait the iſſue of ſuch a momentous deciſion, to make known to them the feelings that influenced him in the behalf of a magnanimous nation, which he was deſirous of preſerving from a revolutionary criſis, and to call on her to eſtabliſh ſuch political inſtitutions as were beſt adapted to her character. Murat added, that he was charged to repeat, that the emperor wiſhed to maintain the integrity of the Spaniſh monarchy, which ſhould not loſe a ſingle village, nor ſuffer any of the contributions, the levy of which were authoriſed by the laws of war, but which the ill-intentioned only would ſuppoſe applicable to an ally.

The formidable power of the inquiſition was an engine too convenient for anſwering the purpoſes of Murat, to be neglected on this occaſion. Accordingly, by his direction, the ſupreme council of that tribunal ſent a circular letter to all the inferior courts, exhorting them to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to preſerve the public peace, and prevent the renewal of exceſſes, which were attributed to the evil deſigns or ignorance of thoughtleſs men. It was ſaid, therefore, to be the duty of thoſe who were better informed to enlighten the people, and to deliver them from ſo dangerous an error, by ſhowing them that ſuch tumultuous proceedings could only throw the country into a ſtate of convulſion, by tearing aſunder thoſe bonds of ſubordination upon which the happineſs of the community depended, by deſtroying the feelings of humanity, and annihilating all confidence in the government, to which alone it belonged to give a uniform direction and impulſe to the ſentiments of patriotiſm. The conduct thus recommended was affirmed to be for the intereſt of the nation, and dictated by the laws of hoſpitality towards friendly officers and ſoldiers who injured no perſon, and who had given the greateſt proofs of good order and diſcipline.

A letter from Charles IV. to the council of Caſtile was ſoon afterwards publiſhed, by which he acquainted them, that he had reſolved, in the preſent extraordinary circumſtances, to give a new proof of his affection towards his beloved ſubjects, whoſe happineſs, during the whole courſe of his reign, had been the object of his ſolicitude. He had therefore abdicated all his claims upon the Spaniſh kingdoms in favour of his friend and ally, the emperor of the French, by a treaty which ſtipulated for the independence and integrity of Spain. An addreſs from Ferdinand, his brother Don Carlos, and his uncle Don Antonio, to the Spaniards, was alſo made public. This paper ſtated, that ſoon after his arrival at Bayonne, Ferdinand was unexpectedly appriſed that his father had proteſted againſt his act of abdication, declaring that it was not voluntary; and that when he was informed of the exiſtence of ſuch a proteſt, his ſenſe of filial duty inſtantly determined him to give back the throne. "A ſhort time afterwards, however, the king his father abdicated the crown in his own name, and that of his whole race, in favour of the emperor of

the French, in order that the emperor, conſulting the good of the nation, ſhould determine the perſon and dynaſty who ſhould occupy it. The Spaniards might aſſure themſelves, that by their zeal to conform their ſentiments to this arrangement, they would give their prince, and the two infants, the ſtrongeſt proof of their loyalty; in like manner, as their royal highneſſes gave them the greateſt example of their paternal affection, by renouncing all their rights, and ſacrificing their own intereſts, for the happineſs of the Spaniards, the ſole object of their wiſhes."

Murat having ſignified to the junta Buonapartè's deſire, that they ſhould requeſt him to nominate his brother Joſeph king of Spain, that body immediately complied with Napoléon's propoſal. The council of Caſtile, though at firſt it heſitated to obey Murat's injunction, deputed four of its members to attend the French ruler at Bayonne, and to deliver to him a letter, ſtating in ſubſtance, that if the king of Spain was to be choſen from the imperial family, they hoped he would give the preference to the king of Naples, Joſeph Napoleon. The municipality of Madrid expreſſed the ſame ſentiments in an addreſs to Murat. To give a ſketch of theſe documents would be tedious; it is ſufficient to obſerve that the language of them was as ſervile as dependence could uſe, or tyranny expect to receive. The ſame obſervation applies to a letter from the cardinal de Bourbon, archbiſhop of Toledo, the only male branch of the royal family that remained in the kingdom, who promiſed Buonapartè to obey as his ſovereign whomſoever he might appoint to reign over Spain.

May 13.

May 15.

When the French ruler had obtained theſe inſtruments, he convoked an aſſembly of notables to fix the baſis of the new government; and made a decree for continuing Murat in the office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and confirming, for the preſent, the conſtituted authorities. He alſo ſent an addreſs to the Spaniards, to this effect: "Spaniards, after a long lingering diſeaſe, your nation ſunk to decay. I have ſeen your ſufferings; I will relieve them. Your greatneſs makes a part of mine. Your princes have ceded to me all their rights to the Spaniſh crown. I will not reign over your provinces; but I will acquire an eternal right to the love and gratitude of your poſterity. Your monarchy is old; it muſt be reſtored to youth, that you may enjoy the bleſſings of a renovation, which ſhall not be purchaſed by civil war or calamity. Spaniards, I have convened a general aſſembly of the deputies of your provinces and towns, that I may know your deſires and wants. I ſhall lay down my rights, and place your illuſtrious crown upon the head of one who reſembles me, ſecuring to you a conſtitution which will unite the ſalutary power of the ſovereign with the liberties and rights of the Spaniſh nation. It is my will that my memory ſhall be bleſſed by your lateſt poſterity; and that they ſhall ſay —He was the reſtorer of our country."

May 25.

No ſooner were theſe various proceedings known in the different provinces of Spain, than a ſpirit of patriotic indignation pervaded the

the whole country. The idea of being tamely transferred by their perfidious government at Madrid, to the dominion of an adventurer, ſtung the pride, and rouſed the dormant dignity of the people. Although Aſturias and Galicia firſt took meaſures to counteract the deſigns of the haughty oppreſſor, the other provinces became animated with the ſame ardour in ſuch rapid ſucceſſion, as to prove that one common ſentiment of independence animated every diviſion of the kingdom. In the principal cities of moſt of the provinces, juntas were ſpeedily formed for the proviſional adminiſtration of affairs, and to direct the energies of the inhabitants. Theſe aſſemblies publiſhed proclamations and addreſſes to their countrymen, inciting them to defend their rights, and vindicate their inſulted honour. They recalled to their recollection the heroic actions of their anceſtors, and the noble ſtruggles which they had maintained againſt the Moors in the cauſe of freedom and religion. The daring and faithleſs conduct of Buonapartè was painted with all the correctneſs of truth, but in the moſt glowing colours. The artifices by which he had drawn the Spaniſh troops to the north of Europe, and decoyed the royal family to Bayonne, were placed in the ſtrongeſt light. "It is better," ſaid the junta of Galicia, "to die in defence of our religion and fire-ſides, and in our own country, than to be led bound to ſlaughter, in order to ſatisfy inordinate ambition. The French conſcription awaits us. If we do not ſerve our kingdom, we ſhall go and die in the north. We loſe nothing. For even if we ſhould be unſucceſsful, we ſhall have freed ourſelves by a glorious death from the galling chains of a foreign yoke. Fly to arms to aſſiſt your countrymen to reſcue your king from captivity; to reſtore to your government liberty, energy, and vigour; to preſerve your lives and thoſe of your children; to maintain the right of enjoying and diſpoſing of your property; to aſſert the independence of your native ſoil; and above all, to defend your ſacred religion. Employ the arms which ſhe tenders, nerve your minds with the fear of God; implore the aid of the immaculate conception, and of the glorious St. Jacob, our patron; and confident of ſucceſs in ſo glorious an undertaking, ruſh forth to graſp the victory which is prepared for you by their interceſſion, and the juſtice of your cauſe!" "Shall there be found amongſt us," exclaimed the Aſturians, "a ſingle man who prefers the vile and ignominious death of a ſlave to the glory of dying in the field of honour, with arms in his hand, defending our unfortunate monarch, our homes, our children, and our wives? If, at the very moment, when the hordes of French banditti were receiving the kindeſt offices and favours from the inhabitants of our capital, they murdered in cold blood upwards of two thouſand people, for no other reaſon than having defended their inſulted brethren, what could we expect from them, if we ſhould ſubmit to them? They have profaned our temples; they have inſulted our religion; they have aſſailed our wives; in fine, they have broken all promiſes, and there exiſts no right which they have not violated." The addreſſes of

other aſſemblies were not leſs ſpirited, they forcibly contraſted the war which they exhorted the patriots to wage for the ſake of every thing that was dear to man, with the wars undertaken by the French ruler from a luſt of power. Appeals were made to the clerical orders to contribute ſupplies for the maintenance of the common cauſe; nor were the appeals vain, for the clergy voluntarily made ſacrifices to ſupport it.

The captain-general of Aragon endeavoured to extinguiſh the patriotic blaze which broke forth in that country, and attempted to diſarm the people, but they ſecured his perſon and impriſoned him. The citizens of Zaragoza, and the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages conferred the government of the province on Don Joſeph Pelafox, who had made his eſcape from Bayonne to his country-ſeat in diſguiſe. Pelafox was the youngeſt brother of the marquis de Lazan, was in the prime of life, and held a commiſſion in the Spaniſh guards. Aragon was at this period ſurrounded by enemies. The paſſes of the Pyrenees, leading from France into the heart of the province, were open; Navarre and Catalonia were entirely in the power of the French; and Murat, with the main body of the French army, domineered over the two Caſtiles. In theſe dangerous circumſtances, Pelafox boldly declared in his manifeſto, that the French emperor, all the individuals of his family, and every French general and officer ſhould be perſonally reſponſible for the ſafety of the king, and of his brother and uncle; that in caſe any violence ſhould be attempted againſt lives ſo valuable, in order that Spain might not be without a king, the nation would make uſe of its elective right in favour of the archduke Charles as nephew of Charles III. in caſe that the prince of Sicily, the infant Don Pedro, or the other heirs ſhould not be able to aſſume the crown; that if the French troops committed robberies, devaſtation, or murder, either in Madrid or any other town invaded by them, they ſhould be conſidered as guilty of high treaſon, and no quarter ſhould be given to any of them; that all tranſactions which had hitherto taken place ſhould be eſteemed as null and void, and all who ſhould take an active part in the like tranſactions ſhould be deemed traitors to their country; that all deſerters of the French army who ſhould preſent themſelves, ſhould be admitted in Aragon, treated with generoſity, and ſuffered to enliſt in the Spaniſh troops. He alſo invited all the other provinces not invaded by the enemy to ſend deputies to Termal, or any other ſuitable place, to nominate a lieutenant-general, whoſe orders ſhould be obeyed by the particular chiefs of the different diſtricts.

In every part of Spain, except the two Caſtiles, Catalonia, and Navarre, the burſt of patriotic feeling diſplayed itſelf. Some exceſſes were committed in different places before regular aſſemblies were organiſed, but a ſpirit of order quickly ſucceeded to licenciouſneſs.

The junta of Seville was conſtituted on the 27th of May, and on this aſſembly the other proviſional authorities, by tacit conſent,

ſent, conferred the ſupreme direction of affairs. Seville was peculiarly well calculated to be the ſeat of government on this occaſion, on account of many advantages which Andaluſia had at the time over other provinces. It poſſeſſed the only foundry for cannon in the kingdom; it abounded in arms and military ſtores; more veteran troops were collected in it than in other parts; and independently of its numerous population and wealth, it was remote from the influence of the French armies. The junta having proclaimed Ferdinand as their king, in his name declared war againſt France. They eſtabliſhed ſubordinate juntas in all cities and towns ſubject to their juriſdiction, conſiſting of 2000 or more houſeholders; and theſe corporations were to enliſt all the inhabitants from the age of ſixteen to that of forty-five, for the ſervice of the country. They next publiſhed their admirable rules for the conduct of the Spaniards in the hoſtilities that were to be commenced againſt the French, under the title of precautions. The firſt object which they recommended was, the avoidance of all general actions, and the adoption of a war of partiſans, by embarraſſing and waſting the enemy's armies for want of proviſions, by deſtroying bridges, throwing up intrenchments in proper ſituations, and other ſimilar means. The ſituation of Spain, its numerous mountains, its rivers and torrents, and even the collocation of its provinces, they juſtly obſerved, pointed out this ſpecies of warfare as the moſt advantageous. It was neceſſary, they ſaid, that each province ſhould have its general; but in order to ſecure an union of plan and enterpriſe, it was indiſpenſable that there ſhould be three generaliſſimos acting in concert with each other:—one who ſhould command in the four kingdoms of Andaluſia, in Murcia, and Lower Eſtremadura—another in Galicia, Upper Eſtremadura, Old and New Caſtile, and Leon—a third in Valencia, Aragon, and Catalonia.

They obſerved that each of theſe generals and generaliſſimos ought to form an army of veterans, troops, and peaſantry united, and avail himſelf of every opportunity to aſſail the enemy, to ſuccour the points moſt expoſed, always maintaining communications with the other commanders. Madrid and La Mancha required an eſpecial general, whoſe only object muſt be to haraſs the enemy, take away or cut off his ſupplies, attack him in flank and rear, and not to leave him a moment of repoſe. The generals of the North and Eaſt were to block up the entrances from France, and even from Portugal, into the provinces under their command. The circulation of frequent proclamations was adviſed, in order to ſtimulate and preſerve the courage and loyalty of the people; and perſons of education were admoniſhed to print ſhort diſcourſes for the ſame purpoſe, and to expoſe the falſehoods of the partiſans of France. Care was to be taken to explain to the nation, and to convince it that when freed from war, and when Ferdinand was reſtored to the throne, "under him and by him the cortes would be aſſembled, abuſes reformed, and ſuch laws enacted as the circumſtances of the times and experience might dictate

dictate for the public good and happineſs."

May 29. The aſſembly addreſſed the people of Madrid in the moſt cordial terms. "Seville," ſaid they, "has learned with conſternation and ſurpriſe the dreadful cataſtrophe which has occurred in your city. She has ſeen with horror the weakneſs of a government which did nothing in your favour, and which ordered arms to be directed againſt you. The Spaniſh blood ſhed in Madrid calls aloud for vengeance! Comfort yourſelves, we are your brethren. Aſſiſt us with your good wiſhes, and your continual prayers offered up to the Moſt High, who can never forſake us, becauſe he never forſakes thoſe whoſe motives are juſt. Should any favourable opportunity offer, exert yourſelves as valiant Spaniards, to ſhake off the ignominious yoke impoſed on you, with the ſlaughter of ſo many of your innocent fellow-citizens, and with a perfidy deteſtable beyond example."

Amongſt the documents ſet forth at this time were ſeveral direct appeals to the French. They were told that they no longer poſſeſſed either laws or liberty; that with ſtreams of their blood they had been compelled to enſlave Europe, and to become the inſtruments of fraud, treachery, and ingratitude. They were invited to withdraw from the banners of tyranny, degradation, and injuſtice, and to enliſt under thoſe of the Spaniards, who would receive them with open arms, and whoſe cauſe was holy. The ſame language was held to the Italians, Germans, Poles, and Swiſs, ſerving in the French armies. They were reminded that they had been deſpoiled of every thing which they regarded as ſacred,—robbed of their property, their freedom, and dragged from their families and their country. "Come to us," ſaid the Spaniſh chiefs, "and you ſhall meet with valour, generoſity, and good faith."

The Spaniards in their preſent circumſtances looked to Great Britain for aſſiſtance. Deputies from Aſturias arrived in England on the 9th of June, to ſolicit ſuccour. They did not requeſt any military force to aid them, as they declared it was not requiſite, but money, arms, ammunition, and clothing; and theſe were furniſhed by the Britiſh miniſtry in abundance, as well as with expedition. The Engliſh nation welcomed the deputies of Aſturias, and thoſe of the other Spaniſh provinces who ſoon afterwards reached London, with every demonſtration of hoſpitality and enthuſiaſtic ſympathy in their cauſe. The ſupplies which they required were afforded to them with friendly zeal by the government; and on the 4th of July, an order of council announced, that all hoſtilities with Spain ſhould immediately ceaſe.

CHAP. XII.

The Spaniſh patriots open communications with the Deputy Governor of Gibraltar, and the Britiſh admiral on the Cadiz ſtation. The inhabitants of

Cadiz put the Marquis de Solano to death, on account of his adherence to Buonapartè. The command in that part of Spain aſſumed by Don Thomas Morla. Capture of the French fleet in the harbour of Cadiz by the Spaniards. General Dupont enters Andaluſia with a body of French forces: he takes and plunders Cordova. Operations of the Spaniards under General Caſtanos. Battle of Baylen, in which the French are defeated. The French ſurrender on condition that they ſhould be ſent to France by ſea; but the engagement is broken by the Spaniards, and the French troops are detained as priſoners of war. Expedition of General Moncey to Valencia: he attacks the city, but is vigorouſly oppoſed by the inhabitants: Moncey retires from the province with conſiderable loſs of men. Proceedings of General Lefebvre in Aragon. Siege of Zaragoza: heroic defence of the citizens: animated conduct of the women: bravery of Auguſtina Zaragoza. The French gain poſſeſſion of half the city: the conflicts maintained by both parties with great ſlaughter. The Zaragozans gradually recover their loſt ground. Lefebvre abandons the ſiege. Tranſactions at Zaragoza after the retreat of the French. The Spaniards commanded by General Cueſta defeated at Medina del Rio Seco, by General Laſolles. Their retreat ably covered by General Blake. Ineffectual attempts of Marſhal Beſſieres to win Blake over to the French. Blake appointed Governor and Captain-general of Galicia. Exertions of the Biſhop of St. Andero in the cauſe of independence. The patriots obtain poſſeſſion of many of the ports in the Bay of Biſcay. The French enter St. Andero, which they afterwards pillage and quit. Proceedings at Bayonne. Arrival of Joſeph Buonapartè. Deputations of the Spaniſh Grandees and public bodies aſſembled in that city preſent addreſſes to him. Proclamation of the Grandees to the people of Spain. Convention of Notables: conduct of that aſſembly. A conſtitution for Spain ſubmitted to it, and approved. The members of the convention take the oath of allegiance to Joſeph Buonapartè. Murat conſtituted king of Naples. Joſeph appoints his miniſters, and ſets out for Spain. He enters Madrid and is proclaimed king. Intelligence of the bad ſucceſs of the French in the South of Spain, and of the advance of the Andaluſian and Valencian forces, reaches the Capital. Several Grandees and other perſons of diſtinction abandon the uſurper, and make their eſcape from Madrid. Alarm and flight of Joſeph. Madrid totally evacuated by the French troops. Meaſures taken by Buonapartè for ſecuring the Spaniſh colonies, counteracted by the activity of the naval commanders of Great Britain. Moſt of the coloniſts embrace the opinions of the Spaniſh juntas. Temporiſing policy of Liniers. His proclamation to the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres. The Spaniſh troops under the command of the Marquis of Romana, ſtationed in the Daniſh Iſlands, liberated by Admiral Keats, and ſent to the Peninſula.

AT the ſame time that the Spaniſh patriots ſent envoys to England, the people of Andaluſia opened communications with Sir Hew Dalrymple, deputy governor of Gibraltar, and admiral Purvis, who commanded the Britiſh fleet on the Cadiz ſtation; and

and theſe officers, confident that their conduct would be approved by government, without waiting for inſtructions, gave every aſſiſtance to the Spaniards which the criſis demanded. The inhabitants of Cadiz applied to admiral Purvis to co-operate with them in an attack on the French ſquadron, conſiſting of five ſail of the line and a frigate, under the command of admiral Roſſilly, which lay in the port. When admiral Purvis appeared before Cadiz in conſequence of this invitation, it was found that the marquis de Solano, the governor of the place, far from entering into the deſigns of his countrymen, wiſhed to repreſs their ardour, and render them ſubſervient to France. Enraged at his baſeneſs, the people roſe and ſurrounded his palace, uttering the moſt dreadful menaces. Solano endeavoured to appeaſe the multitude by ſpeaking to them from a balcony; but as he counſelled them to ſubmit to the French, and aſſured them that the power of Buonapartè was irreſiſtible, they forced the gates of the manſion, and put him to death. The direction of affairs was taken by Don Thomas de Morla, who had given conſiderable proofs of capacity and deciſion as an officer. Morla immediately adopted meaſures for forcing the French admiral to ſurrender. Roſſilly in the meantime withdrew his ſhips out of the reach of the batteries, and took a defenſive poſition in the channel, where he hoped to maintain himſelf againſt the Spaniſh gun-boats, until he ſhould be relieved by the French forces, which he expected would be diſpatched to ſuccour him; but he offered to quit the bay, if admiral Purvis would ſuffer him. This propoſal and others which he made to gain time, were rejected by Morla, who demanded an unconditional ſurrender, though he paid a handſome compliment to Roſſilly for his exertions to ſave his fleet. Lord Collingwood having reached Cadiz to aſſume the command before that place, now tendered his ſervices for promoting the object of the Spaniards; but actuated by a ſpirit of national honour, they declined his co-operation, being determined to capture the French fleet by their own efforts. Batteries had been conſtructed on the iſle of Leon and near fort Louis; the fire from theſe opened on the 9th of June, and the gun-boats proceeded to aſſail the enemy; after a conteſt of three days, Roſſilly thought himſelf juſtified in yielding to the force brought againſt him without any conditions.

May 29.

When Murat was acquainted with the tranſactions at Seville and Cadiz, and that Caſtanos, who commanded the Spaniſh army before Gibraltar had declared for the patriots, he detached general Dupont with ten thouſand men to reduce Andaluſia. Dupont croſſed the Sierra Morena, a ſtupendous chain of mountains which ſeparates Eſtremadura and New Caſtile from Andaluſia, and routing the feeble force oppoſed to him, entered Cordova without much reſiſtance on the 7th of June, which he ſuffered his troops to pillage. Although he had met with no conſiderable oppoſition in his progreſs to this place, the villagers now took arms and occupied all the paſſes of the mountains, by which procedure

procedure his communications with Madrid were threatened, and general Caſtanos marched againſt him at the head of about five and twenty thouſand men, half of whom were peaſantry. Alarmed at his perilous ſituation, Dupont fell back on the 16th to Andujar, on the right bank of the Guadalquivir, and though the poſition which he occupied was ſtrong in itſelf, he entrenched himſelf there with great aſſiduity. Caſtanos acting upon the principles of warfare recommended by the council of Seville, reſtrained the ardour of his troops for engagement, and judiciouſly employed them in haraſſing the French, cutting off their ſupplies, and gradually hemming them in. Theſe efforts of the Spaniſh general were zealouſly aſſiſted by the armed peaſantry. They intercepted the ammunition, the proviſions, and the ſtores of the hoſpital ſtaff, which were ſent to the French from Toledo. Independently of conſtantly oppoſing the ſkirmiſhing parties of the Spaniards, the French were compelled to reap the ſtanding corn and make it into bread, for all the peaſants had forſaken their hamlets and the cares of the harveſt. Worn out by perpetual fatigue, they were no longer capable of attending to their various duties, and the army as well as the general became deſperate. Dupont diſpatched numerous couriers to Madrid, to appriſe Murat of his forlorn condition; and ſix thouſand troops under general Wedel were ſent to reinforce their countrymen. On the 16th of July the French forces were thus diſtributed. Dupont occupied Andujar, general Gobert was ſtationed at Baylen to guard the road to La Carolina, and Wedel extended his lines from Baylen to Ubeda. On the 17th the Spaniards held a council of war, and it was determined in order to maſk their real deſigns, and to diſtract the attention of the enemy, that a falſe attack ſhould be made on the poſition of the French at Andujar, while major-general Reding and the marquis de Campigni, with their united diviſions, aſſailed the hoſtile forces at Baylen. The plan thus adopted was to divide the French army by bearing on its centre, and is admitted by an excellent French officer to have been extremely judicious*. Reding was completely ſucceſsful in his enterpriſe at Baylen, which he carried on the morning of the 18th, and forced Gobert to retreat in confuſion towards La Carolina. Having reported his good fortune to Caſtanos, he was directed not to purſue the retiring brigades, but to make a flank movement on Andujar, while the commander in chief bore on the front of the French lines in the environs of that city. This able project was unintentionally foiled by Dupont, who on learning the diſaſters of Gobert, permitted his troops to plunder Andujar, abandoned the place in the evening of the ſame day, and took the route of Baylen. Caſtanos was informed of Dupont's motions at two in the morning of the 19th, and he immediately ordered general Pena to follow the French, with the view that they might thus be aſſailed in front and rear.

Dupont hoping to take the

* General Sarrazin.

Spaniards

Spaniards at Baylen by ſurpriſe, purſued his courſe during the night of the 18th, and attacked them with great fury at three the next morning, while Reding, in purſuance of his orders, was making his arrangements for marching on Andujar. The Spaniards thus ſuddenly engaged were not, however, thrown into confuſion, and though the enemy advanced under a tremendous fire of artillery, took their ſeveral ſtations with courage and compoſure. This gallant and ſteady conduct reflects the higheſt credit both on the men and officers, as they had to contend with veterans accuſtomed to conquer, and from whoſe firſt onſet they ſuffered moſt ſeverely in cavalry and infantry. The battle was maintained until twelve at noon without any intermiſſion, except for the purpoſe of forming freſh columns and directing them on different points; and during this period the French made ſix charges with the bayonet, but were repulſed, notwithſtanding they ſeveral times pierced the lines of the Spaniards, and even approached their batteries. The fortune of the day was evidently againſt the French; but Dupont determined to make one more deſperate effort. Collecting his columns, he made a ſeventh charge at their head, protected by his artillery. This completely failed. He had now loſt two thouſand men, and was himſelf wounded. At two general Pena, with his diviſion of Spaniards, entered the field of action, and commenced a ſpirited fire on the enemy. Perceiving that all oppoſition was uſeleſs, Dupont offered to ſurrender, and hoſtilities were conſequently ſuſpended; but during the truce, general Wedel, coming up with ſix thouſand French from La Carolina, attacked the Spaniards, and took the regiment of Cordova with two field pieces by ſurpriſe. However as general Pena began to make preparations to renew the conflict, Dupont ordered Wedel to retreat; but as a puniſhment to Wedel for his diſhonourable behaviour, Caſtanos inſiſted that not only he and his troops, but all the French forces between Baylen and the Sierra Morena, ſhould be included in the capitulation, to which demand Dupont was forced to accede. Before the battle of Baylen, the French in Andaluſia amounted to fourteen thouſand men. In the action they loſt above two thouſand, and the Spaniards about twelve hundred. Caſtanos at firſt declared that Dupont and his diviſion muſt become priſoners of war, though he conſented that Wedel and the troops under him, ſhould be ſent to France by ſea; but the French commander-in-chief obſtinately refuſed to ſubmit to theſe conditions, and it was afterwards agreed that all the French forces ſhould be tranſported to Rochefort.

It has been reported that the junta of Seville conſidered the terms thus granted as too advantageous to the French, and that they therefore refuſed to ratify them: it is certain that the engagement entered into by Caſtanos was broken, and that the French were detained as priſoners of war. The junta poſſibly conceived it to be impolitic to ſend ſo large a hoſtile force to France, whence it might immediately march to carry on the war in ſome other part of the peninſula; but the dictates of policy cannot juſtify the infraction of a poſitive agreement.

The

The French had indeed behaved with ſo much rapacity in Andaluſia, by pillaging the towns and carrying off the church plate, that the people in general were highly and juſtly exaſperated againſt them; and the attempt to embark them might have been dangerous, becauſe it might have provoked the fury of the multitude. The apprehenſion of popular violence may palliate, yet cannot excuſe this want of faith. Dupont does not appear to have applied to the junta, but he wrote on the ſubject to Morla, who in reply aſſerted that he had not the veſſels to tranſport the troops, and if he had, that the Engliſh would never ſuffer the forces to land in France. He added that neither Caſtanos nor Dupont could think that the capitulation would be executed; for the object of the firſt was to relieve himſelf from embarraſſment, and that of the latter to obtain conditions, which, though impoſſible to be executed, would do honour to his ſurrender: that each had obtained what he deſired, and that nothing remained but to ſubmit to the imperious law of neceſſity.

The victory which the Spaniards obtained at Baylen was extremely advantageous to the cauſe of the patriots in every part of the peninſula, for it not only relieved Andaluſia from the preſſure of the French arms, but by opening the roads to the north and in other directions, enabled the junta of Seville to eſtabliſh more perfect communications with various provinces: it was accordingly celebrated by that aſſembly and the inhabitants of the city, with great pomp and ſplendour, as much on account of the real benefit which had accrued from it, as from motives of policy to ſtimulate their countrymen to farther exertions.

General Moncey who with about fifteen thouſand men had been ſent by Murat to overawe the ſouth eaſt of Spain, for ſome time threatened both the provinces of Murcia and Valencia. The paſſes of the Valencian mountains were guarded by ſome troops of the line, and the army of Murcia took a poſition at once to protect its own territory, and ſuccour the Valencians if neceſſary. Moncey at the latter end of June ſuddenly pierced through the mountains of Valencia in ſpite of every effort to reſiſt him, drove back general Caro who attempted to impede his progreſs with a body of provincials, and marched directly towards the capital of the country. The junta took every precaution to preſerve the city from falling into the hands of the enemy, the different gates were ſecured as well as circumſtances would permit them to be, the entrances to the ſtreets were blocked up with timber, and all the inhabitants were ordered to take arms. On the 27th the French were attacked by Caro whom they defeated, and early the next day they appeared before Valencia, when Moncey ſent a flag of truce promiſing to protect the perſons and property of the citizens, if he were permitted to enter the place without oppoſition. An anſwer being returned that the Valencians would defend themſelves to the laſt extremity, Moncey prepared to take the city by force. The approach to the principal gate was through a broad ſtreet of the ſuburbs, which ſurround the old town, and as the Valencians had ſuppoſed that the aſſault would be made at this gate, it had been fortified

trified with the greateſt care and attention. When the French entered the ſtreet, their poſition peculiarly expoſed them to effects of artillery, and advantage was inſtantly taken of their raſhneſs. The gate was thrown open, and a four-and-twenty pounder planted before it. The fire from this piece, and ſeveral others of ſmaller calibre mounted on the walls near the gate, with inceſſant vollies of muſquetry, occaſioned ſuch murderous havoc amongſt the French, that they were compelled to retire. Thus foiled, the enemy cannonaded the city from one till eight in the evening, he then aſſailed another gate, but without ſucceſs; and at night retreated to his camp near the village of Miſlata, about two miles from Valencia. Independently of his loſs of men, which was very conſiderable, Moncey is conjectured to have expended almoſt all the ammunition of his artillery in this enterpriſe; under theſe circumſtances, and beſides being apprehenſive that his communication with Madrid might be cut off, he withdrew from the province, followed by Caro, who omitted no opportunity of haraſſing him in his march.

While ſucceſs thus ſmiled on the patriots in the ſouth of Spain, the friends of liberty in the north were ſtruggling againſt the enemy. Before any effectual plan could be organiſed for the defence of Aragon, general Lefebvre with 8000 infantry and 900 horſe proceeded from Pamplona againſt Zaragoza. After routing the armed peaſantry commanded by the marquis of Lazan at Tudela and Mallen on the 13th of June, Lefebvre the next day reached Alagon within ſixteen miles of Zaragoza. Here he defeated the citizens, who had forced Pelafox to lead them againſt the enemy, and purſuing them almoſt to their gates, took a poſition to the ſouth of the city.

Zaragoza ſtands in an open plain which is covered by olive grounds, but is commanded by an eminence called the Torrero about a mile to the ſouth-weſt. It has twelve gates, and is ſurrounded by a wall calculated only to mark the boundaries, which the Ebro waſhes on the north. Two bridges connect the ſuburbs on the left bank of the river with the old town. The ſtreets, as in moſt of the Spaniſh cities, are narrow and crooked, but one of them, the Cozo, is wide and long; there are ſeveral open market places, the houſes, which are in general three ſtories high, are built of brick; and the churches and other public buildings are formed with the ſame material. It has been computed that the inhabitants amount to 60,000.

The French on the morning of the 19th endeavoured to ſtorm the city by the gate called Portillo with their main body, while different detachments attacked the outpoſts. The Zaragozans fought with intenſe fury, but without order. So eager were they to come in contact with the enemy, that after one diſcharge of their muſkets, they ruſhed againſt him with their bayonets. Their artillery haſtily planted before the gate and in other places, was ſerved by any who thought themſelves capable of that duty; and even military orders were given by perſons not regularly inveſted with authority. A party of the French having ſucceeded in getting into the town, were overpowered and put to death. The

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conflict was maintained with the utmoſt fierceneſs, until Lefebvre thought it prudent to deſiſt from the aſſault, and retreat. His loſs was great but not aſcertained; that of the patriots was two thouſand men killed and nearly an equal number wounded. The patriots following the French, took 400 of their cavalry priſoners, and twenty-ſeven baggage waggons; they wiſhed to continue the purſuit, but their ardour was wiſely reſtrained by Pelafox.

Although Lefebvre had retreated, it was evident by his ſubſequent conduct, that he intended to renew his operations againſt the city; and Pelafox loſt no time in endeavouring to procure reinforcements. Having collected fourteen hundred ſoldiers who had eſcaped from Madrid, and a diviſion of militia that had been ſtationed at Calatayud, he perhaps incautiouſly liſtened to their urgent entreaties to be permitted to attack the enemy, and marched to Epila with the deſign of ſeizing the heights on which the village of la Muela is ſituated, and by theſe means, of cutting off the ſupplies of the French. Lefebvre, however, prevented all his plans, by a ſudden movement on Epila, during the night of the 23rd. The Spaniards fought bravely, but were overwhelmed by numbers and diſcipline; being diſperſed, a ſmall party with the general returned to Zaragoza, and the remainder threw themſelves into Calatayud, from whence they afterwards contrived to reach the former city.

The French joined by 2,500 men under general Verdier, and ſome battalions of Portugueſe, proceeded to occupy the commanding poſitions round Zaragoza, and inveſt nearly half the town. On the 27th they made an ineffectual attack on the city and the height of the Torrero, in which they loſt 800 men, ſix pieces of artillery, and five tumbrels of ammunition; the next day they renewed their endeavours againſt both places: from the city they were repelled, but they obtained poſſeſſion of the Torrero by the cowardice of an artillery officer, who ſhamefully abandoned his poſt: this man was afterwards ſhot by the Aragoneſe. In conſequence of the ſurrender of the Torrero, the city could no longer communicate with the country to the ſouth.

A battering train having arrived from Pamplona, the French began to bombard and cannonade the town. The Zaragozans tore down the awnings of their windows, converted them into ſacks which they filled with ſand, placed them in the form of batteries before the gates, and dug trenches round them. They planted cannon at every commanding point, broke loop-holes for muſquetry in the mud walls and intermediate buildings, and deſtroyed the houſes, olive grounds, and gardens in the environs, where they impeded the general defence. The women animated and ably ſeconded the exertions of the men; they formed parties for relieving the wounded, and for carrying refreſhments of every kind to thoſe who ſerved in the batteries, and coolly performed theſe heroic duties, regardleſs of the ſhot and ſhells which fell around them: amongſt theſe patriotic females, the young and beautiful counteſs Burita greatly diſtinguiſhed herſelf by inſtituting

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a company for this ſervice. Even the children were employed in diſtributing cartridges, which were made by the nuns and monks: ſome of the latter bore arms, others attended the wounded, and exerciſed their ſpiritual functions to the dying. In the night of the 28th, by the exploſion of a powder magazine in the heart of the city, two hundred perſons were killed, and fourteen houſes reduced to ruins. This terrible event has been attributed to treachery, and is ſuppoſed to have been a ſignal to the French to repair to ſome of the gates, which it was agreed ſhould be given up to them; but the opinion that ſuch was the caſe does not ſeem to reſt on any ſolid foundation. The French certainly took advantage of the calamity, and opened a fire of howitzers, cannon, and mortars on the beſieged, which they continued during the greater part of the next day. Their guns were principally brought to bear on the gate called Portillo, and the ſhowers of ſhot thus concentrated, frequently deſtroyed the battery of ſand-bags before it, which was as conſtantly again formed by the dauntleſs and indefatigable labour of the Zaragozans. At length, the vehement and perpetual diſcharge of the French pieces cleared the battery: not a man was left ſtanding. The citizens, valiant as they were, ſeemed appalled, and unwilling to enter into this focus of deſtruction. At this critical moment Auguſtina Zaragoza, a handſome young woman of the lower claſs of people, about twenty-two years of age, arrived on the ſpot with refreſhments. Perceiving the conſternation which reigned around her, ſhe ſprang forward over the bodies of the killed and wounded, ſnatched a match from the hand of a dead matroſs, fired off a ſix-and-twenty pounder, vaulted on the gun, and made a ſolemn vow never to quit it alive during the ſiege. This exemplary heroiſm reanimated her countrymen. They ruſhed into the battery, and pointed the cannon againſt the enemy with the greateſt effect. The French were repulſed from this point with dreadful carnage; and having ſeverely ſuffered in every other quarter, they retired. On the 2nd of July they made another attempt to force their way into the town by the Portillo: advancing from their batteries with fixed bayonets and without firing a ſhot, they approached the gate; but being received with a heavy diſcharge of grape and muſquetry, they inſtantly diſperſed, and the exertions of their officers could not induce them to make a ſecond effort. Another column was directed againſt the gate of the Carmen with no better ſucceſs. Up to this period the enemy had continued on the right bank of the Ebro, but the river being fordable above the city, on the 11th he puſhed acroſs it, and ſtationed a force on the oppoſite ſide to protect a floating bridge which he was conſtructing. The bridge was finiſhed on the 14th, although the Zaragozans uſed every endeavour to prevent its completion. The French cavalry immediately paſſed over to the left bank, and ſcoured the country in all directions, deſtroying the corn mills, levying contributions on the villages, and cutting off every ſupply from the city. Still Pelafox found the means of obviating the new difficulties which preſſed upon him. In various parts of the city, he ordered

dered corn mills to be erected which could be worked by horſes, and employed the monks, under the ſuperintendence of intelligent perſons, in manufacturing gun powder. For this purpoſe all the ſulphur which the place contained was collected, the ſoil of the ſtreets was carefully waſhed to extract the nitre, and charcoal was prepared from the ſtalks of hemp, which in that part of Spain grow to a large ſize. By this proceſs 244 pounds avoirdupois of gunpowder were obtained *per diem*.

The city was entirely inveſted at the end of July, the ſupply of proviſions had for ſome time been ſcanty, and the inhabitants had ſuffered greatly by their conſtant exertions againſt the enemy for forty-ſix days. A deſperate but ineffectual effort was now made by them to recover the important poſt of the Torrero; after which deſpairing of ſucceſs in any ſortie, they reſolved to remain within the walls of the city, and when attacked, either to conquer or periſh beneath its ruins.

The city was bombarded during the night of the 2nd of Auguſt and the following day. A foundling hoſpital, which contained the ſick and wounded, caught fire and was rapidly conſumed. The noble humanity of the beſieged was peculiarly conſpicuous while the conflagration laſted. No one thought of his individual affairs, but haſtened to convey the unfortunate beings in the edifice to places of comparative ſafety. The women here alſo diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their generous contempt of danger; they aſſiſted in this ſervice, undiſmayed by the flames and falling rafters of the building, and the ſhot and ſhells of the enemy which fell about them in profuſion. On the 4th of Auguſt the French opened batteries on the mud walls of the city near the convent of Saint Engracia. The walls were inſtantly levelled, and the convent began to blaze: the French ruſhing through the aperture, took the batteries before the adjacent gates in reverſe, penetrated, after a ſanguinary conteſt, into the ſtreet called Cozo, nearly in the centre of the town, and before ſun-ſet were maſters of the half of Zaragoza. Believing his object to be accompliſhed, Lefebvre demanded a ſurrender by a note to Pelafox, conceived in the following laconic terms: "Head Quarters, Saint Engracia: Capitulation *." The reply of the Spaniſh general was equally brief: "Head Quarters, Zaragoza: war at the point of the knife †."

The deſtructive operations which were afterwards maintained preſent a ſingular trait in the annals of warfare. The French eſtabliſhed themſelves on one ſide of the Cozo, a ſtreet about ninety feet in width, in the centre of which general Verdier, who commanded the enemy in the town, gave his orders from the convent of the Franciſcans. The Zaragozans occupied the oppoſite ſide, and threw up batteries at the openings of the croſs ſtreets within a few paces of thoſe erected by the French. The intervening ſpace was ſoon covered with dead, either ſlain in the conteſts which occurred in the ſtreet, or killed in

* Quartel-general, Santa Engracia. La Capitulacion.
† Quartel-general, Zaragoza. Guerra al cuchillo.

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the houſes, from the windows of which the bodies were thrown. On the 5th, the Zaragozans perceived that their ammunition was nearly expended; but this unfortunate occurrence did not damp their ardour. They crowded round Pelafox, as he rode through the ſtreets, and exclaimed that if powder ſhould fail them, they were ready to reſiſt the enemy with their knives. At ſun-ſet they were cheered by an unexpected event. Don Franciſco Pelafox, the brother of their heroic general, entered the city at the head of a corps of three thouſand men, conſiſting of Spaniſh guards, Swiſs, and volunteers of Aragon, bringing with them a ſupply of ammunition, arms, and proviſions. This welcome reinforcement and aid in warlike ſtores increaſed the animation of the citizens. The conflict was renewed with more fury than ever. As it was almoſt certain death to appear by day light near the houſes which the contending parties had occupied, the ſtruggles chiefly occurred during the night, when under cover of the darkneſs, the citizens and the French frequently made a daſh acroſs the ſtreet againſt each other's batteries; and the conteſts there commenced were often carried into the adjoining edifices. The Spaniards held a council of war on the 8th, and it was reſolved that the quarters which they ſtill poſſeſſed ſhould be maintained with the utmoſt firmneſs; but ſhould the enemy at length prevail, that the people ſhould retire by the bridge over the Ebro into the ſuburbs, deſtroy the bridge, and defend themſelves till they periſhed. When this determination of the general and officers was made known to the Zaragozans, a burſt of applauſe teſtified their approval of it.

The conflict was thus maintained from ſtreet to ſtreet, from houſe to houſe, and even from room to room. From the putrefying maſs of dead bodies heaped upon the pavement of the Cozo, a peſtilence was dreaded; and to prevent the evil ſo juſtly apprehended, Pelafox cauſed the French priſoners, ſecured with ropes, to be puſhed forward amongſt the dead and dying, to remove the bodies, and bring them from the ſpot for interment. This office was a common benefit to both parties, and the priſoners were ſpared in the execution of it by the commiſeration of their countrymen, although no truce was granted while they were ſo employed.

For eleven days and nights the poſts of the combatants were fiercely diſputed, but the Zaragozans gradually gained ground, and reduced the ſpace occupied by the French from one half of the city to an eighth part of it. On the night of the 13th, the fire of the enemy was extremely deſtructive; and when the diſcharge from their batteries had ceaſed, many parts of the buildings which they occupied were obſerved to be in flames. As ſoon as it became light the next morning, to the exceſſive aſtoniſhment of the citizens, the French columns were ſeen at a diſtance retreating over the plain, on the road to Pamplona. Lefebvre had been influenced to withdraw from the city by the intelligence which he had received of the diſaſters of the French in Andaluſia and in Valencia; and by accounts that the junta of the latter province had detached ſix thouſand men to

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form a junction with forces levied in Aragon to relieve Zaragoza.

The fortitude of the citizens was as remarkable after their danger was over as during its continuance. Not a complaint was heard from them, on account of the calamities which they had ſuſtained. Parents who had loſt their children, and perſons who were reduced from affluence to poverty, controlled their private grief, and exulted in the public ſucceſs. Ferdinand was proclaimed, a board of health was eſtabliſhed to avert the effects of contagion, and rewards were aſſigned to ſuch as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the ſervice of patriotiſm. Auguſtina was recompenſed in a peculiar manner: beſides receiving the daily pay of an artilleryman, ſhe was gratified with a penſion, and was to wear a ſmall ſhield of honour embroidered on the ſleeve of her gown, with the word Zaragoza inſcribed upon it.

Murat had entruſted the duty of keeping open the communications between Bayonne and Madrid to marſhal Beſſieres, who detached general Laſolles, with ten thouſand infantry and two thouſand horſe, attended by a competent train of artillery, to guard and preſerve the roads in the province of Valladolid. To cut off theſe communications of the French was an object of importance to the patriots, and for this purpoſe, a junction was effected by the forces of Caſtile and Leon commanded by Don Gregorio de la Cueſta, with thoſe of Galicia under the orders of Don Joachim Blake, an officer of Iriſh extraction. The united body of troops, of which Cueſta aſſumed the controul, amounted to fourteen thouſand men, and was compoſed of regulars, new levies, and peaſantry. Cueſta, contrary to the advice of Blake, on the 14th of July, hazarded an engagement with the enemy near Medina del Rio Seco, in which he was defeated by the ſuperiority of the French in cavalry; but Blake covered the retreat of the Spaniards to Benevento in a maſterly manner. The French committed great atrocities in the town of Medina del Rio Seco, which they entered ſoon after the battle. The talents of Blake were ſo conſpicuous in this action, that Beſſieres tried every art to ſeduce him from the patriotic party; but the conſtancy of Blake was not to be ſhaken. His conduct in the battle convinced the council of Galicia, that he poſſeſſed ſuperior merit, and he was conſequently appointed governor and captain-general of the province. The biſhop of Saint Andero had animated his countrymen in the cauſe of independence, and even headed them in their exertions to obtain poſſeſſion of many of the ports in the bay of Biſcay; but as theſe ports, particularly that of Saint Andero, were admirably ſituated for receiving ſupplies from England, general Merle with a French force marched againſt the patriots on the 21ſt of June, and ſubdued them. The French, however, did not remain long at Saint Andero; for, on the approach of general Llano Ponte with a diviſion of ten thouſand men of the Aſturian army, they abandoned the town, after plundering the inhabitants.

Theſe noble efforts of the Spaniſh people to avoid the ignominious yoke which was prepared for them, preſent a ſtrong contraſt with the ſervile proceedings of many of

the privileged orders at Bayonne. At the command of his brother, Joſeph Buonapartè arrived in that city on the 7th of June, and a deputation of the grandees there aſſembled waited on him. The duke del Infantado, in the name of this body, delivered a diſcourſe as remarkable for its brevity as its obſequious devotion to the puppet whom it was deſigned to compliment. "We experience," ſaid the duke, "a lively joy in approaching your majeſty, as the Spaniards expect every thing from your reign. The preſence of your majeſty is ardently deſired, eſpecially to confirm ſentiments, conciliate intereſts, and re-eſtabliſh order, ſo neceſſary for the reſtoration of Spain. Sire, the Spaniſh grandees have at all times been celebrated for their fidelity to their ſovereigns. Your majeſty will find in them the ſame fidelity and the ſame attachment. Receive our homage with that goodneſs of which you have given ſo many proofs to your people of Naples, and of which the fame has reached us." Deputations from the various public bodies, and from the army, alſo preſented addreſſes to Joſeph Buonapartè, who replied in gracious terms to the adulation which he received. Beſides this proof of their adherence to their new ſovereign, the grandees ſent forth a proclamation to the people of Spain, exhorting them to ſubmit to the government which was to be eſtabliſhed, and holding out the promiſe that every poſſible benefit was to be expected from it. The people were entreated to oppoſe no obſtacle to plans from which it was ſaid they would derive the higheſt advantages, and moreover warned that their oppoſition muſt be vain. This paper was long, and in the exordium, the grandees expatiated at large on the virtues of Buonapartè. The difference in the meaſure of their flattery to the two brothers is ſtriking: but in the one caſe they had merely to compliment the ſlave of the tyrant; in the other, to gratify the tyrant himſelf; and they ſeem to have felt the neceſſity for the diſtinction. It is painful to add that the proclamation bore the ſignature of many of the moſt illuſtrious names in Spain.

June 8.

The convention of Notables was deſigned by Buonapartè to conſiſt of about one hundred and fifty Spaniards of different claſſes; but not more than ninety attended at Bayonne. Some of theſe repreſented certain cities, tribunals, and public bodies; and they brought inſtructions in the nature of powers from their conſtituents, but abſolutely incompetent to ſerve the purpoſe for which the deputies were convoked. Many of the members of the aſſembly belonged to no acknowledged order of the community, and the greater portion of them had no other directions for their conduct than a ſimple order to take their departure. Their firſt meeting was on the 15th of June, at which Don Michael Joſeph de Azanza and Don Louis Mariano de Urquijo preſided. After the documents had been read by which Buonapartè had appointed his brother king of Spain and the Indies, Azanza addreſſed the aſſembly, and informed the members that they had been called together to confer on the ſtate of the country, remedy the evils which had prevailed in Spain, and confirm the conſtitution which their reſtorer himſelf would preſent to them.

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He counſelled them to exert themſelves to appeaſe the ferment and diſorders, which had been excited by ſelfiſh men. "Our remonſtrances," ſaid he, "may make the people perceive the miſery into which they are plunged by the ſeduction of artful individuals, and force out of their hands weapons which can injure themſelves alone." An addreſs was of courſe voted to Joſeph. This was delivered by Azanza on the 18th, and the moſt material part of it was to the ſubſequent effect. "We ſhall do all that depends on ourſelves, in order to bring back peace and good order; for the object of higheſt moment is that no hindrance ſhould ariſe in the way of the beneficent projects of the incomparable hero who will imprint his immortal name on the grateful hearts of our lateſt poſterity. We are, ſire, to concur in theſe projects, and we are to ſupport your majeſty, with the integrity, the fidelity, the ſelf-devotion, which certainly conſtitute duties moſt precious to our hearts, ſince your majeſty has announced the glorious reſolution to govern only for the happineſs of Spaniards; a reſolution worthy the monarch, whoſe fame is ſpread over the univerſe as a model of gentleneſs and virtue, who formed the delight of the people whom he governed, and whom he left in tears, becauſe he went to bear away his virtues to another land." To this ſtrain of bombaſt, Joſeph Buonapartè replied in the following manner. "I ſhare in your ſentiments and in your hopes. The will of his majeſty the emperor of the French, our illuſtrious brother, which has been ſo clearly announced in favour of the proſperity of Spain, is ſufficiently guaranteed by his glory. The co-operation of your zeal and your reſources will eaſily ſubdue the obſtacles which private intereſt may lay in the way of the whole nation: being founded in error, they ſhall be expelled by truth. As to ourſelves, we wiſh not to know thoſe errors. Beyond the Pyrenees we ſhall find none but Spaniſh hearts. In leaving a people who rendered juſtice to our government, we have made the ſevereſt of all ſacrifices; but the love of that people is a prognoſtic of that of the Spaniards: Shall we do leſs for the great nation which Providence has entruſted to our care? Will they be leſs juſt towards us? We know the full import of Caſtilian faith; we ſhall viſit our provinces; we ſhall bring the heart of a father; we ſhall meet with none but the hearts of children. In the mean while the enemies of the continent ſeek to ſeparate the colonies from the mother country. They will impute to us the diſſentions which they themſelves occaſion; ſince it is our duty to repreſs theſe, we ſhall on no account ſpare the malevolent, who are the acceſſories to the ſubtile hatred of our enemies, or the inſtruments of it. Continue your labours for the welfare of your country, and be aſſured of the bleſſings of the people, and of our perfect ſatisfaction."

On the 20th, the plan of a conſtitution * for Spain was preſented to the deputies, which was approved by them, and formally accepted by all the parties concerned in it on the 7th of July,

* See State Papers.

Joſeph having previouſly abdicated the crown of Naples, which Buonapartè conferred on Murat, who had left Madrid and repaired to Bayonne. After the notables had taken an oath of fidelity to the new king, and to maintain the conſtitution, Joſeph appointed his miniſters. He declared Urquijo ſecretary of ſtate; Cevallos, miniſter for foreign affairs; Azanza, miniſter for the Indies; Maſſaredo, miniſter of the marine; O'Farrel, miniſter of war; Jovellanos, miniſter of the interior; Cabarrus, miniſter of finance; and Pinuela, miniſter of juſtice. This point being ſettled, Joſeph ſet out for Spain on the 3d of July. As he paſſed through the different towns on his road to Madrid, he received the forced congratulations of the public anthorities and different claſſes of the people. He entered Madrid on the 20th, but had no reaſon to be pleaſed with his reception; for though the preſence of a large French force might prevent the demonſtrations of popular diſguſt, it could not alter the feelings of the inhabitants; and thoſe feelings were manifeſted by every appearance of ſullen ſcorn and averſion, as cordial as it was ſilent and guarded. The ceremony of the proclamation did not take place till the 24th. The marquis of Aſtorga, whoſe office it was, as ſtandard-bearer, to aſſiſt in the buſineſs, declined diſgracing himſelf on this occaſion, and alleged ill health as an excuſe for not performing his functions. Another grandee, the marquis del Campo de Alanga, was found more compliant, and he conſented to elevate the royal ſtandard during this ſcene of national degradation.

While Joſeph was endeavouring to conciliate the people of Madrid by opening the theatres, and exhibiting bull-fights, for their entertainment, intelligence poured into the capital, of the bad ſucceſs of the French arms in various parts of Spain. July 28. The news of the defeat and ſurrender of Dupont, of the retreat of Moncey, and of the advance of the Andaluſian and Valencian armies towards Madrid, perplexed and alarmed him, as well as thoſe who were really in his intereſt. To add to his difficulties, ſeveral perſons, on whoſe ſervices and influence in the country he had relied, took the earlieſt opportunity of abandoning a cauſe, which imperious circumſtances alone had induced them to adopt. The dukes del Infantado and del Parque quitted the city in diſguiſe, and haſtened to join the patriots; others followed their example. Don Pedro Cevallos too, a man whoſe enlarged ideas of perſonal uſefulneſs, or aptitude to place, had led him, in the courſe of five months, to transfer his obedience to three different maſters, perceiving the ſtar of his new patron to be waning, was again willing to engage under better auſpices: he therefore reſigned his employment and ſecured a retreat. Terrified by theſe events, Joſeph began to make preparation to leave the capital; and followed by thoſe Spaniards who were content to be his partiſans, he took the road to Burgos, carrying with him the regalia, the jewels of the crown, and many valuable pictures which had adorned the royal palaces. The French completely evacuated Madrid before the 31ſt of July, to the great joy of the inhabitants.

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When Buonapartè had extorted a renunciation of their rights from the different members of the royal family, he ſent agents to the American colonies, and other tranſmarine poſſeſſions of Spain, by faſt-ſailing veſſels, to ſecure theſe valuable ſettlements; but his meaſures were counteracted by the vigilance and activity of the Britiſh naval commanders, who intercepted moſt of the veſſels, and took means to inform the coloniſts of the tranſactions which were taking place in the mother country, and the glorious ſtruggles of the patriots for independence. In Majorca, the Canaries, Mexico, the Spaniſh Weſt Indies, and many parts of the main, the people followed the example ſet them by their brethren in Europe, proclaimed Ferdinand, and entered into cordial communications with the Engliſh government, which had ordered all the Spaniſh priſoners in the Britiſh colonies to be liberated. The city of Mexico placed a ſplendid offer on the altar of patriotiſm, by voting fourteen millions of dollars for the ſervice of old Spain. The people of Buenos Ayres, however, ſupported Liniers, the governor, in his deſire to temporize, until the reſult of the conteſt in Europe ſhould be known. A

Aug. 15. French agent having ſafely arrived in that province, was well received by Liniers, who informed the inhabitants by a proclamation, that on a peruſal of all the diſpatches which had come to his hands, it appeared the emperor of the French had been compelled to recognize the abſolute independence of the Spaniſh monarchy, and alſo that of all its tranſmarine poſſeſſions, without retaining or diſmembering the minuteſt portion of its dominions, and to maintain property, laws, uſages, and the unity of religion, which guaranteed the future proſperity of the nation; and that though the fate of the monarchy was not entirely decided, the cortes were ſummoned to meet at Bayonne with the intent of ſettling it: that as his imperial majeſty had applauded the triumphs and conſtancy of the people of Buenos Ayres, and offered them every kind of ſuccour, he had not heſitated to aſſure him, in reply, that the fidelity of the city to its lawful ſovereign was the character which chiefly diſtinguiſhed it, and that he would thankfuly admit every deſcription of aid, conſiſting of arms, ammunition, and Spaniſh troops. Let us, continued he, imitate the example of our anceſtors in this happy land, who wiſely eſcaped the diſaſters that afflicted Spain in the war of the ſucceſſion, by awaiting the fate of the mother country, to obey the legitimate authority which occupied the ſovereignty. Meanwhile, not poſſeſſing orders ſufficiently authoritative to countermand the royal cedulas of the ſupreme council of the Indies for proclaiming and taking the oaths to don Ferdinand VII, as already announced in my proclamation of the 31ſt July, I have reſolved that thoſe meaſures ſhall be proceeded in with the forms and ſolemnities already agreed upon, flattering myſelf, that in the midſt of the public rejoicings and happineſs, we ſhall prepare ourſelves for new triumphs.

The Britiſh government performed a ſervice as gratifying to the feelings as it was uſeful to the efforts of the Spaniſh patriots, by liberating a conſiderable number of

of the troops which Buonaparte had drawn from the Peninsula in 1806; and who were now quartered, under the command of the marquis of Romana, in the Danish islands. These noble-minded men, though surrounded by hostile battalions, indignant at the proposal of deserting their allegiance, had formed a circle, planted their colours in the centre of it, and sworn on their knees to be faithful to their country, to which they were ardently desirous of returning. Admiral Keats, to whom the pleasing duty of attempting their emancipation was consigned, opened a communication with the marquis of Romana on the 7th of August, and concerted with him a plan for bringing off the troops. This plan was successfully carried into execution on the 9th, when the marquis seized the port of Nyborg, in the island of Funen, by which enterprise he secured the inactivity of the Danish gun-boats. When this point was accomplished, admiral Keats informed the governor of the town, that if any obstacles should be opposed, either by the Danes or French, to the unoffending object of quietly embarking the Spanish troops, he must, though reluctantly, act with hostility against the place; but if the Spaniards were suffered to depart peaceably, that the English would most strictly abstain from offensive measures. The Danish garrison yielded to circumstances, and did not offer a resistance which must have been useless; but the commanders of an armed brig of eighteen guns, and of a cutter of twelve, which were moored across the harbour near the town, rejected every proposal made by Romana and admiral Keats, and slighted the remonstrances of the Danes themselves. These vessels were therefore attacked and taken by captain Macnamara, with such boats and small craft as could be collected; during this slight affair the Spaniards, in some degree, violated the strict injunctions of their general to avoid every unnecessary act of hostility, for irritated at the opposition encountered by their friends, they fired some shots on the Danish vessels before they struck. Admiral Keats then acquainted the governor of Nyborg, that his entrance into the harbour having been opposed, he was bound by no law or usage to abstain from hostilities, or respect the property of the inhabitants of the town; but as the marquis of Romana had occasion for several of the small craft in the port to embark the troops, if the masters and crews of them would lend their aid to equip and navigate the vessels, they should be secured from injury, and passports given them to return in safety. With this proposal the Danes complied. Six thousand men, with their baggage and artillery, though some sacrifices of stores were unavoidable, were brought away from Funen on the 9th, and landed for a short time in Langland, where there were some more Spanish forces; here they were also joined by above a thousand of their fellows in arms, who made their escape from Jutland by sea; and a convention was entered into between the governor of the island and Romana, stipulating on the one part, that the conduct of the Spaniards should be peaceable, and on the other, that they should be supplied with provisions. One regiment in Jutland

land was too diſtant, and too critically ſituated, to effect its eſcape; and two others in Zealand, after having fired on the French general Friſion, who commanded them, and killed one of his aids-de-camp, were diſarmed. The whole number of Spaniards liberated, was above eight thouſand. They were ſubſequently brought to England, where they were abundantly ſupplied with every ſpecies of equipment, and ſent to reinforce the armies on their native ſoil.

CHAP. XIII.

Affairs of Portugal. Conduct of Junot at Liſbon. Reports of the French Miniſter for Foreign Affairs to Buonaparte, relative to Portugal. Junot's Proclamations to the Portugueſe: his extortions and ſeverity. Manifeſto of the Prince Regent of Portugal, after his arrival at Rio Janeiro. Precautions obſerved by Junot after the popular movements in Spain: he diſarms the Spaniſh troops quartered in the neighbourhood of Liſbon. Inſurrection at Porto: a Proviſional Government eſtabliſhed in that city: its proceedings. State of other parts of Portugal. Britiſh expedition under the command of Sir Arthur Welleſley to that country. Tranſactions of Sir Arthur. He lands in Mondego Bay, and advances with the Engliſh and Portugueſe forces towards Liſbon. Strange behaviour of the Portugueſe general, who ſeparates his troops from the Britiſh. Action between the Engliſh and French on the heights near Roleia: the French defeated. Plan of Sir Arthur to move forward counteracted by the arrival of Sir Harry Burrard. Battle of Vimiera, in which the French, under Junot, ſuſtain a total defeat. Sir Hew Dalrymple lands in the neighbourhood of Vimiera to take the command of the Engliſh army. An Armiſtice agreed to between the Engliſh and French. Definitive Convention concluded for the evacuation of Portugal by the enemy. Separate agreement ſigned by Sir Charles Cotton and Admiral Siniavin relative to the Ruſſian fleet in the Tagus. Diſſatisfaction of the Portugueſe with the Convention. Proteſts made againſt it by the Portugueſe Generals. Proceedings of the Commiſſioners appointed to carry the Convention into effect: Efforts made by the Britiſh Commiſſioners to make the French diſgorge part of their plunder: Shameful conduct and evaſions of the French: A conſiderable quantity of pillage, both public and private, recovered for the Portugueſe. Reſentment of the people of Liſbon againſt the enemy. The French embarked and ſent to France. Tumult at Porto before the tranſports ſailed, which were to convey part of the French army. Correſpondence between Sir Hew Dalrymple and the Biſhop of Porto, concerning the re-eſtabliſhment of the Regency. Sir Hugh inveſts five members of the old Council of Regency with ſovereign authority, until the pleaſure of the Prince Regent ſhall be known. Preſentation of arms to the Spaniards who had been diſarmed by Junot. Diſcontent of the public when the account of the Convention arrives in England. The Corporation of London addreſs his Majeſty, and pray for an inquiry into the conduct of the generals employed in the expedition. His Majeſty's reply. The Corporation diſſatisfied with the King's anſwer:

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They vote certain resolutions on the subject. Meetings called for addressing his Majesty on the same business in various parts of the country. A Board of Inquiry instituted for examining the propriety of the Convention. The Report of the Board delivered to his Majesty. The Commander in Chief directs the board to reconsider the questions of the Armistice and Convention. Opinion of the board on those points. Final decision of the King on the matter.

AFTER the emigration of the royal family of Portugal, and the French had entered Lisbon, although general Junot had endeavoured to conciliate the favour of the Portuguese by the strongest professions of friendship, he immediately proceeded to disarm them. Affirming that under the pretext of hunting and shooting, assassinations were daily committed, he forbade the use of fire arms in every part of the kingdom, it being his intention, he said, to cause the game to be destroyed in a regular manner where it was hurtful. Every individual therefore, who, without having obtained from the French commandant at Lisbon, a licence to sport regularly signed and sealed by him, should be found with a gun or pistols, hunting or shooting, was to be considered as a vagrant and assassin, and tried as such by a military committee to be organised for that purpose. Junot next enjoined all persons to make a return of the English property in their possession, under the penalty of paying ten times the value of any which they might attempt to conceal.

Dec. 4, 1807.

Two reports made by the French minister for foreign affairs to Buonapartè relative to Portugal, appeared in the Moniteur on the 23d of January. The first of these papers stated, that Portugal having suffered England to visit its vessels, its independence was as much violated as it would have been had England violated its territory and harbours. There was also a complaint that the British squadrons sent to the river Plata, had touched at Rio Janeiro; that the English troops destined to act at Monte Video and Buenos Ayres, received provisions from the Brasils; and that the British fleets destined to blockade Cadiz, and attack Constantinople and Egypt, were victualled in the Portuguese ports. Other grievances were alleged; and from the whole circumstances of the case, the minister drew the conclusion, that war with Portugal was a painful but necessary duty. This document was dated the 21st of November 1807, eight days before the treaty of Fontainebleau was signed, by which Portugal was to be divided between the parties therein named. The other report, which was dated the 2nd of January 1808, accused Portugal of only sequestrating English goods when the English were secure from the effects of that measure, and congratulated Buonapartè that he occupied the country with his troops.

Junot now informed the Portuguese that the prince of Brasil, by leaving the kingdom, had renounced all his rights and sovereignty over it; that the house of Braganza had ceased

Feb. 1, 1808.

ceaſed to reign, and that the emperor Napoléon willed the country to be governed in his name, by the general in chief of his army. He declared that he had formed a council of government to enlighten him in regard to the good which he muſt do, to point out the means of improving the adminiſtration, and eſtabliſh order and economy in the management of the public wealth. Roads were to be made, and canals dug to facilitate communication, and cauſe national induſtry and agriculture to flouriſh. The Portugueſe were aſſured that their troops, commanded by the moſt deſerving of their chiefs, would ſoon form but one family with the ſoldiers of Marengo, Auſterlitz, Jena, and Friedland. Public inſtruction was to be diffuſed, and each of the different provinces was to produce its Camoens. The religion of their fathers, free from the ſuperſtition which diſgraced it, was to be protected, and juſtice impartially adminiſtered without delay. Robbery and beggary were to be repreſſed, and aſylums eſtabliſhed for the maimed poor, while the able-bodied ſhould be compelled to work. "Inhabitants of the kingdom of Portugal," ſaid he, "be peaceful and without fear, repel the inſtigations of thoſe who wiſh to lead you to rebellion, confide implicitly in my exertions for your welfare—you will reap all their fruits. Should it be neceſſary at firſt to make ſome ſacrifices, they will be ſolely required to place the government in a proper condition to meliorate your fate; they may be indiſpenſably neceſſary for the vaſt projects of the great Napoléon, who takes you under his omnipotent protection."

The French commander had already levied twelve millions of cruſadoes, about twelve hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, upon the people, and on the day when the above proclamation was made, he demanded twenty eight millions of cruſadoes, nearly 3,000000l., by order of Buonapartè, in addition to the former exaction, as an extraordinary war contribution. To enable the Portugueſe to pay this ſum, the church plate was to be carried to the mint, and accounted for; and merchants were allowed to ranſom the Engliſh property in their hands upon paying one third of its value. In purſuance of the intimation given by Junot, a conſcription of forty thouſand men between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five was enforced. It has been ſtated that by the preſence of the French army at Liſbon, and the ſtagnation of commerce, as the mouth of the Tagus was blockaded by an Engliſh ſquadron, watching the Ruſſian ſhips commanded by admiral Siniavin, which had entered the port, that the capital was reduced to great diſtreſs, and that the inhabitants were even in danger of ſuffering from the ſcarcity of proviſions; but this account does not ſeem to reſt on any good authority, although the mercantile claſſes were undoubtedly injured by the ſtate of circumſtances, and a city in which a very extenſive traffic had formerly been carried on, from the abſence of it, muſt have preſented a dull and melancholy appearance. In conducting the depredations of his maſter, the French general did not forget his own perſonal advantage; for he impriſoned ſuch of the Engliſh as had

had remained in Liſbon, and whom he could by any means apprehend, in the Engliſh hoſpital, with a view of extorting money from them for leave to depart. The ſums thus raiſed by Junot muſt have added in no ſmall degree to his ill-gotten wealth, as he required from one Engliſhman, whom he knew to be rich, no leſs than ten thouſand pounds; and notwithſtanding he does not appear to have obtained his demand, he unqueſtionably received large conſiderations for liberating others.

Admiral Cotton, who commanded the Britiſh ſquadron off the Tagus, had been directed to encourage the emigration of any of the Portugueſe who might be inclined to ſeek their fortunes in Braſil, by diſtributing notices on the coaſt that they would be received on board his ſhips till they could be ſent off. Many perſons availed themſelves of this facility of eſcaping from the tyranny of the French, and to prevent it, Junot ordered that any boat or veſſel which came from the Engliſh fleet, and approached the coaſt under whatever pretext, even if it bore a flag of truce, ſhould be fired on; he condemned to ſix months impriſonment, or death, according to the circumſtances of the caſe, all thoſe who ſhould attempt to reach the Britiſh ſquadron; and any owner of a boat, or other individual who aſſiſted them in their object, he likewiſe declared ſhould ſuffer death.

April 7. The French intendant of police followed up this ſevere meaſure by directing a liſt of all perſons who had emigrated to be ſent to him, in order that they might be treated as conſpirators, and their property confiſcated. He enjoined all houſeholders to give him immediate notice if any inmates had withdrawn themſelves, and inmates to ſignify to the proper officers if any perſons reſiding under the ſame roof with them had fled; he ordered individuals into whoſe hands papers, letters, or proclamations from the Engliſh fleet had come, to deliver them to the police, under pain of ſuffering as agents of the Britiſh; he denounced the ſame puniſhment to thoſe who circulated news from the fleet, unleſs they ſpecified from whom they had obtained it; and to encreaſe the horrible ſyſtem of *eſpionnage*, he notified that an office was opened for receiving information, and for diſtributing rewards to thoſe who brought correct intelligence.

When the prince of Braſil arrived at Rio Janeiro, he ſent forth a manifeſto concerning the conduct of Portugal towards France. The narrative began with the commencement of the French revolution, and is much too long to be inſerted in this place. It recited the efforts and the ſacrifices made by the court of Liſbon to preſerve its neutrality; and detailed with minuteneſs all the tranſactions in which it was committed during the year 1807, all of which are known to the readers of this work. It poſitively denied the aſſertion of the French miniſter, that Portugal gave any improper aſſiſtance to the Britiſh armaments which had proceeded againſt Monte Video and Buenos Ayres. It ſtated that it was a fact known to all the world, that the expedition which ſailed from the Cape of Good Hope

Hope obtained nothing at Rio Janeiro, or the other ports of the Braſils, except what was not refuſed to any nation. It mentioned that the prince had learned with horror, not only the uſurpation of Portugal ſince his departure, but the pillage which had been committed there. It obſerved that as the emperor of the French had long withdrawn his embaſſy from his royal highneſs's court, and even cauſed Portugueſe merchant ſhips to be ſeized, which were in his ports, without any previous declaration of war, and contrary to an expreſs article in the treaty of neutrality from which he derived the greateſt advantages; and laſtly, had declared war againſt the prince regent, according to the report of the French miniſter for foreign affairs; his royal highneſs broke off all communication with France, recalled all the members of his embaſſy if any ſhould remain there, and authoriſed his ſubjects to wage war by ſea and land againſt the ſubjects of the French emperor. He declared null and void all treaties which Buonapartè had compelled him to conclude, becauſe that perſonage had violated and never reſpected them; his royal highneſs proteſted that he would not lay down his arms unleſs in concert with his Britannic majeſty, his old and faithful ally, and that he would never agree to a ceſſion of Portugal which formed the moſt ancient part of the inheritance and of the rights of his auguſt royal family. The manifeſto bore the date of the firſt of May 1808, at which period the ſecret treaty of Fontainebleau was not known to be in exiſtence. Had his royal highneſs been appriſed of that compact, he might have ſtrengthened his juſt complaints againſt France, and added to the liſt of thoſe perfidious deſigns and actions on her part which he expoſed.

The lower orders of the people in Liſbon felt themſelves inſulted by ſeeing their own colours taken down, and the French ſtandards hoiſted in their ſtead: a ſlight inſurrection was the conſequence, but it was repreſſed with facility; and the Portugueſe muſt in all probability have totally ſubmitted to French oppreſſion, if the reſiſtance of the Spaniards to Buonapartè's tyranny had not afforded them an example for their conduct, animated their drooping ſpirits, and encouraged them with the hope of aid in a cauſe common to both countries. When Buonapartè created his new nobility, he deprived the marquis of Abrantes, the preſident of the regency eſtabliſhed by the prince of Braſil, of his eſtates, and conferred them on Junot with the title of duke. As ſoon as this perſonage was appriſed of the events in Spain, aware that the Portugueſe would quickly become acquainted with them, he adopted precautions to avert any danger that might ariſe, and eſpecially to ſecure the Spaniſh troops quartered in the neighbourhood of Liſbon. Under the pretext of changing the quarters of theſe regiments, and ſending them to Setubal, he ordered them to be aſſembled at a very early hour in the Praça de Comercio, or great ſquare, in order that they might croſs the Tagus; but when they met there and were drawn up, he cauſed them June 11.

to

to be ſurrounded by a ſuperior French force, by which they were diſarmed and confined on board the hulks in the river. Junot now hoped to be able to ſuppreſs any popular movement, as moſt of the Portugueſe regulars had been drafted into the French armies. It was not poſſible to conceal the Spaniſh revolution for any conſiderable period. The junta of Seville had made an appeal to the Portugueſe nation, and called on them to riſe againſt their French tyrants, at the ſame time aſſuring them that they ſhould receive aſſiſtance; but depreſſed as the inhabitants of Liſbon were, they did not dare to expreſs their happineſs at the occurrences in the provinces of their neighbours, and ſtill leſs to make an effort to ſhake off their bondage. Circumſtances however took place at Porto which enabled the people to aſſert their independence. The inſurrection in Spain was ſo ſudden, that Junot had not time to take any meaſures to remove or controul the Spaniards ſtationed in that city; and theſe troops, upon learning the ſtate of affairs in their own country, immediately impriſoned the French officer who commanded them, with his whole ſtaff, and delivering up the town to Luis de Oliviera, who had been governor of it before the French entered Portugal, marched to join their brethren in arms. Oliviera at firſt ſeemed animated in the ſervice of freedom; but his appearance of zeal in that reſpect was merely intended to cover his real deſigns, and amuſe the people, while he really checked their enthuſiaſm, and wiſhed to gain time for the French to detach a force to overawe the place. He was nevertheleſs too haſty in his own proceedings, by which he diſcovered his real character. The feſtival of Corpus Chriſti, or Holy Thurſday, happening to fall at this time, the June 17. Portugueſe ſoldiers were ordered to follow the proceſſion, which takes place as part of the ceremony obſerved on that day; but they were directed to fall into the ranks without their colours, as theſe bore the national arms. The officers declared that they could not parade without them, and only one company attended. The populace were diſguſted by this tranſaction, and vented their feelings in loud murmurs. Oliviera in order to intimidate the people, affirmed that a large French detachment was approaching Porto, and threatened them with military execution. On the next day repreſenting that the French were to halt that night at Oliviera das Ameyas, about eighteen miles from Porto, and that their arrival migh be expected the next morning, he ordered proviſions to be ſent to them. An inferior officer who ſaw the carts loaded for this purpoſe, exclaimed with indignation, that powder and ball only ſhould be ſent to the French. A number of perſons inſtantly collected and hindered the carts from ſetting off; the officer ruſhed to the barracks, aſſembled his comrades, mounted his horſe, diſplayed the Portugueſe enſigns, and proceeded to the ſquare of Saint Ovidio crying, "Long live the prince regent!" The exclamation was repeated by the people, who broke open the arſenal, ſeized the arms, and impriſoned Oliviera as well as all the partiſans of the French.

The biſhop of Porto who ſhowed himſelf friendly to the patriots, and highly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in their favour, was appointed preſident of the proviſional government, which took meaſures for the defence of the city, opened a communication with the captain of a Britiſh frigate which was cruiſing off the harbour, ſent an agent to ſolicit ſuccours from England, and concluded an offenſive and defenſive alliance with the junta of Galicia. The example ſet by the inhabitants of Porto was followed by thoſe of moſt of the northern provinces of the kingdom, where juntas were ſpeedily eſtabliſhed, forces levied, and the French expelled. In the ſouthern parts, except in the territory of Algarve, where the people created a junta and placed themſelves under the protection of the government of Seville, the efforts of the Portugueſe were too diſconnected and upon too ſmall a ſcale, to prove advantageous: although the populace roſe in arms in many places, they were ſubdued by the force which Junot could eaſily ſend againſt them, but ſeveral ſanguinary ſtruggles occurred; particularly in the town of Beja, where the patriots loſt twelve hundred men before they ſubmitted to the tyranny of their oppoſers, and at Evora where there was an engagement, which terminated in the diſcomfiture of the Portugueſe. The French, with their accuſtomed ferocity and contempt of human feelings, committed great exceſſes after they had reduced their opponents. Junot was, however, compelled to content himſelf with maintaining his power at Liſbon, and in the ſouthern diſtricts, as he did not dare to detach any troops towards Porto. Soon after the proviſional government had been eſtabliſhed there, indeed, he ſent general Loiſon with three thouſand men againſt the place; but Loiſon, upon learning the ſerious turn which events had taken, proceeded no further than Amarante, and returned to Liſbon.

The junta at Porto took the lead in Portugal in the ſame manner as that of Seville did in Spain. They eſtabliſhed an intercourſe with Sir Charles Cotton, the admiral of the Engliſh fleet ſtationed off the Tagus, invited their countrymen to ſend in patriotic contributions in ſpecie, cloth for uniforms, proviſions, and ammunition, raiſed taxes for the ſupport of the war, and ſigned a treaty of alliance between Spain and Portugal. The [July 14.] repreſentations which they had made to the Engliſh cabinet were favourably received, and an armament was prepared at Cork to proceed to their aſſiſtance in the firſt inſtance, and to join with their forces in ulterior co-operation with the Spaniards, as it was conceived that the Portugueſe would ardently accede to any plan which might be concerted for that purpoſe. It was reported in England that the duke of York was to take the command of this expedition. The rumour, notwithſtanding it was extremely improbable that miniſters had any ſuch appointment in contemplation, completely demonſtrated the ſentiments of the public reſpecting the military abilities of his royal highneſs, by the manner in which it was received. A general feeling of diſguſt became prevalent:

defeat,

defeat, calamity, and diſgrace were predicted. The editors of the daily papers, almoſt without exception, deprecated the employment of the illuſtrious perſonage on various grounds: ſome of them argued from paſt failures; the diſaſtrous campaign in Flanders, the unfortunate expedition and retreat from the Helder, were brought to the recollection of the public, accompanied with remarks containing grave and bitter reprehenſion, or pointed with the moſt cauſtic ſarcaſm: others not leſs ſevere, affected to deplore expoſing the perſon of a prince of the blood to unneceſſary danger, or to poſſible capture, thus with ſerious deriſion anticipating the reſult of his appointment: and ſome, with good reaſon, aſſuming that reſponſibility ought invariably to be attached to command, inſiſted that if a prince took the field, the nation had no guarantee for the due and able performance of duty. The nomination of Sir Arthur Welleſley as commander of the troops, however, ſoon allayed the apprehenſions of the community on this point, and put ſatire and invective to reſt, as the beſt hopes were entertained of the fortunes of the armament under his direction.

The forces amounting to about ten thouſand men, ſailed from Cork on the 12th of July, and proceeded to Cape Finiſterre, while Sir Arthur himſelf repaired in a frigate to Corunna, where he arrived on the 20th. Being informed that the French had defeated the Spaniards at Rio Seco by the junta of Galicia, he conſulted them as to the immediate employment of the troops under his orders, offering to co-operate with the Spaniards, as he was empowered to do by his inſtructions in caſe he ſhould deem it expedient. The junta declined his propoſal, becauſe they declared that they had men in abundance, and wiſhed for no aſſiſtance, except in the ſhape of money, arms, and ammunition; but they recommended him to direct his forces againſt thoſe of Junot, becauſe the expulſion of the French from Portugal would be a ſervice of great advantage to the patriots in the whole peninſula; and they ſuggeſted the propriety of his landing in the north of Portugal, that he might be aided by Portugueſe troops in his enterpriſe. In compliance with this advice, ſir Arthur ſailed to Porto, and on the 24th he had an interview with the biſhop and general officers of the Portugueſe, who acquainted him that there was in the city a corps of two thouſand five hundred men, beſides volunteers, peaſants, and three hundred Spaniſh infantry, but that five thouſand regular Portugueſe troops were ſtationed at Coimbra, who could co-operate with him. From Porto ſir Arthur, after ordering the fleet to ſail to Mondego Bay, went to confer with admiral Cotton off Liſbon upon the facilities of landing near that city. Here he received diſpatches from general Spencer, who with about ſix thouſand men had taken a poſition at Xeres, in order that he might be able either to ſupport Caſtanos in caſe he ſhould be defeated, or join ſir Arthur, who he had ſuppoſed muſt act as an auxiliary to Caſtanos, to enable him to oppoſe Dupont with ſucceſs. Sir Arthur thinking it would prove more uſe-

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ful to the common cauſe if the forces under general Spencer were united with his own, directed that officer to join him. As from the beſt intelligence which could be collected, there were from twelve to fourteen thouſand French in Liſbon, and about four thouſand quartered in different garriſons at no great diſtance, it was held to be unadviſable to debark in the Tagus or any of the ſmall bays near it, as the Engliſh would in that caſe be expoſed to be attacked by the main body of the enemy; it was therefore decided to land in the Mondego. Upon his arrival in that bay on the 30th, he received information from miniſter, that five thouſand men under brigadier-general Ackland would be ſent to reinforce him, and that ten thouſand men, who had arrived from Sweden with general Moore, would ſpeedily follow them, and that it was the intention of government to place all the troops in Portugal under the orders of ſir Hew Dalrymple, and appoint ſir Harry Burrard ſecond in command. He was alſo acquainted with the ſurrender of Dupont, and that Junot had been forced to detach general Loiſon with ſix thouſand men to quell an inſurrection in the Alentejo. As it was conſequently certain that the Engliſh would not have to contend with ſuperior numbers, on the 1ſt of Auguſt the diſembarkation of the troops commenced, but it was not completed until the 5th, owing to the ſtate of the weather. The corps of general Spencer entered the river the next day, and was landed on the 7th.

Leſt it might be impoſſible to preſerve a communication with the ſhips, while the army was on its march to Liſbon, arrangements were made for conveying with it a ſufficient quantity of ſtores till it reached the Tagus. On the 9th the advanced guard moved forward towards Leyria where it halted, and was joined by the main body on the 11th, ſir Arthur having haſtened the progreſs of the troops thither, to preſerve the magazines that had been collected in the town for the Portugueſe army, which were threatened by the French generals Laborde and Thomiere, who had collected five or ſix thouſand men in the neighbourhood with that deſign. The Portugueſe did not come up until the 11th. They conſiſted altogether of ſix thouſand infantry, and ſix hundred horſe. In the mean time the junta of Galicia had ſent intelligence to ſir Arthur, that notwithſtanding Joſeph Buonapartè had thought it neceſſary to fly from Madrid in conſequence of the diſaſters which had befallen the French arms, marſhal Beſſieres appeared determined to enter Portugal to make a diverſion in favour of Junot, and that neither Blake nor Cueſta would be able to counteract his deſign; but the Engliſh general conceived that Beſſieres, inſtead of marching into Portugal, would cover the retreat of Joſeph Buonapartè towards the French frontier, and whether he did ſo or not, it was obvious to ſir Arthur that he ſhould have time for his operations againſt Junot, before Beſſieres could arrive in Portugal to interrupt them; and it was probable that general Ackland's corps, or ſir John Moore's, would land in the country before Beſſieres could come from the north of Spain.

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Judging therefore that the ſucceſs of his undertaking depended on the promptitude of his advance, ſir Arthur reſolved to puſh on to Liſbon as quickly as he could.

The celerity of the Engliſh had already foiled the views of the French; for Loiſon having effected the ſervice for which he was ſent into the Alentejo, had returned to Eſtremadura, croſſed the Tagus at Abrantes, and on the 11th entered Thomar, a town about ſix and twenty miles to the ſouth-eaſt of Leyria, in which laſt place he hoped to form an union with Laborde. The latter was now at Alcobaça, a town diſtant from Leyria twenty miles in a ſouth-weſt direction; ſo that by the nature of the roads, a junction of the French forces was only practicable by a long detour. While the combined army was at Leyria, the Portugueſe general, Bernadino de Freire, renewed a moſt unreaſonable demand to be ſupplied during the campaign with ſtores by the Britiſh. He had made a ſimilar requeſt before the troops had been ſet in motion, but it was hoped that the repreſentations then offered had convinced him of the impoſſibility of granting it. Nevertheleſs, when the orders were iſſued to the army to proceed on the route to Liſbon, he ſent a meſſage to ſir Arthur Welleſley, informing him that if the Portugueſe did not receive proviſions from the Engliſh commiſſariat, he ſhould ſeparate them from Engliſh forces, and march by the way of Thomar towards Santarem, on which road, he ſaid, he ſhould find plenty of ſuſtenance, which he could not hope to do if he accompanied the Britiſh army; and he added that by this procedure he ſhould be able to intercept the return of the French to Liſbon. Sir Arthur remonſtrated with him, but without effect; he then entreated the Portugueſe general at leaſt to ſend him all his cavalry and light troops, with a thouſand infantry, upon his engaging to afford them the requiſite ſubſiſtence, and to this arrangement Freire acceded. Sir Arthur afterwards aſcertaining that the reſources of the country through which his line of march lay, would be amply abundant for the ſuſtenance of the Portugueſe, endeavoured to prevail on Freire to proceed with him: that officer was found inflexible. Freire was laſtly importuned, if he would not accompany the Britiſh, to remain in their rear, and not by his projected movement to expoſe his corps to the chance of deſtruction. He at firſt refuſed to follow this advice; but ſubſequently he thought proper to continue at Leyria. It was ſuppoſed by ſir Arthur Welleſley, that the Portugueſe general conſidered the Engliſh forces wholly inadequate to perform the ſervice in which they had engaged; and if this were not the caſe, his conduct is unaccountable.

The Engliſh army paſſed through Alcobaça and arrived at Caldas on the 15th, the French falling back as it advanced. On this day a party of the Britiſh came in contact with the enemy, and drove him from a village to the ſouth of the town; but incautiouſly venturing to purſue him, it would have been cut off had not general Spencer come to its aſſiſtance. After this affair Laborde poſted the French, amounting to ſix thouſand men, accompanied with five pieces

pieces of artillery, on the heights near Roleia, which he determined to defend, eſpecially as he expected to be joined by Loiſon in the courſe of the following day. As it was impoſſible to purſue the direct road to Liſbon without forcing theſe heights, they were attacked by the Britiſh on the 16th. The Portugueſe troops turned the enemy's left and penetrated into his rear; general Ferguſon executed the ſame manœuvre on the enemy's right, and the main body of the army aſſailed his centre. The French fought with their accuſtomed bravery and ſkill; they were nevertheleſs driven from the ſeveral poſitions which they occupied during the action, with the loſs of a great number of men, and three pieces of cannon; but they effected a retreat in good order to Torres Vedras, Loiſon having formed a junction with them on their march thither. The killed, wounded, and miſſing, of the Engliſh were four hundred and ſeventy nine; and amongſt the firſt was the honourable colonel Lake.

Sir Arthur Welleſley having received advice on the 17th, that brigadier-general Anſtruther with a part of the forces detached from England under brigadier-general Ackland was off the coaſt of Peniche, marched to Lourinha to protect the landing of the troops, and that object being accompliſhed on the evening of the 19th, the next day he encamped at Vimiera, with the intention of puſhing on towards Mafra, and turning the poſition of the enemy, whoſe collected force under Junot in perſon was now ſtationed at Torres Vedras, that general having reſolved to attack the Britiſh army before it could receive further reinforcements. Sir Arthur had given orders for the execution of this plan on the following day; but as ſir Harry Burrard had arrived in the roads of Maceira to take the command of the Britiſh army, ſir Arthur had a conference with him that night on board the veſſel in which he had ſailed, and ſir Harry thought it would be better for the army to halt in its preſent poſition, until the expected reinforcements joined it, as it was deficient in cavalry, and in artillery horſes, and becauſe while the French would be nearer their reſources by falling back on Liſbon, it might be dangerous to move the Britiſh to any conſiderable diſtance from the victualling ſhips. The orders were conſequently recalled.

The village of Vimiera ſtands in a valley, through which the little river Maceira runs to the ſea; north-weſt of the village is a mountain which ſtretches from the coaſt in a ſemicircular direction towards the eaſt, where it is ſeparated by a deep ravine from the heights further eaſtward, over which lies the road to Lourinha. On this mountain the major part of the infantry was poſted with eight pieces of artillery; major-general Hill's brigade being on the right, major-general Ferguſon's on the left, having one battalion on the eaſtern heights beyond the ravine. South-eaſt of the village is a hill which commands all the ground in that direction; but this hill is commanded by the mountain on the north-weſt. Brigadier-general Fane with the rifleſmen and 50th regiment, and brigadier-

general Anſtruther, with his brigade of infantry, half a brigade of ſix pounders and half a brigade of nine pounders, were ſtationed on this hill. The cavalry and the reſerve of artillery were in the valley, both flanking and ſupporting general Fane's advanced guard. The heights over which the road to Lourinha paſſes had only been occupied by a picquet, as the camp had been taken up but for one night. In this poſition the Engliſh were attacked by Junot on the 21ſt. At eight in the morning large bodies of the enemy's cavalry appeared on the heights near the road to Lourinha, and menaced the left of the Britiſh army. General Ferguſon with four brigades was immediately moved acroſs the ravine; the Portugueſe who had been in the valley took poſt on the mountain to the north-weſt of the village, and were ſupported by general Craufurd's brigade. Several columns of the enemy began the attack on the advanced guard, but they were checked by the bayonets of the regiments of which it was compoſed. Beſides this oppoſition, they were taken in flank by brigadier-general Ackland's brigade, as it was advancing to the heights acroſs the ravine; and they were cannonaded alſo in flank by the artillery on thoſe heights. After a moſt deſperate conteſt the enemy was drive.. back in confuſion, with the loſs of ſeven pieces of cannon, many priſoners, and a great number of officers killed and wounded. He was purſued by a detachment of the 20th light dragoons; but his cavalry was ſo much ſuperior in numbers, that this detachment ſuffered greatly, and the commanding officer, lieutenant-colonel Taylor, was killed. Nearly at the ſame time, the attack was made on the heights near the road to Lourinha: it was ſupported by large bodies of cavalry, and was made with the uſual impetuoſity of the French troops. The brigades under the command of general Ferguſon received the enemy with ſteadineſs, and after ſome ſevere fighting repulſed him. In general Ferguſon's advance he took ſix pieces of cannon, and made many priſoners. The French afterwards attempted to recover part of their artillery which had been placed in a valley and was guarded by the 71ſt and 82nd regiments: theſe regiments retiring from the low ground, aſcended the height, halted, faced about, fired on the enemy, and ſucceeded in obliging him to retreat with great loſs. The victory was now complete, although a part only of the Britiſh army had been actually engaged, and the French had a ſuperior force of cavalry, with a more numerous train of artillery in the action: it was purchaſed on the part of the Engliſh with the loſs of ſeven hundred and eighty eight men, killed, wounded, and miſſing, including four officers killed, and thirty ſeven wounded. The loſs of the enemy in men is not ſtated, but it muſt have been great. One of the French generals was killed, and another, general Bernier, wounded and taken priſoner. Thirteen pieces of cannon, twenty-three ammunition waggons, with powder, ſhells, ſtores of all kinds, and twenty-ſix thouſand rounds of ammunition, were alſo taken by the victors.

Sir Harry Burrard had arrived

on the ground before the battle began, but was ſo ſatisfied with the diſpoſitions made by ſir Arthur Welleſley, that he declined taking the command of the army, as he wiſhed the latter to conclude the operations which he had ſo ably commenced. When the fortune of the day was decided, and the enemy appeared to be retreating in diſorder, ſir Arthur propoſed to ſir Harry, that the French ſhould be purſued; ſir Harry however, ſtill conceiving that the reaſons againſt advancing were undiminiſhed by the victory, determined not to move forward until the army ſhould be reinforced by the troops under ſir John Moore, who had then arrived in Mondego Bay.

On the 22d ſir Hew Dalrymple, who had been directed to take the command of all the forces in Portugal, arrived from Gibraltar in the neighbourhood of Vimiera. Soon after he landed, general Kellerman appeared at the outpoſt with a flag of truce from Junot, to propoſe an armiſtice for the purpoſe of concluding a convention for the evacuation of Portugal by the French troops. A ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities was agreed to the ſame day, by the terms of which the river Sizandro was to form the line of demarcation between the Britiſh and French, neither of them occupying Torres Vedras, which ſtands on its left bank. The Engliſh general undertook to include the Portugueſe troops in the armiſtice, and for them the line of demarcation was to be from Leyria to Thomar. The French were not in any caſe to be conſidered priſoners of war; all the individuals who compoſed their army were to be tranſported to France with their arms and baggage, and the whole of their private property, from which nothing was to be excepted. No individual, whether Portugueſe, French, or of a nation allied to France, was to be called to account for his political conduct; but his property was to be reſpected, and he was to be at full liberty to withdraw from Portugal within a limited time, if he choſe to do ſo. When the Engliſh army and fleet obtained poſſeſſion of the town and port of Liſbon, they were not to moleſt the Ruſſian ſquadron during its continuance in the Tagus, nor ſtop it when its commander wiſhed to ſail, nor was the Engliſh fleet to purſue it after it had ſailed, until the time fixed by maritime law. All the artillery of French calibre, and the French cavalry horſes, were to be ſent to France.

The definitive convention was not ſigned until the 30th; and the chief additional proviſions contained in this inſtrument were to the following effect. The Engliſh government was to furniſh the means of conveyance to the French army, which was to be diſembarked in any of the ports of France between Rochefort and L'Orient. The French army was allowed to diſpoſe of ſuch part of its equipments as the commander in chief might judge it unneceſſary to embark; and all the individuals belonging to it were to be ſuffered to diſpoſe of their private property of every deſcription, with full ſecurity to the purchaſers. The embarkation was to take place in three diviſions; and the firſt diviſion was to quit Portugal within ſeven days after the convention was ratified. All the ſick and wounded who could not be ſent off

were entruſted to the Britiſh army, and were afterwards to be tranſported to France. The forts of Saint Julien, the Bugio, and the Caſcaes were to be occupied by the Britiſh troops on the ratification of the convention; Liſbon and its citidel together with its forts and batteries were to be given up when the ſecond diviſion was embarked; and the fortreſſes of Elvas, Almada, Penichè, and Palmela, as ſoon as the Britiſh could occupy them. Should doubts ariſe as to the meaning of any article, they were to be explained favourably to the French. One article was of a moſt reprehenſible nature; for from the date of this agreement, all arrears of contributions, requiſitions, or claims whatever of the French government againſt the ſubjects of Portugal, or any other perſons reſiding in the country, founded on the occupation of Portugal by the French troops in the month of December, 1807, which might not have been paid up, were cancelled; and all ſequeſtrations laid upon their property, moveable or immoveable, taken off: thus all the previous robberies and acts of extortion of a public nature committed by the French, during their reſidence in the country, were ſecured to them. The Spaniſh troops detained on board ſhips in the port of Liſbon were to be given up to the commander in chief of the Britiſh army, who engaged to induce the Spaniards to reſtore ſuch French ſubjects, either military or civil, as might have been detained in Spain, without being taken in battle; and there was to be an immediate exchange eſtabliſhed for all ranks of priſoners made in Portugal, ſince the commencement of hoſtilities.

Sir Charles Cotton very properly refuſed to agree to that article in the armiſtice, which ſtipulated for the departure of the Ruſſian ſquadron for a certain time without purſuit; and a ſeparate convention was concluded between him and admiral Siniavin, whereby it was ſettled that the Ruſſian ſhips ſhould be delivered up to the Engliſh, to be held as a depoſit by his Britannic majeſty until ſix months after the concluſion of a peace between Ruſſia and England: Siniavin with the officers, ſailors, and marines under his command, were to be conveyed to Ruſſia by Engliſh ſhips, without any condition reſpecting their future ſervices. Sept. 3.

The Portugueſe viewed all theſe arrangements with extreme diſguſt and indignation. Pillaged as they had been by the French in the moſt ſhameleſs manner, and outraged in their feelings by the inſolence and brutality of their oppreſſors, it is not to be wondered that they ſhould be exaſperated at the eſcape of this banditti with impunity, and alſo with the fruits of their extortion. Their reſentment was natural and juſt. But the Portugueſe general, Bernadino de Friere, whoſe previous conduct in ſeparating his troops from the Engliſh forces might have warranted his ſilence, alſo ſuddenly felt a glow of patriotiſm which impelled him to remonſtrate againſt the convention. Objections would have come from any one, perhaps, with better grace than a man, whoſe ardour in the ſervice of his country could be reſtrained when he might have co-

operated

operated with his country's allies, againſt the common enemy. He proteſted, he ſaid, againſt the convention, becauſe it was totally void of that deference which was due to the prince regent of Portugal, and the government which repreſented him; and on account of what might be hoſtile in it to the ſovereign authority and independence of that government, and for all that might be againſt the honour, ſafety, and intereſts of the nation: becauſe it ſtipulated for the ſurrender of fortified places, ſtores, and ſhips, to the Engliſh forces, without ſolemnly declaring that this ſurrender was momentary, and that it was intended they ſhould be immediately reſtored to the prince regent or his government, to whom they belonged, and in whoſe aid the Engliſh forces came as auxiliaries: becauſe it permitted certain individuals (the partiſans of the French) to reſide in Portugal; and it attempted to engage the government of the kingdom not to bring to juſtice and condign puniſhment, thoſe perſons who had been notoriouſly and ſcandalouſly diſloyal to their prince and their country, by joining and ſerving the French; and even if the protection of the Engliſh ſhould be allowed to ſcreen them from the puniſhment which they had merited, ſtill it ſhould not prevent their expulſion, whereby the country would no longer have to fear that it might be again betrayed by the ſame men. He proteſted finally on account of the want of attention to the ſafety of the inhabitants of the capital and its environs, nothing having been ſtipulated in their favour to inſure their not being ſtill vexed and oppreſſed by the French during their ſtay.

Although theſe objections were urged by a perſon who was ſcarcely entitled to make them, ſeveral of them were founded on propriety. The junta of Porto, notwithſtanding it perhaps aſſumed too much in wiſhing to be treated as the government of the country, ought at leaſt to have obtained that reſpect which, from its patriotiſm, and reſpectability as a public body, was due to it; but ſir Arthur Welleſley did not appriſe the biſhop of Porto of the armiſtice until three days after he had ſigned it, and then informed him that it contained nothing remarkable, except a proviſion for ſecuring the neutrality of the port of Liſbon and the Ruſſian ſquadron. The biſhop and the junta, however, moſt probably thought it very remarkable, that the French ſhould be allowed to carry away all their plunder under the deſignation of perſonal property. The complaint of general Friere, that the fortified places were ſurrendered to the Engliſh, without any notice of reſtitution to the Portugueſe, was an attack rather on the form than the ſubſtance of the agreement. The places ought unqueſtionably to have been given up either to the Portugueſe troops, or to the Britiſh in their name; but general Freire could not ſuppoſe that the Engliſh meant to retain them, and ſir Hew Dalrymple aſſured him that he ſhould take every means to give publicity to the avowal, that he ſerved in Portugal as the commander of a force, acting in alliance with the ſovereign of the country; and that he therefore conſidered himſelf bound by duty and honour, as far his judgment and abilities extended, to pay as ſtrict a regard to the intereſts of the prince regent, the dignity and ſecurity of his government, and

and the welfare of the nation of which he was the lawful ruler, as even general Freire himſelf. The count Monteiro Mor * alſo, as a member of the regency left by the prince of Brazil, and commander in chief of the army of Algarve, proteſted generally againſt the definitive convention, becauſe the Portugueſe government was not conſulted on the terms of it.

Major-general Beresford, with lieutenant-colonel lord Proby, on the part of the Engliſh, and general Kellerman for the French, were appointed commiſſioners for carrying the convention into effect. As ſoon as the former had arrived in Liſbon, they were informed that individuals of the French army were ſelling or preparing for embarkation, property to a large amount, which had been plundered in the moſt ſhameful manner. They alſo receive intelligence that church plate ariſing from the extraordinary contributions impoſed by the French, to the amount of forty thouſand pounds, had been melted into bars, and was ſtill in the hands of different French adminiſtrators, who intended to carry it into France without paying the debts of the army. It beſides appeared that a ſum of about twenty-five thouſand pounds, had been taken on the 29th of Auguſt by Junot's order from the Depoſito Publico, or bank in which money is placed until litigations concerning it are tried, and placed on the ſame day in the public treaſury of the kingdom, whence it was removed on the 2d of September, in direct violation of the convention, for the purpoſe of being paid into the cheſt of the army; and it was alſo proved, that with a ſtill more infamous diſregard of the ſtipulations of the treaty, effects had been taken out of the public magazines, for the equipment of the French troops, by the expreſs order of Junot, to the amount of ſixteen thouſand pounds.

The Engliſh commiſſioners, in the firſt inſtance, demanded the reſtitution of the private property which had been plundered, and after much diſcuſſion with general Kellerman, he ſuggeſted that Junot ſhould iſſue an order of the day, directing every perſon, having private property, whether in pictures or other moveables, immediately to reſtore it to the owners. This order was accordingly made; but it produced no effect whatever, although the claims of the Portugueſe were hourly increaſing, and many of thoſe preſented to the commiſſioners were for effects of very great value. Much correſpondence took place with general Kellerman on this ſubject, both in interviews and by writing. All the communications of the general were marked by ſubterfuge and vain profeſſions, and the commiſſioners were obliged at laſt to inſiſt on the eſtabliſhment of a ſpecial committee to enquire into all the claims preſented by the Portugueſe, and to be furniſhed for that purpoſe with full authority to ſummon perſons, and to order reſtitution. The labours of this committee were attended with the beſt conſequences, and a great maſs of extremely valuable property, public and private, was wrung from the audacious banditti, who had hoped to convert it to their own uſe.

The queſtion of the ſilver in

* The king's huntſman.

bars

bars occaſioned much altercation. Kellerman declared that the convention guaranteed to the French whatever was in their poſſeſſion previouſly to the firſt day of the truce: he afterwards was authoriſed by Junot to propoſe that none of the ſilver ſhould be taken out of the country, and that the French ſhould pay the debts of their army with it, for which purpoſe, it was ſaid, it had ever been expreſsly intended; and if after the debts were paid, any remained, it ſhould be delivered up. This offer was accepted by ſir Hew Dalrymple; and the ſilver was diſpoſed of in this manner. The Engliſh commiſſioners required that the twenty-five thouſand pounds taken from the Depoſito Publico ſhould be refunded, they alſo demanded that complete ſatisfaction ſhould be given to the directors of magazines, from which effects had been removed ſubſequent to the 30th of Auguſt. The juſtice of theſe claims was admitted, and promiſes of immediate payment were made, but had not been fulfilled when Junot went on board the frigate which was to carry him to France. Being called upon to execute his promiſes, he endeavoured to evade performing them under various pretexts; ſo that the commiſſioners were compelled to apply to ſir Charles Cotton to detain the ſecond diviſion of the French, as well as general Junot, until theſe points ſhould be properly arranged. After much litigation, it was agreed by general Kellerman that the forty thouſand pounds required for theſe two objects ſhould be ſupplied from the military cheſt. During the three laſt days that general Junot was in the river, orders were repeatedly given by Kellerman to the paymaſter-general to that effect, but ſome ſubterfuge was always attempted by the latter, and the commiſſioners were obliged to order him on ſhore to the arſenal, with his cheſt, when the money was at length paid. The French had ſelected ſome rare ſpecimens of the objects of natural hiſtory from the public muſeum, and ſome valuable manuſcripts from the royal libraries. When theſe were reclaimed, Kellerman obſerved that the ſpecimens were chiefly duplicates, and were a valuable acquiſition to the ſciences, which were of all countries and ought to be univerſally communicated; the French therefore wiſhed to carry away theſe rarities, and would willingly make ſuch compenſation for them as ſhould be thought equitable. A poſitive refuſal was given to this propoſition, and all the articles were reſtored. After every care and exertion on the part of the Britiſh commiſſioners, it is moſt probable that the French contrived to ſecrete and embark a conſiderable quantity of their plunder. Some idea may be formed of the abandoned conduct of the inferior officers, by the diſcovery that fifty-three boxes of indigo, valued at 5000*l.* were found amongſt the baggage of Junot when it was conveyed to the veſſel deſtined to carry him to France. Junot diſclaimed all knowledge of the tranſaction; but it is not very likely that any one of his dependents would have dared to place this rapine amongſt his baggage without the general's authority. As an example of Junot's honour in pecuniary tranſactions, the following fact will be ſufficient. He had

had exacted from the Liſbon merchants a forced loan of two millions of cruſadoes, before he levied the laſt contribution of twenty-eight millions of cruſadoes by the orders of his maſter, and he promiſed to pay the two millions out of the latter ſum; but after the battle of Vimiera, he totally refuſed to liquidate this debt, and the merchants conſequently loſt their money. It may ſeem ſuperfluous to dwell ſo much upon the notorious and admitted profligacy of the French in their ſyſtem of extortion; yet it is proper to place on record an authenticated memorial of their infamy in this reſpect, contained in the laſt paragraph of the report of their proceedings, addreſſed by general Beresford and lord Proby to the commander in chief. They ſtate "that the conduct of the French had been marked by the moſt ſhameful diſregard of honour and probity, publicly evincing their intention of departing with their booty, and leaving acknowledged debts unpaid; and finally they had only paid what they were obliged to diſgorge, though the Britiſh commiſſioners repreſented to general Kellerman, that whatever the words of the convention might be, it could not be the ſpirit of any agreement, that an army ſhould as a military cheſt, or otherwiſe, carry off public money, leaving public debts uncancelled; and called upon him for the honour of the French army and nation to act juſtly: and yet, unmindful of any tie of honour or juſtice, the French army had taken away a conſiderable ſum in the military cheſt, leaving its debts unpaid to a very large amount." The ſum thus mentioned was diſtributed by theſe marauders to the paymaſters of their different regiments to be depoſited in their regimental cheſts, one regiment in particular, the 70th, was ſuppoſed to have the ſum of one hundred thouſand crowns, and in the general military cheſt was three months' pay for the whole army! Indeed, ſo ſenſible were the French of the horror and deteſtation in which they were held by the Portugueſe, that general Kellerman requeſted lord Proby to inform ſir Hew Dalrymple, that he felt great apprehenſion of the outrages which might be committed by the populace, on the day fixed for embarking the ſecond diviſion of the French troops, that he hoped the Britiſh force which ſhould take poſſeſſion of Liſbon would not be leſs than ten thouſand men, and that they would enter the town before the French were on board. This precaution proved to be neceſſary, for ſuch was the reſentment of the Portugueſe for the oppreſſion which they had ſuffered, that it was dangerous for any Frenchman to be ſeen alone; every one of them who ventured to range through the ſtreets was murdered; and on ſome occaſion when general Kellerman came on ſhore after he had embarked, he was immediately recognized by the people, although he was dreſt in plain clothes to avoid being noticed, and he would have fallen a ſacrifice to their fury, if he had not been protected by the Engliſh officers who were preſent; but he could not be reſcued from the rage of the populace before he had received ſeveral ſevere wounds. To maintain the tranquillity of the city, general Hope publiſhed a proclamation aſ-

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ſuring the inhabitants, that a civil government would ſoon be ſubſtituted for a military one; but that in the mean time it would be neceſſary to ſtation ſtrong guards, picquets, and patroles in various directions, in order that every perſon who attempted to diſturb the public peace might be taken into cuſtody. He alſo prohibited, under the exiſting circumſtances, any body to enter the city with arms, or to wear them in the ſtreets: he ordered all inns and taverns, where wine or ſpirituous liquors were ſold in ſmall quantities to be ſhut up at ſix in the evening, and not to be opened before ſun-riſe, under pain of impriſonment to the dealers and forfeiture of their liquors. Finally, he invited all perſons who poſſeſſed any authority or influence whatever, whether included or not in the body of the magiſtracy, and more particularly the holy miniſters of religion, to aſſiſt the military power in preſerving the tranquillity of the capital, until the civil authority was reſtored.

Sept. 16.

The French troops who had been quartered at Almeida, were marched acroſs the country to Porto, there to be embarked. At this city they converted as much of their plunder as they could into caſh, by ſelling it to ſuch as would purchaſe it; but as their baggage was examined at the caſtle of Saint Joam de Foz, before the governor and ſir Robert Wilſon, amongſt it was found ſome rich veſtments of the eccleſiaſtics. Intelligence of this circumſtance immediately found its way to Porto, the people roſe with the intent of immolating the French to the rage with which their horror of ſacrilege inſpired them; nor could the biſhop, ſir Robert Wilſon, or the Portugueſe officers calm the tranſports of the mob without great difficulty. In the mean time the French were embarked; the populace, however, collected in great numbers on the following morning, and, in ſpite of the exertions of the biſhop and ſir Robert Wilſon to appeaſe them, proteſted that the French muſt quit the ſhips, and have their baggage again examined. The mob appears to have been ſo formidable, that it was neceſſary to comply with its deſires. The French were landed, when the ſame rabble, who were ſo much affected by the horror of ſacrilege, ruſhed on board the tranſports and indiſcriminately plundered every thing which they contained, not even ſparing the clothes and proviſions of the ſhips' crews! At length the diſturbance was quelled, and the French ſuffered to return to their ſhips. It is added, that complete recompenſe was made to the Britiſh ſubjects who ſuffered on this occaſion in their property, by the ſuperior order of the inhabitants of the city.

The whole number of the French ſent out of the country was twenty-ſeven thouſand perſons, of whom twenty-two thouſand were troops. As ſoon as meaſures had been adopted for their departure, ſir Hew Dalrymple wrote to the biſhop of Porto to requeſt his aſſiſtance in forming a proviſional government, until the pleaſure of the prince of Braſil could be known. Sir Hew ſtated in his letter that as a number of the members of the former council of regency were ſuſpected of being in the French intereſt, it would be impoſſible for his Britannic majeſty to

Sept. 5.

to acquieſce in the return of thoſe perſons to power; but ſir Hew earneſtly requeſted the biſhop to become a member of the council which was to be eſtabliſhed. The biſhop replied that it was the peculiar wiſh of the junta of Porto to reinſtate the regency as ſpeedily as poſſible, and that deputies had already left Porto three days to confer with ſir Hew on the ſubject; he however declined becoming a member of the council. He afterwards thought proper to alter his reſolution, and conſented to be appointed one of the body, although his name does not appear amongſt thoſe of the perſons of whom it was compoſed; but the cauſe of the omiſſion has never been explained in the documents produced to the public. It is probable that ſome difference of opinion aroſe in arranging this matter; for ſir Hew finally reſtored to authority the five members of the old council of regency whoſe loyalty and attachment to the prince of Brazil was known. In his proclamation to the Portugueſe he notified, that he ſhould beſt fulfil the intentions of the king his maſter, by placing in the exerciſe of ſovereign power that body to which his royal highneſs the prince regent had thought fit to delegate it, when he withdrew from the inſults of an implacable enemy. To this government the inferior juriſdictions, tribunals, and corporations, with all perſons of every deſcription, were required to pay proper deference and ſubmiſſion. Why ſir Hew took this appointment on himſelf, it is impoſſible to ſay. The junta at Porto had ſignified to ſir Charles Cotton ſo far back as the 4th of Auguſt, that in the event of the French being expelled from Liſbon, they conceived it would be proper, in order to avoid all jealouſies on the buſineſs, to reſtore ſuch of the former members of the regency to power as had proved their adherence to their prince and country. At any rate, it was wrong to iſſue a proclamation for the reinſtatement of the regency in his own name; becauſe it ſhould have been left to the regency itſelf to appriſe the people, that the council had reſumed its functions.

Sept. 8.

Sept. 18.

A very pleaſing ſpectacle took place at Liſbon, when the Spaniſh troops who had been liberated by the convention received the arms, horſes, and artillery appropriated to them; and every care was taken to make the ceremony grand and ſtriking. The number originally diſarmed by Junot was five thouſand eight hundred; but two thouſand two hundred had made their eſcape, and contrived to join their countrymen. This ſcene was peculiarly grateful to the Portugueſe, who moſt cordially participated in the joy manifeſted by the Spaniards on the occaſion. The Spaniards were afterwards provided with every requiſite by the Britiſh commander to march into Spain.

Sept. 22.

The Engliſh public took the moſt lively intereſt in the affairs of the whole peninſula, and eſpecially in the expedition to Portugal. When therefore the gazette gave an account of the battle at Vimiera, although the details of the action afforded by ſir Arthur Welleſley were confuſed and utterly unintelligible, it was at leaſt apparent that he meant to ſtate that he had gained a decided victory over the French commanded by Junot in perſon,

perſon, whom, to the aſtoniſhment of moſt people, he ſtyled the duke of Abrantes, thus acknowledging an offenſive title conferred on the Frenchman by Buonapartè, and taken from an eſtate in the very country of an ally, whoſe rights his Britannic majeſty had ſent out his forces to aſſiſt in recovering! The public naturally waited with great impatience for farther particulars, not without confident expectation that the next intelligence from Portugal would announce the complete ruin of the French army and its entire ſubmiſſion. After the interval of a fortnight the intelligenee arrived; and the popular mind was prepared for the reception of joyful tidings by the firing of the park and tower guns at ten o'clock at night. The moſt creative imagination can hardly conceive the diſappointment, grief, and indignant feeling, that were manifeſted by the inhabitants of the capital, and the people in every part of the country, when they peruſed the narrative of the armiſtice and definitive convention which had been concluded. They could ſcarcely think it credible that ſuch a reſult ſhould have been the fruit of an action ſo glorious to the Britiſh arms. By the effect of the definitive convention, a large army which was inſulated, and totally uſeleſs to the French ruler, was to be conveyed in a ſtate of perfect equipment, at the expenſe of Great Britain, to the weſtern coaſt of France, whence it might ſpeedily be brought into play againſt the patriots of Spain; and ſix thouſand Ruſſian ſeamen were to be ſent home, who might be immediately employed againſt our ally the king of Sweden. The enemy had reaped all the advantage of the battle of Vimiera, and even placed Great Britain and her allies in a much worſe ſituation as to a military view, than they were before the engagement occurred; defeated in the field, the French had actually gained a ſplendid and ſolid victory in belligerent combinations. That part of the convention which related to the Ruſſian ſhips of war excited very ſtrong diſguſt: accuſtomed to hear that the veſſels of an enemy were brought into Engliſh ports as prizes to the gallantry and ſkill of its ſeamen, the nation regarded the agreement that the Ruſſian men of war ſhould be taken in depoſit merely, as eminently diſgraceful to its naval character, as a novelty which ſullied the luſtre of its marine achievements. The writers in the metropolitan and provincial newſpapers, and periodical publications, fanned the flames of popular anger; and though they did not actually inſiſt that the French in Portugal ſhould have been compelled to ſurrender at diſcretion, the opinions which they promulgated nearly amounted to ſuch a concluſion; for the ſentiments of non-combatants never likely to be committed in real danger, are always remarkable for a character of deſperate valour.

The corporation of the city of London preſented an addreſs to the king, in which after commenting in the moſt ſevere terms on the convention, pronounced by them to be ignominious and humiliating to the nation, they prayed his majeſty, "in juſtice to the outraged feelings of a brave, injured, and indignant people, whoſe blood and treaſure had thus been expended,

as

as well as to retrieve the wounded honour of the country, and to remove from its character ſo foul a ſtain in the eyes of Europe, that his majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed immediately to inſtitute ſuch an inquiry as would lead to the diſcovery and puniſhment of thoſe, by whoſe miſconduct and incapacity the cauſe of the country and its allies had been ſo ſhamefully ſacrificed." His majeſty's reply ſtated, that "he gave credit to the motives which had dictated the petition and addreſs of the corporation; but that he muſt remind them that it was inconſiſtent with the principles of Britiſh juſtice to pronounce judgment without previous inveſtigation. He ſhould have hoped that recent occurrences would have convinced them, that he was at all times ready to inſtitute inquiries on occaſions in which the character of the country, or the honour of his arms, was concerned; and that the interpoſition of the City of London could not be neceſſary for inducing him to direct due inquiry to be made into a tranſaction, "which had diſappointed the hopes and expectations of the nation."

The king's anſwer gave great offence to the corporation, and conſidering, as they were entitled to do, the language of it as that of his adviſers, they voted ſeveral reſolutions on the ſubject. They affirmed that it was the undoubted right of the ſubject to petition, and that this right ought at all times to be freely exerciſed in every matter of public grievance without obſtruction or reproof: that they were therefore at a loſs to know by what conſtruction of their petition, however ſtrained or perverted, his majeſty's miniſters could attribute to them any intention or deſire to pronounce judgment without previous inveſtigation: that they were equally at a loſs to know why his majeſty's adviſers ſhould have deemed it neceſſary to remind them, "that it was inconſiſtent with the principles of Britiſh juſtice," unleſs to throw an unmerited odium on the corporation, and raiſe a barrier between them and the crown, on all occaſions where their object was free and conſtitutional inquiry: that had the court refrained from expreſſing to his majeſty their feelings at the humiliating termination of the campaign in Portugal, they muſt have ceaſed to feel—to think—to act as Britons, and have ſhown themſelves unſuſceptible of that patriotiſm ſo eſſentially neceſſary for the preſervation of their liberties; the maintenance of their national honour; and the independence and ſecurity of his majeſty's crown and dominions. Then attacking the concluding part of the king's anſwer, they ſaid, that they particularly regretted that his majeſty ſhould have been adviſed to expreſs a hope, "that recent occurrences would have convinced them that his majeſty was at all times ready to inſtitute inquiries on all occaſions in which the character of the country, or the honour of his arms was concerned; and that the interpoſition of the city of London could not be neceſſary for inducing his majeſty to direct due inquiry into a tranſaction which had diſappointed the hopes and expectations of the nation;" becauſe it appeared, that during the eventful period of the laſt fifteen years, various enterpriſes and expeditions had

had been undertaken, "in which the character of the country, and the honour of his majesty's arms were concerned, which had grievously failed, and disappointed the hopes and expectations of the nation," and into which due inquiry had not been made. After this obvious allusion to the disastrous campaigns conducted by the duke of York, the corporation proceeded to comment, in a strain of equal severity, on other questionable proceedings into which no investigation had taken place, and they concluded by asserting, "that whoever advised his majesty to put so unfavourable and unwarrantable a construction on their late petition, had abused the confidence of his sovereign, and was equally an enemy to his majesty and the just rights of his people. They did not attribute guilt to any one, much less did they pronounce judgment without previous investigation. They asked for investigation, prompt and rigid investigation, and the punishment of guilt wherever it might be found."

Meetings were also called in the city of Westminster, in the counties of Middlesex, Hants, and Berks, to petition for inquiry into the circumstances relative to the convention; and in all these places the resolutions proposed for that purpose were carried; but the assemblies convened in Staffordshire and Essex negatived the question for addressing his majesty, because he had already pledged himself to the nation that he would order an investigation to be made, and that after such a promise, it was neither proper nor decorous to press the matter farther. Ministers seemed little disposed to comply with the undoubted wishes of the people, and to take any steps for the elucidation of the business which had caused so much disappointment and chagrin; but at length they yielded to necessity, and recalled sir Harry Burrard and sir Hew Dalrymple from Portugal. On the arrival of those officers, and others who had been employed in the service, in England, a board of inquiry was instituted. This measure gave small satisfaction, as the country expected that the affair would be submitted to a court martial. The board consisted of seven general officers, viz. sir David Dundas, who was nominated the president of it, the earl of Moira, general Craig, lord Heathfield, the earl of Pembroke, lieutenant-general Nugent, and lieutenant-general Nichols; and it held its first sitting on the 14th of November, in the great hall in Chelsea College. The three generals concerned in the convention produced narratives of their proceedings, and various witnesses were examined. The board of inquiry did not finish their labours until the 22d of December, when they made their report to the king; and they stated that no evidence had been produced to enable them to pronounce, with confidence, whether or not a pursuit after the battle of the 21st of August, at Vimiera could have been efficacious; nor could they feel competent to determine on the expedience of a forward movement to Torres Vedras, when sir Harry Burrard had stated weighty considerations against it; viz. The superiority of the enemy in cavalry, the inefficiency of the horses

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for drawing the artillery, the neceſſity, in caſe ſuch movement had taken place, of leaving the wounded on the field of action, the circumſtance that the enemy had been able after their defeat to rally and collect a ſtrong body of troops on the right of the Engliſh poſition, and the propriety of waiting for the reinforcements under ſir John Moore. Further, they ſaid, it was to be obſerved that ſo many collateral circumſtances could not be known in the moment of the enemy's repulſe, as afterwards became clear to the army, and had been repreſented to the board: and conſidering the extraordinary circumſtances under which two new commanders arrived from the ocean and joined the army (the one during, and the other immediately after the battle, and thoſe ſucceſſively ſucceeding each other, and both the original commanders within the ſpace of twenty-four hours), it was not ſupriſing that the army was not carried forward until the ſecond day after the action, from the neceſſity of the generals being acquainted with the actual ſtate of things, and of their army, and proceeding accordingly.

It appeared, they continued, that the convention of Cintra, in its progreſs and concluſion, or at leaſt all the principal articles of it, were not objected to by the five diſtinguiſhed lieutenant-generals of that army; and that other general officers who were on the ſervice, had alſo concurred in the great advantages which were immediately gained to the country of Portugal, to the army and navy, and to the general ſervice, by the concluſion of the convention at that time. The advantages in the contemplation of the generals were, that it immediately liberated the kingdom of Portugal from the dominion of the French, thereby reſtoring to the Portugueſe their capital and fortreſſes, their principal ſea-ports, their perſonal liberty, property, religion, and eſtabliſhed government: that it relieved a great extent of Spaniſh frontier from all apprehenſions of the French, and the whole of Spain from that of having an enemy behind it, and allowed all parts of Spain to take more effective meaſures for its general defence, as well as permitted Portugal immediately to contribute for their mutual ſupport: that it enabled the Britiſh army immediately to enter Spain, if required, by central routes, while it tranſported the French force to a very diſtant part of their own coaſt, far removed from the Spaniſh frontier: that it immediately releaſed four thouſand Spaniſh ſoldiers, and ſent them to the defence of Catalonia; it alſo releaſed from the Portugueſe frontier another body of two thouſand Spaniſh troops; and the Portugueſe army likewiſe became diſpoſable for the common cauſe: to the Britiſh men of war and tranſports, which at this ſeaſon of the year with great difficulty could keep their ſtations near the coaſt, and on whoſe preſence the ſupplies and operations of the army depended, the opening of the Tagus afforded immediate ſhelter: it was further urged by the generals, as much more than probable, that if the French had been required to lay down their arms, and ſurrender priſoners of war, they would not have complied;

plied; but that if driven to extremity, they would have retired upon Liſbon, reinforced by ſix thouſand Ruſſians from the fleet of his imperial majeſty, who would have been compelled to ſhare their fate; and that in the temporary attack of Liſbon, much calamity and deſtruction muſt have enſued: alſo that as the French were maſters of the Ruſſian fleet, and of the boats and ſhipping in the Tagus, the paſſage of the river was enſured to them: that they could have defended for a conſiderable time its ſouthern or left bank, and prevented the occupation of the Tagus by the Britiſh fleet: that with the ſtrong fortreſſes of the Altentejo in their poſſeſſion, they could have protracted a deſtructive war, to the great detriment of Portugal, and of the Spaniſh cauſe, by finding employment for the greater part of the Britiſh army during the remainder of the year, whoſe difficulties and loſſes in ſuch operations muſt have been very conſiderable.

It appeared, the board ſaid, that during the diſcuſſion, and afterwards during the execution of the convention, much firmneſs was ſhown in reſiſting the pretenſions and interpretations of the enemy: every ſtipulation being reſtricted to its fair, honourable, and grammatical meaning, and that the French were not allowed to carry off, but obliged to diſgorge plunder, which they affected to conſider as private property. It appeared that pains were taken to miſrepreſent and raiſe a clamour in Portugal againſt this convention? but when it was generally known, and its effects felt, the people of Liſbon, and of the country, ſeemed to expreſs their gratitude and thanks for the benefits attending it.

The board, on conſideration of all the circumſtances of the caſe, were of opinion, that no further military proceeding was neceſſary on the ſubject; becauſe, however, ſome of them might differ in their ſentiments reſpecting the fitneſs of the convention in the relative ſituation of the two armies, it was their unanimous declaration, that unqueſtionable zeal and firmneſs appeared throughout to have been exhibited by lieutenant-generals ſir Hew Dalrymple, ſir Harry Burrard, and ſir Arthur Welleſley, as well as that the ardour and gallantry of the reſt of the officers and ſoldiers, on every occaſion during the expedition, had done honour to the troops, and reflected luſtre on his majeſty's arms.

The judge advocate delivered this report to the commander in chief to be laid before his majeſty; but his royal highneſs obſerved in a letter to the preſident of the board of inquiry, that although the report was fully detailed, and perfectly explanatory of all the tranſactions as they had appeared in evidence, yet that the board had given no opinion upon the conditions of the armiſtice and convention; and that he therefore felt it his duty to deſire that they would take the ſame again into their conſideration; eſpecially as a difference of opinion upon thoſe points exiſted amongſt the members of the board. Accordingly the board met again on the 27th of December, when ſir David Dundas, lieute-

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nant-general Nichols, lieutenant-general Nugent, the earl of Pembroke, lord Heathfield, and general Craig ſtated that they approved of the armiſtice; but the earl of Moira objected to it. Sir David Dundas, lieutenant-general Nugent, lord Heathfield, and general Craig alſo approved of the convention, which was objected to by general Nichols and the earls of Pembroke and Moira.

The diſſentients gave their reaſons for diſapproving the convention. General Nichols remarked, that conſidering the great increaſe of the Britiſh force from the firſt ſuſpenſion of hoſtility to the period of ſigning the definitive convention, added to the defeat which the enemy had ſuffered, ſir Hew Dalrymple was fully entitled to inſiſt upon more favourable terms. The earl of Pembroke, beſides the reaſons aſſigned by general Nichols, thought that from the cauſe in which the army was engaged, being the cauſe of Portugal, which gave good reaſon to reckon upon the good will, if not the active aſſiſtance, of the inhabitants, and alſo from the unuſual readineſs, which as it appeared to him, was demonſtrated by general Junot to enter into negociation, and by the French negotiator to accede to terms as they were propoſed, and to ſuch conſtruction as ſir Hew Dalrymple put upon them, in ſome inſtances where they might have borne a different interpretation, if leſs favourable conditions to the French army had been inſiſted upon, they would have been acceded to.

The earl of Moira conceived that a ſimple armiſtice might not have been objectionable, becauſe ſir Hew Dalrymple, expecting hourly the arrival of ſir John Moore's diviſion, might ſee more advantage to himſelf from a ſhort ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, than what the French could draw from it; but as the armiſtice involved, and in fact eſtabliſhed the whole principle of the convention, he could not ſeparate it from the latter. Sir Arthur Welleſley had ſtated that he conſidered his force at the commencement of the march from the Mondego river as ſufficient to drive the French from their poſitions on the Tagus. That force was ſubſequently joined by above four thouſand Britiſh troops under generals Anſtruther and Ackland. The French made an attack with their whole diſpoſable ſtrength, and were repulſed with heavy loſs, though but a part of the Britiſh army was brought into action. It was difficult to imagine that the proſpects which ſir Arthur Welleſley entertained could be unfavourably altered by theſe events, even had not the certainty of ſpeedy reinforcements to the Britiſh army exiſted. It was urged, that had the French been puſhed to the extremity, they would have croſſed the Tagus, and protracted the campaign in ſuch a manner, as to have fruſtrated the more important view of the Britiſh generals, namely, the ſending ſuccours into Spain. This meaſure muſt have been equally feaſible to the French, if no victory had been obtained over them; but the chance of ſuch an attempt ſeemed to his lordſhip to be aſſumed againſt probability. Sir Hew Dalrymple noticed what he called the critical and embarraſſed ſtate of Junot,

Junot, before that general had been preſſed by the Engliſh army, and in explanation of that expreſſion obſerved that the ſurrender of Dupont, the exiſtence of the victorious Spaniſh army in Andaluſia, which cut off the retreat of the French in that direction, and the univerſal hoſtility of the Portugueſe, made the ſituation of Junot one of great diſtreſs. No temptation therefore for tranſlating the war into the Alentejo preſented itſelf from this picture, nor did any other repreſentation give ground to ſuppoſe that Junot could have contemplated the meaſure as holding forth any proſpect, but ultimate ruin, after much preliminary diſtreſs and diſgrace. The ſtrongeſt of all proofs as to Junot's opinion aroſe, from his ſending, the very morning after the battle of Vimiera, to propoſe the evacuation of Portugal; a ſtep which ſufficiently indicated that he was ſatisfied he could, not only make no effectual defence, but could not even prolong the conteſt, to take the chance of accidents. He ſeemed indeed to be without any real reſource. It appeared in evidence that of the troops left by him in Liſbon and the forts, a conſiderable proportion was of very doubtful quality. Thoſe troops on whoſe fidelity he could rely had been diſmayed by a ſignal defeat; and they were ſenſible that they had no ſuccour to look to from abroad. To the Britiſh generals it was known, when the armiſtice was granted, that ten thouſand men under ſir John Moore, as well as the 3rd and 42nd regiments of foot, with the 18th dragoons, might be immediately reckoned upon; and although much advantage had not been drawn from the Portugueſe troops, their ſupport, and the general violence of the country againſt the French, could not be laid out of this calculation.

The diſparity of force and of circumſtances was then ſuch as could leave no doubt that the iſſue muſt be favourable to us. His lordſhip did not omit advertence to the difficulties urged as poſſible to occur in furniſhing the Britiſh army with bread; but putting aſide the obvious ſolution, that ſuch a temporary privation was not ruinous to an army, where cattle could be procured in the country, this difficulty could not well be pleaded, if admiſſion were to be given to the ſpeculation, that the heavy cannon neceſſary for battering forts Saint Julien, and Caſcaes, were to be gotten aſhore in the bays of the rock of Liſbon. The queſtion then came to this; whether the convention did (as had been aſſerted) ſecure all the objects which were propoſed by the expedition. If it did not, it was not what his majeſty was entitled to expect from the relative ſituation of the two armies. His lordſhip conceived it to have been erroneous to regard the emancipation of Portugal from the French, as the ſole or principal object of the expedition. Upon whatſoever territory we contended with the French, it muſt be a prominent object in the ſtruggle to deſtroy their reſources, and to narrow their means of injuring us, or thoſe whoſe cauſe we were ſupporting; this ſeemed to have been ſo little conſidered in the convention, that the terms appeared to have extricated Junot's army from a ſituation of infinite diſtreſs, in which

it was out of play, and to have brought it in a ſtate of entire equipment into immediate currency, in a quarter too, where it muſt interfere with our moſt urgent and intereſting concerns. Had it been impracticable to induce the French army to lay down its arms unconditionally, ſtill an obligation not to ſerve for a ſpecified time might have been inſiſted upon, or Belliſle might have been preſcribed as the place at which it ſhould be landed, in order to prevent the poſſibility of its reinforcing (at leaſt for a long time) the armies employed for the ſubjugation of Spain. Perhaps a ſtronger conſideration than the merit of thoſe terms preſented itſelf: opinion relative to the Britiſh arms was of the higheſt importance, as it might influence the conduct of the Spaniards, or invite the nations groaning under the yoke of France to appeal to England, and to cooperate with her, for their deliverance. The advantages ought therefore to have been more than uſually great, which ſhould be deemed ſufficient to balance the objection of granting to a very inferior army, hopeleſs in circumſtances, and broken in ſpirit, ſuch terms as might argue, that notwithſtanding its diſparity of numbers, it was ſtill formidable to its victors. No advantages ſeem to have been gained that would not have equally followed from forcing the enemy to a more marked ſubmiſſion. The gain of time, as to ſending ſuccours into Spain, could not be admitted as a plea, becauſe it appeared that no arrangement for the reception of our troops in Spain had been undertaken previouſly to the convention; and this was without reaſoning on ſubſequent facts.

After the original report, and that which was thus added to it, were laid before his majeſty, the following was the deciſion of the king on the ſubject tranſmitted to the commander in chief, on the 18th of January 1809. "While his majeſty adopts the unanimous opinion of the board, that no further military proceeding is neceſſary to be had upon the tranſactions referred to their inveſtigation, his majeſty does not intend, therefore, to convey any expreſſion of his ſatisfaction at the terms or conditions of the armiſtice or convention.—When thoſe inſtruments were laid before his majeſty, the king reſerving for inveſtigation thoſe parts of the definitive convention, in which his immediate intereſts were concerned, cauſed it to be ſignified to ſir Hew Dalrymple, by his majeſty's ſecretary of ſtate, that the king nevertheleſs felt himſelf compelled at once to expreſs his diſapprobation of thoſe articles, in which ſtipulations were made directly affecting the intereſts or feelings of of the Spaniſh or Portugueſe nations.—At the cloſe of the inquiry, the king (abſtaining from any obſervations upon other parts of the convention) repeats his diſapprobation of thoſe articles, his majeſty deeming it neceſſary that his ſentiments ſhould be clearly underſtood, as to the impropriety and danger of the unauthoriſed admiſſion, into military conventions, of articles of ſuch a deſcription, which, eſpecially when incautiouſly framed, may lead to the moſt injurious conſequences. His majeſty cannot forbear further to obſerve,

that

that lieutenant-general Dalrymple's delaying to tranſmit for his information, the armiſtice concluded on the 22d of Auguſt, until the 4th of September, when he, at the ſame time, tranſmitted the ratified convention, was calculated to produce great public inconvenience, and that ſuch public inconvenience did, in fact, reſult therefrom."

By the recal of ſir Hew Dalrymple and ſir Harry Burrard from Portugal, ſir John Moore was left commander in chief of the army. As ſoon as circumſtances permitted him, ſir John began to make preparations for marching into Spain; but as the campaign conducted by him was not concluded in the courſe of the year, the narrative of it does not fall within the limits of this volume of the Annual Regiſter.

CHAP. XIV.

Continuation of the affairs of Spain. Addreſs of the council of Madrid to the Spaniſh people: Their circular letter to the provincial juntas: Retroſpective memoir of their tranſactions. Declaration of the junta of Seville recommending the eſtabliſhment of a ſupreme council of government. A ſupreme junta elected and inſtalled at Aranjuez: its difference with general Cueſta, which is arranged. A military commiſſion inſtituted. Various important papers publiſhed by the new government. Reflection on the inactivity of the Spaniſh armies. State of Catalonia. The count de Caldagues defeats the French, who under Duheſme were inveſting Gerona, and raiſes the ſiege of that city. Duheſme is obliged to confine himſelf to the defence of Barcelona. The Patriots eſtabliſh a junta at Bilboa: The place taken by the French; and again captured by the Spaniards commanded by the marquis de Portazgo, who is afterwards forced to evacuate the town, and abandon it to the enemy: it once more falls into the hands of the Spaniards. Movement of general Blake. Poſition of the Spaniſh armies. Tranſactions in France. The ſtate of Spain concealed from the French by the cabinet of the Thuilleries. A garbled account of the events in the Peninſula publiſhed in the Moniteur. Reports on Spaniſh affairs laid before the French ſenate. Buonapartè's meſſage to the ſenate. Report of the miniſter of war to the French ruler. Buonapartè's addreſs to his ſoldiers. Meeting between the ruler of France and the emperor of Ruſſia at Erfurth. A propoſal made by Alexander and Buonapartè to his Britannic Majeſty for negotiating a general peace: diplomatic correſpondence on the ſubject: Rupture of the intercourſe. Return of Buonapartè to Paris. He opens the ſeſſion of the of the legiſlative body. He ſets out for Spain. Poſition of the French and Spaniſh armies. Operations of general Blake. Defeat and diſperſion of his army. The Spaniards under count Belveder routed at Burgos. The French defeat the army commanded by Caſtanos at Tudela. Proceedings of the ſupreme junta: they create a ſpecial tribunal to try conſpirators: their want of exertion in the exiſting criſis of affairs: They delude the people of Madrid by falſe ſtatements. The French force the Paſs of Somoſierra. The junta quit the capital, leaving a military commiſſion to govern the city.

Enthuſiaſtic deſire of the people to defend the metropolis: Buonapartè arrives on the heights near Madrid. A negotiation entered into for ſurrendering the city. Capitulation of Madrid. The French occupy the city. Buonapartè iſſues a proclamation to the Spaniards, and a number of imperial decrees.

WHEN the French evacuated Madrid, the council of Caſtile reſumed the government; but as they were perfectly aware that the nation might have loſt all confidence in their patriotiſm, they endeavoured by ſeveral addreſſes which they publiſhed, to extenuate their conduct in ſubmitting to the uſurper, and regain the good opinion of their countrymen. Their firſt proclamation was to the inhabitants of the capital, from whom they appear to have dreaded an inſurrection. "Are you capable," ſaid they, "of availing yourſelves of your country's misfortunes in the critical ſtate in which it is now placed, to diſturb its tranquillity and add to the calamities of its ſituation? Continue, faithful Spaniards, to be calm, that the worthy chief and the magiſtrates who preſide over you, may meet all the dangers which can occur, and fulfil with exactneſs their obligations. The malevolent only cover their depredations, their conflagrations, their homicides, on ſuch mournful occaſions, with the pretext of juſtice, without reflecting that it is not lawful for any one to be, on his own authority, the adminiſtrator of juſtice. The ſupreme tribunal aſſures you, that if there have been amongſt us any traitors to their ſovereign and their country, it will avenge their crimes, and if they merit it, caſt them away as unworthy of the name of Spaniards. Judge no one, for that renders you liable to ſacrifice many innocent perſons." The council then dwelt in a ſtrain of eulogy on the valour of the Spaniſh armies, and the victories obtained by them, which they aſcribed to the protection of God and the holy Virgin. "Let us," continued they, "caſt off our lethargy, and purify our manners, which were almoſt arrived at the pitch of corruption. Let us acknowledge the calamities which the kingdom and this great capital have endured, as puniſhments neceſſary for our correction. The government and the faithful provinces will be filled with joy, when the council exhibits before you and all Europe, the conſtant firmneſs with which the men of honour, the moſt elevated nobility, the ſuperior tribunals, and the chiefs of the nation have ſuſtained your cauſe, and the rights of the throne. Not a few individuals amongſt them have been led by fraud and force far beyond the limits of Spain; and, though without liberty, and expoſed to the ſevereſt inſults, they have proved the inflexibility of their loyalty, and the religious purity of their opinions. Diſtruſt even their ſignatures which have been circulated amongſt you, and wait with patience for the teſtimonies of their conduct. The principal author of theſe calamities is free, and beyond our juriſdiction; but heaven will not permit him to remain unpuniſhed." The council then conjured the armies to haſten to Madrid for the protec-

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tion of the capital, which had no other defence than its ſituation in the heart of the kingdom, and the recent departure of the enemy.

The council of Caſtile had certainly been moſt expoſed to the controul of the enemy, and the coercion which had been exerciſed over them, might have been ſome excuſe for their ſubmiſſion to the uſurper; but that they could venture to talk of the firmneſs with which they had ſuſtained the cauſe of Spain, will naturally excite the aſtoniſhment of poſterity. The grave and ſolemn audacity of ſuch an aſſertion is abſolutely ludicrous. The humility of the exordium in their circular letter to the different juntas was much more becoming men in their ſituation. "Madrid," ſaid they, "which has groaned during more than four months under the heavy and irreſiſtible yoke of the French army, begins to breathe again, through an eſpecial interference of divine Providence; and the council which could not fail to be involved in a great degree in the conſequences of this ſubjection, avails itſelf of the firſt moments of its liberty to ſtate its ſentiments." After taking credit to themſelves for their *conſtancy* in refuſing "to recognize the king whom the moſt monſtrous perfidy had deſignated for the nation, *further, perhaps, than circumſtances juſtified*," and proteſting that they were happy to avow "that firm reſolution which they had always maintained to ſupport the lawful ſovereign and his rights," they confined themſelves to the indication of a meaſure in which, they ſaid, they would concur with the greateſt ſatisfaction. They propoſed that the provincial juntas ſhould ſend deputies named by them to Madrid, to concert the fit means of fixing the repreſentation of the country, and to make ſuch arrangements from a common centre, as the welfare of the ſtate might require.

This letter was in ſubſtance modeſt and conciliatory. The council foreſaw that the provinces which had repulſed or conquered the enemy, would diſdain to be dictated to, by a public body which had been compelled to yield to him; and they wiſely forebore to allude to their former prerogatives, which might be diſputed. The council next publiſhed a memoir of their tranſactions ſince the preceding October. Aug. 22. They ſtated the objections which they had felt to the reception of the French troops, particularly in ſuperior numbers to thoſe of the nation; but that they had been obliged to ſtifle their inquietude, becauſe it was not within the conſtitutional powers of the council to have controul over affairs of this nature. When the royal family were about to emigrate, they had endeavoured to facilitate the eſcape of prince Ferdinand, for which it had been ſtated that ſome ſecret meaſures had been already taken. They recited the difficulty with which they had been forced to deliver up the prince de la Paz to Murat. In alluſion to the events on the 2d of May, they ſaid they had ſent a deputation to Murat, in order to ſecure the lives of the Spaniſh priſoners; for it appeared that he had uttered a military order, in which he had reſolved upon putting to death indiſcriminately, and without trial, the greater part of the priſoners who were

were not ſoldiers. By the exertions of that deputation the order was repealed; "but notwithſtanding on the 4th and 5th of the ſame month ſome *few* were ſhot, *and even for ſome days following*—whether it aroſe from the remiſſneſs of the duke, in not ſeeing that the engagement into which he had entered was properly fulfilled, or from the ferocity of ſome ſubaltern officers, in not obeying his orders." When the machinations of the French were evidently perceived, the council began to enter more deeply into the conſideration of public affairs: they accordingly came to the reſolution that all the provinces of Spain ſhould be reſpectively enjoined to arm a body of men in proportion to their population; and the number of the whole, according to the eſtimate of the council, might have amounted to three hundred thouſand men. After much conſultation, however, with the infant Don Antonio, and ſome communication with perſons who had confidential inſtructions from Ferdinand VII. and Don Pedro Cevallos, this reſolution was abandoned, as tending to endanger the king's perſon and prematurely to put to hazard the ſafety and independence of the kingdom. Don Antonio, nevertheleſs, engaged to tranſmit inſtructions privately to the captains-general of the provinces to take every meaſure conſiſtent with prudence to increaſe their military force. Beſides previouſly ſanctioning the proceedings of the captain-general of Catalonia to obtain the funds for procuring arms, under the pretext that the money was wanted to relieve the indigent poor in Barcelona, the council on the 14th of May regiſtered and diſpatched a decree, communicated to them only the day before, permitting the uſe of arms to the Catalonians. The council always turned a deaf ear to the repeated ſolicitations of the French emperor, which in conſequence of the renounced rights of their beloved prince Ferdinand, and of his royal father, to the throne, called upon them to acknowledge Joſeph Napoléon as their king; but they admitted, that on the ſuppoſition that the treaties of abdication and ceſſion were valid, and, that the throne of Spain was to devolve to one of the imperial family, they had intimated to Buonaparte, it was their opinion that Joſeph appeared to be fitteſt perſon for ſuch a dignity. With reſpect to the decree and proclamation for convoking the aſſembly at Bayonne, they ſuſpended the publication of them, obſerving to Murat that their body never had taken, nor could, according to the laws, take upon itſelf the national repreſentation, and that they were conſequently excluded from the election of their ſovereigns: that whatever innovation occurred in the ſucceſſion to the throne, it was entirely the concern of the nation: and that when a ſucceſſion took place without the proper forms, it was to be deemed, according to the actual conſtitution of the monarchy, null and void. This ſpirited anſwer drew down much indignation on the council: they were threatened that a proceſs for ſedition ſhould be iſſued againſt them. At length influenced by the reaſons of the preſident of the aſſembly at Bayonne, and by the requeſt of Joſeph Napoleon, they directed the documents to be printed. On the 7th of July the council received

ceived a decree from Joſeph Napoléon with a copy of the new conſtitution, and a liſt of the cabinet members, with orders to forward the ſame to the fiſcals. Theſe orders were repeated up to the 27th of July, and its members had perhaps greater difficulties to ſtruggle with than the nation was aware of. They were menaced with the loſs of their authority; but they determined rather to yield it up altogether, than retain it when polluted. Perſecution, death, and baniſhment became familiar to their ears: but the conſciouſneſs of their integrity ſupported them through all their trials. Such was the ſtate of affairs, when on the 29th of the ſame month, they had the unexpected happineſs of witneſſing the departure of the French. Joſeph Napoléon and his army left Madrid, without either the council or the corporation of the Alcades, having taken the oaths to him, being introduced, or on any occaſion having paid him thoſe honours which they had ever been in the habit of performing, as marks of reſpect to foreign princes.

This was a poor defence. The members of the council might poſſibly have done all they could for what they conceived to be the ſervice of their country without hazarding their perſonal ſecurity; but claim to conſtancy or courage they had none. As to the boaſt that they had never ſworn allegiance to the uſurper, it was idle; for if the Andaluſians and Valencians had not acted with the ſpirit which diſtinguiſhed them, the council might as well have been "influenced by the reaſons of the preſident of the aſſembly at Bayonne, and the requeſt of Joſeph Napoléon" to take thoſe oaths, as to publiſh the decree for convoking the aſſembly. But the Spaniards generouſly forbore to treat the council harſhly; receiving this juſtification with indifference bordering on contempt, they turned their eyes to the junta of Seville, which by its wiſdom and energy deſerved their eſteem. That body iſſued a declaration on the 3d of Auguſt which had great weight with the people. They recited the important advantages which had reſulted from the eſtabliſhment of the provincial juntas; and juſtly obſerved that the only things which were likely to impair thoſe benefits, were diſcord and a want of union amongſt the provinces. Profeſſing to be always ready to hear the opinions of their neighbours, and to amend their own errors when they were pointed out, the junta deprecated all diſcuſſions on the laws of ſucceſſion, which could only be neceſſary on the atteſted deceaſe of Ferdinand and his brothers; and recommended the general attention of the country to the principles "of hereditary ſucceſſion according to the fundamental laws of the monarchy, the preſervation of the nation's rights, and the unity of religion." On the queſtion of the neceſſity for a ſupreme government, they avowed that their ſentiments had always been in favour of ſuch an eſtabliſhment; and without it, that the country would be in danger, and its enemies find means of completing its ruin. The confidence of the nation, they ſaid, and conſequently the public funds, as well as the capitals of individuals, muſt neceſſarily have a civil government for their ſupport, which was alſo requiſite for the maintenance and ſubordination of the

the army. But how, and by whom, was this ſupreme government to be conſtituted, without endangering the unanimity of the country? It had been aſſerted that the cortes ſhould aſſemble; that they ſhould elect repreſentatives; and farther that the council of Caſtile ſhould convoke them, and the whole of the proceeding be executed under its authority. The council of Caſtile, though a lawful aſſembly never convoked the cortes. Why then ſhould an authority be given it which it never poſſeſſed? Did its recent conduct entitle it to ſuch a diſtinction? Had it not afforded every facility to the enemy to uſurp the crown of Spain? What confidence could the Spaniſh nation place in a government enacted by an authority invalid and illegal, and which had alſo rendered itſelf ſuſpected by the previous commiſſion of acts of ſo horrible a deſcription, that they might juſtly be ranked with the moſt atrocious crimes againſt the country? To convoke the cortes was the peculiar and excluſive prerogative of the king, and the nation would not be ſatisfied if they were called together by any other authority. The country found itſelf ſuddenly without a king and without a government—a ſituation indeed unknown in its hiſtory and to its laws. The people legally reſumed the power of appointing a government; and this truth had been openly avowed by various provincial juntas. The legitimate power was therefore in thoſe juntas, and in virtue of that power, they had governed and did govern with real authority. It was therefore inconteſtable that they had the ſole right of electing thoſe who were to compoſe the ſupreme government, and as they were the depoſitaries of the public confidence, they ought to elect individuals of their own aſſemblies. It ſeemed then to be indiſpenſably neceſſary, that all the provincial juntas ſhould meet on the ſame day, and elect from among their own members two deputies to form the government; that, as all the individuals of the royal family were abſent, this body when ſo elected ſhould chuſe a preſident: and that the provincial juntas ſhould ſtill be continued to regulate the internal affairs of the provinces ſubordinately to the government. The junta then pointed out the place moſt proper for the ſeat of power, which they conceived ought to be remote from the dangers of the war, and they mentioned ſome large city in La Mancha as highly convenient for it; but at the ſame time, expreſſed that they were by no means anxious for the adoption of their ſentiments on this ſubject, as they wiſhed to be guided by the choice of the country. They concluded this ſenſible appeal to the nation, by diſclaiming all idea of pre-eminence over the other provinces, ably vindicating themſelves from all charges of aſſuming ſuch a ſuperiority, and recounting the circumſtances, which, ariſing from their peculiar ſituation, had enabled them to ſtand forward in defence of the ſtate.

Theſe propoſitions were unanimouſly approved by the Spaniards; but it was agreed by them that the ſeat of government ſhould be in Caſtile. The ſupreme junta was conſequently elected, and was inſtalled on the 25th of September at Aranjuez. After maſs had been celebrated by the archbiſhop of Laodicea,

Laodicea, co-adjutor of the archbiſhop of Seville and deputy of that kingdom, the members took an oath to defend the Catholic and Apoſtolic religion; to be loyal to Ferdinand VII. and to ſupport his rights and ſovereignty; to maintain the rights, privileges, laws, and uſages of the people; and to promote every thing conducive to the general welfare and happineſs of the kingdom and the melioration of its cuſtoms, keeping ſecret all confidential buſineſs, protecting the laws from every evil, and proſecuting the enemies of them, at the hazard of life, ſafety, and proſperity. Te Deum was then ſung by the community of barefooted monks of St. Paſqual; after which the aſſembly proceeded to the hall which was deſtined for their deliberations, and choſe the venerable count Florida Blanca preſident *ad interim*. Thence they removed to the great gallery in the principal front of the palace, where the preſident again proclaimed Ferdinand VII. amidſt the moſt lively acclamations of the people. Immediately after their inſtallation, the ſupreme junta communicated that proceeding to the public bodies in the metropolis, and the provincial juntas, who all profeſſed an entire obedience to it, except the council of Caſtile, which took ſome time to deliberate on the ſubject; after four days conſideration, the duke of Infantado, in the name of the council, informed count Florida Blanca, that it had deemed it expedient to proceed with caution; but had reſolved to take the preſcribed oaths, and to diſpatch decrees and circulars, in order that the junta might be reſpected and obeyed in every thing which it commanded for the ſervice of his majeſty. Count Florida Blanca replied to this letter on the 1ſt of October, ſtating that the ſupreme junta directed him to ſignify the anxiety and even impatience with which it had deſired to know the determination of the firſt tribunal in the kingdom, having ſome days before received from the councils of ſtate, war, of the inquiſition, the Indies, and all the other councils of the capital, aſſurances not only of their prompt obedience to, and execution of the decrees of the junta, but alſo of the joy with which they received and executed them. The wiſhes of the junta were now moſt ſatisfactorily fulfilled by finding the ſpirit of union which animated the council for the public good. The next buſineſs to which the junta turned its attention was a matter of conſiderable importance in the exiſting poſition of affairs. Cueſta had been nominated captain-general of Caſtile and Leon by Ferdinand VII., and when the junta of Leon was formed, Caſtile was principally in the power of the French, ſo that no ſteps were taken to form an aſſembly for the latter country; but Cueſta had afterwards added a deputy from the different intendencies of Caſtile to the junta of Leon. That aſſembly, after Cueſta was defeated by the French at Rio Seco, appears to have been deſirous of coaleſcing with the junta of Galicia, in order that the three provinces might be rendered dependent on their united authority, and that the command of the captain-general might be ſuperſeded in Leon and Caſtile. As ſoon as Cueſta was officially appriſed of this reſolution, he determined to aboliſh the junta of Caſtile

Caſtile and Leon; and as it had nominated its preſident Valdes, and Quintarella another of its members, deputies to the central junta, he actually arreſted them on their way to Aranjuez. The ſupreme government interpoſed to accommodate this unfortunate difference. Cueſta endeavoured to juſtify his arbitrary conduct, by alleging the full powers which he had received from Ferdinand, in conſequence of his appointment; and, although he profeſſed to be willing to ſubmit the diſpute to the government, he had even the preſumption or folly to offer to ſend to Aranjuez deputies named by himſelf. The central junta repreſſed this raſh arrogance; and the reſult was that the perſons elected by the junta of Caſtile and Leon were received as the legitimate repreſentatives of thoſe provinces.

In order to facilitate the operations of the armies, and leave the new government at leiſure to attend to other duties, a military commiſſion was eſtabliſhed compoſed of five generals. The junta then

Oct. 13. publiſhed an abſtract of the affairs which would occupy their conſideration, and of the baſes upon which they intended to proceed. They ſolemnly acknowledged the national debt, of which they promiſed to take an exact account. They undertook to manage all the branches of finance with complete economy, to remove all the abuſes introduced into them, ſucceſſively to ſuppreſs the innumerable uſeleſs offices which had been created, to ſimplify as far as poſſible the ſyſtem of the revenue, and to place it under the direction of men diſtinguiſhed for zeal, activity, and patriotiſm. The general impoſts, they ſaid, would be diminiſhed by applying to the national ſervice that part of the revenue which was conſumed in the enormous expenſes of the royal houſehold, and the perſonal extravagance of the favourite; and by the ſale of the property of all thoſe who had leagued themſelves with the common enemy, and thoſe whoſe prior conduct had juſtly ſubjected their eſtates to confiſcation. They declared that, as a proof of the purity of their ſentiments, they would annually publiſh a printed ſtatement, containing the ſum total of the funds accruing from the taxes, donations, and contributions of Spain and the Indies; and that they would encourage agriculture, the arts, commerce and navigation. Another proclamation was iſſued by the junta on the 26th of the ſame month, in which they took a long review of the circumſtances of the kingdom, and pointed out what remained to be achieved for its welfare. After ſtating the ſucceſſes which had attended the firſt efforts of patriotiſm againſt the enemy, they obſerved, "that their armies were full of ardour and eager to march to victory, but naked, and unprovided with every thing; the remains of the French troops were awaiting reinforcements on the banks of the Ebro, ravaging Upper Caſtile, the Rioja, and the provinces of Biſcay, occupying Pamplona and Barcelona with their fortreſſes, and ruling over almoſt the whole of Navarre and Catalonia; the deſpot of France, reſtleſs on his throne, was deceiving the ſlaves who obeyed him by the groſſeſt impoſtures, and ſtriving to lull into inactivity all other ſtates, in order to diſcharge on the Spaniards alone the whole weight

weight of his military ſtrength; the powers of the continent were oppreſſed or inſulted by France, expecting with anxiety the iſſue of the firſt ſtruggle, deſiring to declare againſt the common enemy of all, but proceeding with the timid circumſpection dictated by their paſt misfortunes. It was evident that the ſole aſylum that remained for the preſervation of the liberty of Europe was a general confederacy; but this league could not be formed till the oppreſſed parties were encouraged and aſſured by the exertions of Spain. Europe then ſecure of triumphing would unite with her. It was therefore expedient that the nation ſhould employ all the means which ſhe poſſeſſed, as if ſhe had to ſuſtain the whole force of France. For this purpoſe the junta believed that it would be neceſſary to maintain under arms 550,000 men, 50,000 of whom ought to be cavalry. An enormous maſs of force, and the junta had directed its attention to the vaſt means neceſſary to maintain it. The neglect of the laſt government (if that might be called a government which was one continued and monſtrous dilapidation) had exhauſted all the reſources of proſperity, had obſtructed the canals which brought life and food to the members of the ſtate, diſſipated the treaſures, diſorganiſed the public force, and conſumed the reſources."

The junta then recapitulated the methods by which as they had previouſly explained, large ſums would be rendered diſpoſable; and thus continued—"we may add to theſe the profit which will accrue to the ſtate from a free navigation and commerce, and from the trade with America. Principally we rely on a well arranged management of the public revenue, the regularly diſtributed contributions, and the effects of reform; and we may add to theſe means, the ſuccours which have been ſo opportunely given with a generous hand by England; but the junta will, in caſe the manifold events and the force of circumſtances ſhould exhauſt the treaſury, have recourſe at once to the nation with the confidence which its ardent patriotiſm ought to inſpire, and the notorious neceſſity for the ſacrifice. For evils ſo extraordinary as the preſent, remedies as extraordinary muſt be applied; and as the government judges it to be one of its duties to give an exact account of the application of the funds which it is about to adminiſter, it has no fear that the demands will be diſregarded through diſtruſt, or be objected to as arbitrary." The junta concluded their addreſs with a proper and ſevere reflection on the miniſterial conduct of the prince de la Paz, by which perhaps they alſo intended indirectly to expreſs their opinion on the evils inſeparable from an arbitrary monarchy. "The dominion of a will, always capricious, and moſtly unjuſt, has, for your calamity, laſted long enough in Spain. Your patience, your love of order, and your generous loyalty, have been long enough abuſed: it is time that the voice of the law only ſhould begin to command, founded on general utility. This was the deſire of our good and unfortunate monarch; this was the path he pointed out, even during the unjuſt captivity to which a perfidious traitor reduced him."

The junta has been greatly cenſured for ſuffering the Spaniſh armies

armies to remain inactive at this period, and not directing them to endeavour to complete the work which they had ſo happily begun, by driving the French beyond the Pyrenees; but notwithſtanding it encouraged the people with the higheſt hopes, it was too wiſe to undertake an enterpriſe the reſult of which appeared extremely doubtful. The numerical ſtrength of all the Spaniſh forces did not amount to more than between ſixty and ſeventy thouſand men, although it was ſtated to be one hundred and thirty upon paper; and as the ſupreme government had avowed, the troops were deſtitute of clothing and every other requiſite. The French on the left bank of the Ebro could not be leſs than fifty thouſand men, all diſpoſable and effective, beſides fifteen thouſand in the different fortreſſes. They had alſo poſſeſſion of many ſtrong places, and their officers were able and experienced. The junta was perfectly aware that the victories which had been obtained, were over detached corps much inferior in number to the triumphant armies, and that the Spaniards, though fluſhed with conqueſt, could not, however gallant and enthuſiaſtic in the cauſe of their country, be expected to engage veterans under diſadvantageous circumſtances with ſucceſs.

The Catalonians had not been able to take any meaſures for their liberation ſo ſoon as the other provinces, owing to the preſence of a large body of French under Duheſme in their country; but rouſed by the example of Aragon, Valencia, and Andaluſia, ſeveral towns reſolved to elect municipal juntas for the defence of their immediate diſtricts, as Barcelona, the capital of the province, was in the poſſeſſion of the enemy. Duheſme had now beſieged Gerona, one of theſe towns, for above ſix weeks with ſeven thouſand infantry and a train of eight pieces of artillery. A ſeries of the moſt furious attacks had been made on the place which were bravely repulſed. The enemy when driven from one point, inſtantly repaired to another; and revenged himſelf for the reſiſtance which he experienced from the city, by the deſolation that he ſpread in the ſurrounding villages and country, which he ravaged with his cavalry. The count de Caldagues having received orders to raiſe the ſiege, proceeded to Caſtella, where he collected about ſix thouſand men, three hundred of whom only were veterans, and immediately marched againſt the French. His arrival was moſt opportune, for the caſtle of Monjui was reduced to ſuch extremity, that it was not expected to hold out for more than twelve hours. Having reconnoitred the poſition and camp of Duheſme, he ordered the Spaniards to attack them. The Spaniards aſſailed the enemy with great fierceneſs. After an obſtinate conflict, they totally defeated him, and drove him acroſs the river Ter, to the plains of Sarria, where he muſt have been entirely deſtroyed, if the patriots had not been deficient in cavalry. This engagement commenced at ſeven in the morning, and laſted till late in the evening. The French employed the night in their retreat; one of their diviſions took the road to Barcelona, and the other to Figueras, leaving behind

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behind them many howitzers, mortars, muſkets, and a large quantity of ammunition and corn.

A French force having approached Roſas on the 23rd of July, with the intention of attacking the town, captain Otway of the Montague landed a party of marines in the bay, to aſſiſt the Spaniſh peaſantry in oppoſing the enemy, who held it prudent to retire. The French were ſo much weakened by their defeat before Gerona, that Duheſme was obliged to content himſelf with the defence of Barcelona and its immediate neighbourhood, and even this was an arduous and difficult taſk, for the Spaniards intercepted his ſupplies by land, and the Engliſh cruiſers by ſea, through the indefatigable exertions of lord Cochrane. The inhabitants of Biſcay had been much overawed by the force of the enemy, and their proximity to France, and had not been able to partake in the general ſtruggle for freedom till the month of Auguſt, when they created a junta at Bilboa. This aſſembly maintained its power but for a ſhort time, as the French ſent againſt the place a large detachment, conſiſting of cavalry and infantry, which routed the patriots who marched out to oppoſe them. After the French had entered the city, they eſtabliſhed a junta of perſons in the intereſt of Buonaparte, who by his agent Maſſaredo, the preſident of the junta, promiſed to forgive the errors of all thoſe whom he ſtyled inſurgents, except their leaders. Bilboa was retaken on the 20th of September by the marquis of Portazgo, who would alſo have captured the French garriſon, had not his advanced guard, through eagerneſs, opened its fire too ſoon, by which the enemy was alarmed, and found means to eſcape. The importance of this place induced marſhal Ney, who took the command of the French at the latter end of September, to attempt to recover it. After making demonſtrations againſt the city, the French marſhal wiſhed to deceive Portazgo by drawing off his army towards Vitoria, and then by a rapid movement to proceed againſt the patriots; but Portazgo rendered this ſtratagem abortive by collecting his forces and retreating to Balmaſeda, and conſequently ſaved his corps from being overwhelmed by ſuperior numbers. Bilboa was thus again in the power of the enemy from the 27th of September to the 11th of October, when it was evacuated by general Merlin, who did not think himſelf ſtrong enough to reſiſt the force which Blake had detached againſt it; and the city was re-entered by the Spaniards the next day. Blake now puſhed a corps beyond Bilboa, with the hope of outflanking the right of the French and cutting off their communications, while the reſt of his army was ſtationed on different points between that city and Burgos. The central army of the Spaniards under Caſtanos occupied a poſition behind the Ebro; and the eaſtern army, conſiſting of the troops of Valencia and Aragon commanded by Pelafox, ſtretched from Zaragoza towards the Pyrenees.

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The ſtate of Spain was ſtudiouſly concealed from the people of France by the cabinet of the Thuilleries. The French newſpapers, indeed, ſometimes mentioned that diſturbances had taken place in the peninſula;

inſula; but they were deſcribed as occurrences of no moment, in which the vulgar only participated, who had been led aſtray by factious motives, or the intriguing agents of England. The nobility, the public bodies, and perſons of a ſuperior deſcription, were repreſented as deſirous of maintaining order, and of attaching themſelves to the new ſovereign. Leſt the truth ſhould ſuddenly burſt on the French without any preparation for receiving intelligence ſo humiliating to the arms of the deſpot, a long narrative was publiſhed on the 6th of September, containing a diſtorted account of the events in Spain. This paper attributed the inſurrection as it was called, to the artifices of the monks and the Engliſh faction. After touching upon the leading political circumſtances, but in a manner the moſt deſultory and unconnected, and from which no real information could be derived, it proceeded to the military movements; theſe were detailed with a ſimilar obſcurity, a crowd of unimportant ſkirmiſhes and petty actions being thruſt forward to as much notice as the principal engagements. The conduct of general Dupont was treated with the greateſt ſeverity: it was affirmed to be totally inconſiſtent with the principles of the military art. The retreat of marſhal Moncey from Valencia was aſcribed to his deſire of marching againſt a body of inſurgents who appeared determined to keep the field in another part of the province; and when he had ſubdued this corps, it was obſerved, that he was again advancing to the city, but the ſituation of Andaluſia ordered it otherwiſe. As to the tranſactions in Zaragoza, they were brought down only to the period when the French occupied half the city; no notice was of courſe taken of their abandonment of the ſiege. In every other reſpect the narrative was equally garbled. The misfortunes of the Spaniards at Medina del Rio Seco, were diſcuſſed with the moſt careful exaggeration; and in defiance of truth, the army there diſcomfited was ſaid to be annihilated. It was, however, admitted that the unexpected intelligence of the diſaſters in Andaluſia, were important, from the encouragement which they gave the inſurgents, and that, as the exceſſive heat of the ſeaſon checked all operations which circumſtances might demand, Joſeph Buonapartè had aſſembled his troops to place them in a cooler climate than that of New Caſtile, and in a ſituation which preſented a milder atmoſphere and better water. He had, therefore, quitted Madrid, and was on the 22d of Auguſt at Burgos.

At this time a report from the miniſter of foreign affairs to Buonapartè was laid before the French ſenate. This document was dated the 24th of April from Bayonne, and was intended to explain the reaſons which had induced the French ruler to place his brother on the throne of Spain. It contended that Spain could not be the ſincere friend of France, nor the war againſt England be continued with the hope of arriving at peace, until a common intereſt ſhould unite the ſovereigns of both countries; an advantage which could not be expected to ariſe while Spain was ſubject to a houſe, which, from its fears, affections, and recollections, muſt neceſſarily be hoſtile to the French

French emperor; but if ruled by a prince, the friend of France by ſentiment and intereſt, all her reſources would be devoted to the cauſe which allied her to the continent. "What policy ſuggeſts," continued M. Champagni, "juſtice authoriſes. Spain is really in a ſtate of war with your majeſty; her proclamation previouſly to the battle of Jena was equal to a declaration of war, and would have been followed by hoſtilities, had you not ſubdued the Pruſſians. The French merchants have loſt their ancient privileges in that country; and the rules of the Spaniſh cuſtom-houſe have been directed againſt French commerce. All redreſs has been refuſed. The ports of the bay of Biſcay have been open to the Engliſh ſhips; and the law of blockade proclaimed in Spain ſimilar to that of France, was only rendered the means of favouring ſtill more the contraband trade of England, the merchandiſe of which was ſpread through the peninſula into the reſt of Europe." The miniſter then argued that as his maſter had become the umpire between the old monarch and his ſon, he could not refrain from interfering in the affairs of the kingdom. "What part will you take?" ſaid he, "Will you ſacrifice the cauſe of ſovereigns, and ſanction an outrage committed againſt the majeſty of the throne? Will you leave on the throne a prince who cannot withdraw himſelf from the yoke of England, in conſequence of which your majeſty muſt conſtantly keep a powerful army in Spain? If on the contrary, your majeſty determines to place Charles IV. on the throne, it is certain that it cannot be done without overcoming a great reſiſtance, and ſhedding French blood. Can that blood of which the nation is prodigal for the defence of its own intereſts, be ſhed for a foreign king, whoſe fate is of no conſequence to France? Laſtly, can your majeſty take no intereſt in thoſe important differences, abandon the Spaniſh nation to its fate, while it is already agitated by an extreme fermentation; and when England is ſowing the ſeeds of trouble and anarchy, ought your majeſty to leave this new prey for England to devour? Certainly not. Your majeſty, therefore, occupied of neceſſity with the regeneration of Spain, in a manner uſeful to that kingdom and to France, ought neither to re-eſtabliſh, at the price of much bloodſhed, a dethroned king, nor abandon Spain to herſelf; for in both caſes it would be delivering her to the Engliſh, whoſe money and intrigues have produced the diſſentions in that country."

A ſecond report, dated the 1ſt of September, followed the former, propoſing to Buonapartè that he ſhould communicate to the ſenate the two treaties which had placed the crown of Spain in his hands. It aſcribed the proceedings of the nation in hoſtility to theſe arrangements, to the intrigues of England: "Will your majeſty," it was obſerved, "permit England to ſay 'Spain is one of my provinces: my flag driven from the Baltic, the North Sea, the Levant, and even the ſhores of Perſia, rules in the ports of France?' No, never! To prevent ſo much ſhame and misfortune, two millions of brave men are ready to ſcale the Pyrenees, and the Engliſh will be

chaſed

chaſed from the Peninſula. If the French fight for the liberty of the ſeas, they muſt, to conquer, begin by wreſting Spain from the influence of the tyrants of the ocean." It was repreſented as no ſmall advantage, that there was a probability of at length meeting the Engliſh, and fighting them man to man, of making them alſo feel the evils of war—of the dangers of which they were ignorant. They would it was ſaid, be beaten, deſtroyed, or at leaſt, they would make haſte to fly, as they did at Toulon, at Dunkirk, the Helder, and every where when found by the French; but their expulſion from Spain would be the ruin of their cauſe. The report then exhibited ſome jealouſy at the increaſing armaments of Auſtria, which augmentation of her forces, it was remarked, would ſuggeſt to the French ruler the propriety of adding to the numbers of his troops, in order to preſerve the relative ſuperiority that exiſted between the power and population of the two empires.

Sept. 4. A meſſage from Buonaparte was alſo ſent to the ſenate, informing them that he was determined to carry on the war againſt Spain with the utmoſt activity, and deſtroy the armies which England had diſembarked in that country. His alliance with the emperor of Ruſſia, he obſerved, extinguiſhed every hope which England could entertain from her projects. He had no doubt reſpecting the peace of the continent; but he neither would nor ought to rely on the falſe calculations and the errors of other courts, and ſince his neighbours increaſed their armies, it was a duty incumbent on him to augment his own.

To this meſſage ſucceeded a report from the miniſter at war, ſetting forth that notwithſtanding the different events which had taken place in Spain, had occaſioned a pretty conſiderable loſs, in conſequence of an operation, as inconceivable as it was painful, of the diviſion under general Dupont, his maſter had notified his reſolution of aſſembling more than two hundred thouſand men beyond the Pyrenees, without weakening either the armies in Germany or that in Dalmatia. For this end a levy of eighty thouſand men appeared to be neceſſary, who could only be taken from the four claſſes of the conſcription of the years 1806, 7, 8, and 9. This meaſure was therefore to be retroſpective, for theſe years had already furniſhed their quota; but ſtill the miniſter aſſerted, that the levy of eighty thouſand men would only call out one conſcript out of ſeven who were liable to the law during the four years; it was however declared that no future demand ſhould be made on an antecedent conſcription. The miniſter next propoſed to call out eighty thouſand men of the conſcription of 1810, to furniſh the means, as occaſion might require, of forming camps of reſerve, and protecting the coaſt in the ſpring time. Alluſion was again made to the warlike attitude of Auſtria. "The armies of Auſtria," ſaid the miniſter, "have been conſiderably increaſed. France although ſhe has armies more numerous than all the other powers, has notwithſtanding fewer men under arms than any of them, compared

pared with her population. Your minister for foreign affairs assures me, that a strict alliance subsists between your majesty and the emperor of Russia. The armaments of Austria have often excited my solicitude. The same minister assured me that the best understanding was kept up with Austria, and that her levies should only be considered either as precautions, or as the effect of apprehensions, which are forcibly impressed on every court by the numerous agents which England continues in pay on the continent. But it does not belong to the business of my department to dive into the views of states, and explore the labyrinth of politics, though it is my duty to neglect nothing to make your majesty's armies maintain, at all points, that just superiority which they ought to possess. The levy which I have proposed will give to the armies of Spain two hundred thousand men; and notwithstanding the augmentation of our force beyond the Pyrenees, your majesty will have increased your armies of Germany, of the North, and of Italy, by more than eighty thousand men."

These measures were of course sanctioned by the senate, and on the 18th of September Buonapartè took the opportunity of the periodical parade at the Carousel, of addressing the troops in the following terms. "Soldiers, after having triumphed on the banks of the Danube and the Vistula, you have passed through Germany by forced marches. I shall now order you to march through France without allowing you a moment's rest. Soldiers, I have occasion for you! The hideous presence of the leopard contaminates the continent of Spain and Portugal. Let your aspect terrify him and drive him from thence. Let us carry our conquering eagles even to the pillars of Hercules: there also we have an injury to revenge. Soldiers, you have exceeded the fame of all modern warriors. You have placed yourselves upon a level with the Roman legions, who in one campaign were conquerors on the Rhine, on the Euphrates, in Illyria, and on the Tagus. A durable peace and permanent prosperity shall be the fruits of your exertions. A true Frenchman can never enjoy any rest till the sea is open and free. Soldiers, all that you have already achieved, and that which remains to be done, will be for the happiness of the French people, and for my glory, and shall be for ever imprinted on my heart."

Soon afterwards the French ruler set off to meet the emperor of Russia at Erfurth. The purpose of the conferences held at this city was undoubtedly, amongst other affairs, to restrain the warlike intentions of Austria, by a demonstration of the perfect concord which subsisted between Buonapartè and the Czar; in order that the former might be thoroughly secure on the side of Germany, while he prosecuted the campaign in the Peninsula. Whatever might have been the designs of the Austrian cabinet, it is certain that satisfactory assurances of a pacific disposition were given by its envoy, general Vincent, to Buonapartè. That minister had several interviews with Alexander and the French ruler, and all differences between the court of Vienna and the cabinet of the Thuilleries were

compoſed for the preſent. It alſo appeared that one of the ſubjects diſcuſſed at Erfurth was a propoſal for a general peace.

Oct. 12. The offer was made in a letter to his Britannic majeſty, ſigned by Alexander and Buonapartè. It ſtated that the circumſtances of Europe having brought them together, their firſt thoughts were to yield to the wiſhes and wants of every people, and to ſeek, in a ſpeedy pacification with his majeſty, the moſt efficacious remedy for the miſeries which oppreſſed all nations: that the long and bloody war which had torn the continent was at an end, without the poſſibility of being renewed: many changes had taken place in Europe, many cities had been overthrown; the cauſe of which events was to be found in the ſtate of agitation and miſery in which the ſtagnation of maritime commerce had placed the greateſt countries: ſtill greater changes might yet enſue, and all of them contrary to the policy of England: peace then was at once the intereſt of the continent and of Great Britain. We unite, continued the letter, in entreating your majeſty to liſten to the cauſe of humanity, ſilencing that of the paſſions; to ſeek, with the intention of arriving at that object, to conciliate all intereſts, and by thoſe means to preſerve all the powers which exiſt, and to enſure the happineſs of Europe.

This letter was accompanied by official communications from count Nicolas de Romanzoff and M. Champagni to Mr. Canning, in which it was mentioned that French and Ruſſian plenipotentiaries had been appointed, who would repair to that city on the continent, to which his Britannic majeſty and his allies ſhould ſend miniſters with full powers. No direct anſwer was given by the king to the letter, becauſe, as Mr. Canning informed M. de Romanzoff, "from the unuſual manner in which it had been drawn up, and which had entirely deprived it of the character of a private and perſonal communication, his majeſty had found it impoſſible to adopt that mark of reſpect to the emperor of Ruſſia, without recogniſing titles which he had never acknowledged;" but official notes were immediately addreſſed to the French and Ruſſian miniſters. In Oct. 28. theſe papers Mr. Canning declared that the king repeated his readineſs and deſire to enter into negotiations for a general peace, on terms conſiſtent with the honour of his crown, with fidelity to his engagements, and with the permanent repoſe and ſecurity of Europe. If the condition of the continent were one of agitation and wretchedneſs; if many ſtates had been overthrown, and more were ſtill menaced with ſubverſion, it was a conſolation to the king to reflect that no part of the convulſions which had been already experienced, or of thoſe which were threatened for the future, could be in any degree imputable to his majeſty. The king was moſt willing to acknowledge that all ſuch dreadful changes were indeed contrary to the policy of England. It was neither in the diſpoſition of his majeſty, nor in the character of the people over whom he reigned, to rejoice in the privations and unhappineſs even of the nations which were combined againſt

againſt him. His majeſty anxiouſly deſired that the ſufferings of the continent might terminate. In the progreſs of the war which had been entered into for national defence, and which had been prolonged becauſe no ſecure and honourable means of cloſing it had been offered, new obligations had been impoſed on his majeſty in behalf of powers, whom aggreſſion had compelled to make common cauſe with him, or who had ſolicited his aid to preſerve their independence. The intereſts of the crown of Portugal and of his Sicilian majeſty were confided to his friendſhip and protection. With the king of Sweden he was united by ties of the cloſeſt alliance. Though he was not yet bound by any formal inſtrument to Spain, his majeſty had, in the face of the world, contracted with that nation engagements not leſs binding on his mind than the moſt ſolemn treaties. His majeſty therefore aſſumed, that the government acting in the name of his catholic majeſty, was underſtood to be a party in any negotiation in which he was invited to engage.

Nov. 28. The count de Romanzoff replied, on the behalf of his maſter, that the admiſſion of the ſovereigns in alliance with England to a congreſs could not be a point of any difficulty, and that Ruſſia and France conſented to it; but that principle by no means extended to the neceſſity of admitting the plenipotentiaries of the Spaniſh inſurgents. The emperor of Ruſſia could not admit them: moreover he had acknowledged the king Joſeph Napoléon. Count de Romanzoff ſaid he ſaw with pleaſure, that in the difference of opinion reſpecting the Spaniards, nothing preſented itſelf which could either prevent or delay the opening of a congreſs, as his Britannic majeſty had admitted that he was bound by no poſitive engagements to thoſe who had taken up arms in Spain. He therefore renewed, in the name of the emperor, the propoſal already made. M. Champagni's anſwer ſtated, that the two emperors had Nov. 28. flattered themſelves that the object of their meaſure could not have been miſinterpreted, nor aſcribed to weakneſs or neceſſity, when every impartial ſtateſman muſt recognize, in the ſpirit of peace and moderation by which it was dictated, the characteriſtics of power and true greatneſs. How was it poſſible for the French government to entertain the propoſal of admitting to the negotiation the Spaniſh inſurgents? What would the Engliſh government have ſaid had it been propoſed to them to admit the catholic inſurgents of Ireland? France, without having any treaties with them, had made them promiſes, and had frequently ſent them ſuccours. Could ſuch a propoſition have found place in a note, the object of which ought to have been, not to irritate, but to endeavour to effect a mutual conciliation and good underſtanding? England would find herſelf under a ſtrange miſtake, if, contrary to the experience of the paſt, ſhe ſtill entertained the idea of contending ſucceſsfully on the continent againſt the armies of France. What hope could ſhe then have, eſpecially as France was irrecoverably united with Ruſſia? M. Champagni ſaid, he was commanded to repeat the propoſal to admit to the negoti-

ation all the allies of the king of England, whether it were the king who reigned in the Brazils, the king who reigned in Sweden, or the king who reigned in Sicily.

Dec. 9. To M. de Romanzoff Mr. Canning expreſſed the king's aſtoniſhment and regret, that an expectation ſhould be entertained that he ſhould conſent to commence a negotiation by the previous abandonment of the Spaniſh people, and of the legitimate monarchy of Spain, in deference to an uſurpation which had no parallel in the hiſtory of the world. If theſe were the principles to which the emperor of Ruſſia had inviolably attached himſelf, and to which he had pledged the reſources of his empire, his majeſty deeply lamented a determination by which the ſufferings of Europe muſt be aggravated and prolonged: but not to his majeſty was to be attributed the continuance of the calamities of war, by the diſappointment of all hope of ſuch a peace as would be compatible with juſtice and with honour.

Dec. 9. To M. Champagni Mr. Canning obſerved, that he was commanded to abſtain from noticing any of thoſe topics and expreſſions inſulting to his majeſty and allies, and to the Spaniſh nation, with which the French miniſter's note abounded; but that his majeſty was diſappointed in the deſire which he had formed of treating for a peace that might have arranged the reſpective intereſts of all the powers engaged in the war; being determined not to forſake the cauſe of the Spaniſh nation, and the legitimate monarchy of Spain. The rupture of this intercourſe was announced by a declaration of his Britannic majeſty, containing a narrative of the cauſe of its failure, and reflections upon the ſubject, the ſentiments of which were highly honourable to the Britiſh character. Dec. 15.

Buonapartè returned to Paris on the 20th of October, and on the 26th he went in ſtate to open the ſeſſion of the legiſlative body. In his addreſs, he informed them that he had had a meeting with the emperor of Ruſſia, that they were unchangeably united for peace as well as for war, and that they had agreed to make ſome ſacrifices to obtain peace. A part of his army, he ſaid, had marched againſt that which England had formed or diſembarked in Spain; and that it was a diſtinguiſhed favour of Providence, who had conſtantly protected the French arms, that paſſion had ſo far blinded the Engliſh cabinet, that they at laſt abandoned the defence of the ſeas, and produced their army on the continent. He added that he ſhould depart in a few days to put himſelf in perſon at the head of his troops, with God's help, to crown the king of Spain at Madrid, and to plant his eagles on the forts of Spain.

All his military arrangements being now complete, Buonapartè repaired to the head-quarters of the troops which were at Vittoria. The poſition of the army is thus deſcribed in the French bulletin. The corps commanded by Moncey was ſtationed along the banks of the Aragon and Ebro; the corps under Ney occupied the town and environs of Guardia; that of Beſſières, Miranda and Pancorbo; and general Merlin, with his diviſion, was

was poſted on the heights of Durango. Some change had taken place in the poſition of the Spaniards. Caſtanos had quitted the line of the Ebro, and ſtationed his diviſions along the left bank of the Aragon from Villa Franca to Sangueſſa. Farther to the right was the army of Pelafox. The central army, compoſed of the troops of Eſtremadura and Murcia, was between Burgos and the right bank of the Ebro; and this it was expected would be joined by the Britiſh forces commanded by ſir John Moore, who had marched from Portugal, and thoſe under ſir David Baird, who had landed with them at Corunna, aud was on the route to meet the former. Blake ſtill continued in Biſcay. The whole number of the Spaniards under arms has been before ſtated at between ſixty and ſeventy thouſand men. There was no commander in chief; but the junta had appointed Don Franciſco Pelafox, brother of the Aragoneſe general, with two aſſiſtants, the marquis de Coupigni and the count de Montigo, as their commiſſioners to concert plans of operations with the generals; Pelafox was however to decide upon all movements, and to receive the ſame honours as a captain-general of the army. It will be eaſily perceived that there was no connexion between the central army and that of Blake, which was completely detached and expoſed to the attacks of the French, whoſe object it naturally was to engage the Spaniards before the Engliſh reinforcements could come up. General Blake, who had not more than twenty-three thouſand men under his orders, inſtead of falling back, appears to have injudiciouſly lingered in the preſence of the French, by whom his main body, amounting to ſeventeen thouſand men, was aſſailed on the 31ſt of October, at Zornoſa, and after an obſtinate conflict compelled to retire to Valmaſeda. The retreat was conducted with the beſt order, without the loſs of cannon, colours, or priſoners, and in the face of a very ſuperior enemy; but by this unfortunate event, Bilboa again fell into the hands of the French. At Valmaſeda Blake received ſome conſiderable reinforcements, and on the 5th of November a diviſion of Spaniards defeated a corps of French, amounting to ſeven thouſand men, which had attempted to hinder the junction of a body of Aſturians with the main army. On the 7th and 8th there were alſo affairs with the enemy. On the 10th Blake had retreated to Eſpinoſa. Here marſhal Lefevre, having been joined by the troops under general Victor, attacked the Spaniards who maintained the battle againſt nearly double their numbers until night. The action was renewed the next day, when the French defeated the left wing of the patriots, who were at length totally routed; and as the enemy had obtained poſſeſſion of a height which commanded the road by which the Spaniards retired, their retreat was performed in extreme confuſion, and conſequently with great loſs. Blake made a laſt effort to unite ſuch of his troops as he could collect, and maintain a poſition at Reynoſa; but a ſtrong column of French appearing on the road from Burgos, he thought it expedient to retreat to San Vicente de la Barquera, a little town on the ſhores of the Bay of Biſcay, about

about twenty miles from St. Andero. Blake's army had ſuſtained ſix attacks with great but unſucceſsful valour in the period of eleven days; and the fortitude of the troops was equal to their bravery, for they were not only expoſed to very ſevere weather with inadequate clothing, but to the moſt trying privations of food during the whole time. In conſequence of the diſperſion of the army of Galicia, the advanced guard of Soult's corps entered St. Andero on the 16th; but the biſhop and ſeveral other patriots had time to eſcape on board ſome Engliſh ſhips which were off the coaſt.

The next operation of the French was to break the line of the army of Eſtremadura. For this purpoſe, the marſhals Soult and Beſſières, with a conſiderable force of infantry and cavalry, proceeded againſt the Spaniards in the neighbourhood of Burgos, where there were ſeveral battalions of the line, the Walloon and Spaniſh guards, and a corps formed of the ſtudents of the univerſities of Leon and Salamanca, under the command of count Belveder. The French attacked the patriots on the 8th and 9th of November, without ſucceſs, on the 10th, by their numbers and ſuperiority in cavalry, after an engagement of thirteen hours, they drove the patriots from their poſt, and purſued them to Lerma. Belveder afterwards retired to Aranda, from which he was driven on the 16th; he then fled to Segovia with the remains of his forces. The head quarters of Buonapartè were now removed to Burgos; and the French found large magazines in the town, which would have been much better placed at Saragoza, or any other place equally diſtant from the immediate ſcene of war.

Having diſperſed the corps on his right, Buonapartè took means to overwhelm the army of Caſtanos. His plan was, that it ſhould be attacked by thirty thouſand men under marſhal Laſnes in front, and by the diviſions of marſhals Ney and Victor in the rear; but the long march which the troops of the latter had to make from Burgos through Soria and Agreda for this purpoſe, ſo fatigued them, that the project could not be executed; and the delay thus occaſioned ſaved the Spaniards from complete deſtruction. Caſtanos learning, on the 21ſt, that Laſnes was marching againſt him, fell back and occupied a line from Tudela to Tarazona. On the 22d he concentrated his forces, and receiving notice the next morning at day-break, that the enemy was advancing, he reſted his right on Tudela, and extended his left for a league and a half towards Caſcante. The arrangements of the Spaniſh general are ſaid to have been altogether faulty, for the ground on which he had drawn up his men was commanded by ſome heights that he neglected to ſecure, of which the enemy took poſſeſſion; and he left general Lapena with his diviſion at Caſcante, a diſtance of two hours march from Tudela. The left of the Spaniards, according to the account of Caſtanos, gained ſome advantage over the right of the French; but their centre was pierced by the diviſion of general Mathieu, and the enemy's cavalry poured through the opening. A complete route of the main body enſued; and they abandoned the field of battle. In the

mean

mean time general Lapena, who had received orders to turn the right flank of the French, no ſooner moved forwards, than he found he was oppoſed by three thouſand French infantry and a thouſand horſe. Theſe he defeated and purſued to Tudela; but was driven back by the enemy, who had gained poſſeſſion of the heights, and he firſt retreated to Caſcante, whence he eſcaped through Borja to Calatayad, whither Caſtanos had retired. The Spaniſh general not finding ſufficient ſubſiſtence in this town, and having received intelligence that the French threatened the paſs of Somoſierra, removed to Siguenza, in order that he might be nearer the capital. Four thouſand Spaniards periſhed in the battle of Tudela, and three thouſand were taken priſoners. Seven ſtandards and thirty pieces of cannon alſo fell into the hands of the enemy by the victory. This unhappy event compelled Pelafox to fall back to Saragoza, in order to defend that city from the incurſions of the French.

The conduct of the ſupreme government at Madrid is inexplicable. Inſtead of making any attempt to add to a force, which at the latter end of October muſt have appeared abſolutely inadequate to oppoſe the invaders, even if the Spaniſh generals had poſſeſſed great military experience, and their troops been highly diſciplined and well furniſhed with neceſſaries, the junta was employed in eſtabliſhing an extraordinary tribunal, compoſed of members of each great council of the ſtate, to try perſons ſuſpected of conſpiring againſt the ſtate, and eſpecially to take cognizance of the conduct of the deputies who had repaired to Bayonne, and that of individuals who had ſubmitted to the uſurper. The proviſions laid down for the proceedings of this commiſſion were certainly humane and liberal, and reflect the higheſt honour on the moderation and juſtice of the government; as was particularly exhibited in its injunction to the tribunal to make, with great care, a proper diſtinction between voluntary and compulſory obedience in thoſe who had yielded to French tyranny; to abſtain from all ſecret arreſts, from all acts upon anonymous information, and from impriſoning the individuals accuſed for any length of time without bringing them to trial. Even when the French threatened the important paſs of Somoſierra, the junta endeavoured to lull the inhabitants of Madrid into a fatal ſecurity, by repreſenting, in an addreſs which they publiſhed, that the enemy, who had advanced towards it, were only eight thouſand men. "Spaniards," ſaid they, "cowardice alone inſpired by treaſon, will attempt by every means to increaſe the dangers which daſtards and the evil-diſpoſed exaggerate, in order to diſhearten us; and which alone would be able to fruſtrate the exertions of the junta, which however repoſes confidence upon your tried obedience, and unparelleled fidelity. Two days afterwards, when the French had totally routed the patriots at Burgos, and the junta were aware that the army of Caſtanos was conſequently in a critical ſituation, but before they knew it was defeated, they iſſued another decree, not to fortify the city and arm the inhabitants, but to form honorary militias in all towns not lying within the operations of the war, to prevent diſ-

Oct. 26.

Nov. 21.

order

orders, and apprehend robbers and deſerters.

While the Spaniſh government was thus uſeleſsly waſting its time, and deluding the people, Buonapartè reſolved to take advantage of the ſucceſs which he had obtained, and march directly to Madrid. Having directed Moncey to proceed againſt Zaragoza, and Soult to watch the motions of Blake and Romana, he ordered Victor to attack the paſs of Somoſierra, which was defended by ten thouſand Spaniards, with ſixteen pieces of cannon. This poſition was carried on the 30th of December, and the affair was decided, as it is related in the French bulletin, by a charge of general Montbrun at the head of the Poliſh lancers. That a fortified mountain-paſs ſhould be forced by cavalry ſeems extraordinary: it is much more likely that Victor's infantry climbed the mountain, and attacked the rear of the Spaniards, who having taken to flight, ſome of their ſtragglers were ſabred by the lancers; though it might have ſuited Buonapartè's purpoſe to eulogiſe Montbrun or the Poles.

As ſoon as the paſs of Somoſierra, which is ſixty miles from Madrid, was forced, the ſupreme junta retired from the capital, leaving a military commiſſion under the preſidency of the marquis de Caſtelar in it. The people broke up the pavement in the ſtreets, and interſected them with dithes, barricaded the windows and doors of the houſes with bales of wool and matreſſes, and planted about an hundred cannon on commanding points, mounting others of leſs calibre on carts and tumbrels for want of better carriages. There were in the place ſixty thouſand men under arms, including ſix thouſand troops of the line and peaſants collected from the adjoining villages, all animated with a deſire to defend the city to the laſt extremity. A report was propagated that ſand had been mixed with the powder in the cartridges, by the connivance of the marquis de Perales; the populace incenſed at the appearance of ſuch treachery, ſtrangled him, and all the cartridges were remade by the monks. Buonapartè and marſhal Beſſières, with the French cavalry, arrived on the heights which ſurrounded Madrid on the 2d of December at noon. An aide-de-camp of the marſhal's having been ſent into the town to ſummon it, was ſeized by the people, and would have been put to death if the Spaniſh troops had not interfered and protected his return. At ſeven in the evening, one of Victor diviſions of infantry arrived, and a Spaniſh lieutenant-colonel, who had been taken priſoner, was charged with a letter to the marquis de Caſtelar, exhorting him not to expoſe the place to the horrors of an aſſault, but to prevent them by a ſurrender. No anſwer was returned till the following morning, when Caſtelar demanded a ſuſpenſion of arms for that day, in order that he might conſult the conſtituted authorities of the kingdom, and further aſcertain the diſpoſition of the people. Before this reply reached the French head quarters, the enemy had battered a breach in the walls of the Retiro and made themſelves maſters of the palace, which is ſituated on an eminence, with the ſlaughter of a thouſand Spaniards who had endeavoured to maintain it. The

French

French ſhortly afterwards took poſſeſſion of the obſervatory, the porcelain manufactory, and the grand barracks, all important poſts, together with ſeveral other places which had been fortified. Buonapartè now ordered the firing to ceaſe, and Berthier ſent in another ſummons, with an aſſurance that the attack ſhould be ſuſpended until two at noon, to give the commanding officers in the city time for deliberation. Whether any farther hoſtile proceedings occurred does not appear; but at five in the afternoon, general Morla, who was one of the members of the military commiſſion, and Don Bernado Yriarte repaired to Berthier's tent. They informed him, that in the opinion of the moſt intelligent perſons, the town was deſtitute of reſources, and that the continuation of the defence would be the height of madneſs; but that the lower orders of the people, and the peaſants collected in the place, wiſhed to defend themſelves, and thought they could do it with effect: and they required the whole day of the 4th to perſuade the people to ſurrender. Berthier immediately introduced Morla and Yriarte to the French ruler, who thus addreſſed them. "You make uſe of the name of the people to no purpoſe; if you cannot reſtore tranquillity and appeaſe their minds, it is becauſe you have yourſelves excited them, and led them aſtray by propagating falſehoods. Aſſemble the clergy, the heads of the convents, the alcades, the men of property and influence; and let the town capitulate by ſix o'clock in the morning, or it ſhall ceaſe to exiſt. He then added ſome violent language to Morla, becauſe the capitulation of Baylen had been violated, and on account of the letter which he had written to Dupont. "Return," concluded he, "at the hour which I have mentioned, if you have to inform me that the people have ſurrendered——if not, you and your troops ſhall be put to the ſword."

Unwilling to be implicated in the capitulation, Caſtelar and a conſiderable number of the regular troops retired from the city during the night, and contrived to reach a place of ſafety; many of thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by a deſire of defending the city, alſo effected their eſcape. At the appointed time the next morning Morla and Don Fernando de Vera attended Berthier, when the following terms of a capitulation were agreed to. The Catholic Apoſtolic, and Roman religion was to be preſerved, without any other being tolerated. The liberty, ſecurity of the lives, and property of the citizens, and other perſons reſiding in Madrid, as well as thoſe in public employments, were to be protected; and the laſt were to retain their ſituations, or have the option of retiring from the court of Joſeph Buonapartè, if they choſe to do ſo. The lives, privileges, and property, of the ſecular and regular eccleſiaſtics of both ſexes, together with the reſpect due to the churches, in conformity with the Spaniſh laws and cuſtoms, and the lives and property of all military officers, were to be inviolable. No perſons were to be liable to perſecution on account of their political opinions and writings, nor were thoſe employed in a public capacity to ſuffer for what they had done in the exerciſe of their offices, neither were

the people to be moleſted for the efforts which they had made to defend themſelves. No other contributions were to be exacted than ſuch as were ordinary, till the kingdom ſhould be definitively organiſed. The laws, cuſtoms, and courts of juſtice, were to be preſerved according to their exiſting conſtitution, with the ſame proviſo. The generals who wiſhed to continue in the capital were to retain their rank, but their pay was to ceaſe on the final ſettlement of the affairs of the realm; and the generals who deſired to quit the city were to be at liberty to take their departure. The Spaniſh troops were to march out with the honours of war, and leave their arms and artillery behind them; but were to be conſidered priſoners of war, until an exchange took place, except ſuch as had enliſted within the laſt four months, who were to retire to their habitations. The peaſants having laid down their arms were to return to their villages. No French troops or officers were to be quartered in private houſes, monaſteries or convents, on condition of their being well lodged in barracks, or other buildings ſet apart for their reception, and provided with proper tents if thoſe places were inſufficient to hold them. Madrid was then formally ſurrendered to the French; all the gates and military poſts were delivered up, and general Belliard aſſumed the command of the city; in which the enemy affirm that they found 120,000 muſkets of Engliſh manufacture.

On the 7th Buonapartè publiſhed a proclamation to the Spaniards. He declared that they had been miſled by perfidious men to engage in a ſenſeleſs ſtruggle. Was there one amongſt them who, after a moment's reflection on all that had paſſed, would not be convinced that the nation had been the ſport of the eternal enemies of the continent, who took delight in witneſſing the effuſion of Spaniſh and French blood? What poſſible reſult could ever attend the ſucceſs of ſome campaigns? An endleſs war upon their ſoil, and a tedious uncertainty reſpecting the fate of their properties and lives. Within the ſpace of a few months, they had been delivered up to all the miſeries of popular faction. The defeat of their armies had been the work of ſome marches: he had entered their capital, and the rights of war would juſtify him in making a ſignal example, by waſhing away in blood the outrage offered to him and to his country: but he had liſtened to the dictates of clemency. Some men the authors of their calamities ſhould be puniſhed. He would ſpeedily drive from the peninſula the Engliſh army, which had been ſent to Spain, not for the purpoſe of aſſiſting them, but of inſpiring them with falſe confidence. He had declared in his proclamation of the 2d of June, that he wiſhed to be their regenerator. To the rights which had been ceded to him by the princes of the laſt dynaſty, they had wiſhed that he ſhould add the right of conqueſt. That ſhould not make any alteration in his deſigns. He was even prepared to praiſe all that might be generous in their efforts: he was willing to admit that their real intereſts had been concealed from them, that the real ſtate of things had been diſguiſed. Their deſtiny was in their own hands. "Reject,"

ject," continued he, "the poiſons which the Engliſh have prepared for you: let your king be aſſured of your affection and your confidence, and you will be more powerful and more happy than ever you have been. All that obſtructed your proſperity and your grandeur I have deſtroyed; the chains which have borne down the people I have broken; a free conſtitution gives you a limited and liberal, inſtead of an abſolute, monarchy. It depends on yourſelves whether this conſtitution ſhall continue in your land. But ſhould all my efforts prove fruitleſs, and ſhould you not merit my confidence, nothing will remain for me but to treat your country as conquered provinces, and to eſtabliſh my brother on ſome other throne. I ſhall then place on my own head the crown of Spain, and cauſe it to be reſpected by the guilty; for God has given me power and inclination to ſurmount all difficulties."

This effuſion was ſucceeded by a number of imperial decrees on various ſubjects. All grants of portions of the civil and eccleſiaſtical revenues to individuals, which, it was ſtated, had introduced great diſorder into the finances, were to be diſcontinued. The deteſtable tribunal of the inquiſition was aboliſhed. Feudal rights, and the juriſdiction of ſeigniorial courts of juſtice, were annulled, the legal authority being confined to the royal courts. The number of convents was reduced to one-third. Moſt of the members of the council of Caſtile were diſplaced and declared unworthy of being the magiſtrates of a free nation; but thoſe of them were retained, who had been cautious enough not to ſign ſuch of the public declarations as had been offenſive to the French ruler. A general pardon was granted to all Spaniards who would profeſs allegiance to Joſeph Buonapartè, with the exception of the following perſons, who were proſcribed as avowed enemies to France and Spain: the prince of Caſtelfranco, the dukes of Infantado, Medina Celi, Hijar, and Oſſuna, the marquis of Santa Cruz, the counts of Altamira and Fernan Nunes, the biſhop of Santander, and Don Pedro Cevallos.

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CHRONICLE.

JANUARY.

Particulars of the Loſs of the Anſon Frigate.

THE following particulars of the melancholy loſs of this ſhip are given, chiefly on the authority of the officers who were ſaved:—The Anſon ſailed from Falmouth on Chriſtmas-eve for her ſtation off the Black Rocks, as one of the look-out frigates of the Channel fleet. In the violent ſtorm of Monday, blowing about W. to S. W. ſhe ſtood acroſs the entrance of the Channel, towards Scilly, made the Land's End, which they miſtook for the Lizard, and bore up, as they thought, for Falmouth. Still doubtful, however, in the evening of Monday, Captain Lydiard ſtood off again to the ſouthward; when a conſultation being held, it was once more reſolved to bear up for Falmouth. Running eaſtward and northward, ſtill under the fatal perſuaſion that the Lizard was on the north-weſt of them, they did not diſcover the miſtake till the man on the look-out a-head, called out "breakers." The ſhip was inſtantaneouſly broached to, and the beſt bower let go, which happily brought her up; but, the rapidity with which the cable had veered out made it impoſſible to ſerve it, and it ſoon parted in the hawſe-hole. The ſheet anchor was then let go, which alſo brought up the ſhip; but after riding end on for a ſhort time, this cable parted from the ſame cauſe, about eight in the morning, and the ſhip went plump on ſhore, upon the ridge of ſand which ſeparates the Loc-pool from the Bay. Never did the ſea run more tremendouſly high. It broke over the ſhip's maſts, which ſoon went by the board; the main-maſt forming a floating raft from the ſhip to the ſhore; and the greater part of thoſe who eſcaped, paſſed by this medium. One of the men ſaved, reports, that Captain Lydiard was near him on the main-maſt; but he ſeemed to have loſt the uſe of his faculties, with horror of the ſcene, and ſoon diſappeared. We have not room to go further into particulars, nor language that will convey an adequate picture of the terrific view that preſented itſelf; but juſtice demands that we notice the conduct of a worthy and brave man on the preſent dreadful occaſion.

At a time when no one appeared on the ſhip's deck, and it was ſuppoſed the work of death had ceaſed, a Methodiſt preacher, venturing his life through the ſurf, got on board, over the wreck of the main-maſt, to ſee if any more remained —ſome honeſt hearts followed him. They found ſeveral perſons ſtill below, who could not get up; among whom were two women and two children. The worthy preacher and his party ſaved the two women and ſome of the men, but the children were irretrievably loſt. About two *p. m.* the ſhip went to pieces; when a few more men, who for ſome crime had been confined in irons below, emerged from the wreck—one of theſe was ſaved. By three o'clock, no appearance of the veſſel remained. She was an old ſhip (a 64, we believe, cut down) which accounts for her beating to pieces ſo ſoon on a ſandy bottom.

The men who ſurvived, were conveyed to Helſton, about two miles diſtant, where they were taken care of by the magiſtrates, and afterwards ſent to Falmouth in charge of the regulating captain at that port. We are aware that general report has ſtated the number drowned to be greater than it really was: but of the miſſing, we underſtand, many are deſerters, who ſcampered off as ſoon as they reached the ſhore. Among the officers ſaved, we heard of the following:—Capt. Sullivan, a paſſenger; Meſſrs. Hill and Braily, midſhipmen; Mr. Roſs, aſſiſtant ſurgeon; and ſome others.

The Amount of the Britiſh Navy up to the 31ſt ult. is as follows:—At ſea, 85 ſhips of the line; 9 from 50 to 44 guns; 121 frigates; 150 ſloops, &c. and 159 gun-brigs and other veſſels; total 524.—In port and fitting, 29 ſhips of the line; 6 from 50 to 44 guns; 46 frigates; 71 ſloops, &c.; and 65 gun-brigs and other veſſels; total 217. Guard ſhips, hoſpital ſhips, &c. 30 ſhips of the line, 5 from 50 to 44 guns; 11 frigates; 5 ſloops, &c.; and 3 gun-brigs, and other veſſels; total 54. Building, 47 ſhips of the line, 18 frigates, 23 ſloops &c.; and 10 gun-brigs and other veſſels; total 98. In ordinary, 62 ſhips of the line, 9 from 50 to 44 guns, 65 frigates, 50 ſloops, &c. and 21 gun-brigs and other veſſels; total 207.—Grand total 1,100.

Lately was ſhot, by George Pringle, at Staingale, near Danby-Lodge, (the ſporting ſeat of the right hon. lord viſcount Downe) an eagle of the following remarkable dimenſions: its breadth between the tip of the wings two yards ten inches, the length from its beak to the tip of the tail, 38 inches, the extreme breadth of the tail 25 inches. When placed in an erect poſture, its height two feet ſeven inches, its weight 16 pounds two ounces; the colour a mixed brown and white, the back almoſt nearly white. This extraordinary bird has been put into a ſtate of preſervation by Mr. Frank, at Danby-Lodge.

4th. The Lanſdown library of manuſcripts has been purchaſed by parliament for the Britiſh Muſeum, at an average of the valuation made by three parties, being 4,925*l.* Mr. Planta, the principal librarian of the Muſeum, eſtimated their value in the following manner:

Burleigh

Burleigh and Cecil papers 120 lots, at 10*l.* - -	£1200
Sir Julius Cæsar's papers, 50 vols. at 10*l.* - -	500
Twenty-seven volumes of original registers of abbeys, at 10*l.* - -	270
One hundred and fifty volumes, at 5*l.* - -	750
Nine hundred and eighty-five ditto, at 2*l.* - -	1970
Forty numbers of royal letters, at 5*l.* - - -	200
Eight volumes of Chinese drawings, at 10*l.* -	80
	£4970

Regulations made by the Marquis Wellesley concerning the publication of Newspapers in India, viz.—1. Every printer of a newspaper to print his name at the bottom of the paper.—2. Every editor and proprietor of a paper to deliver in his name and place of abode to the secretary to government.—3. No paper to be published on a Sunday.—4. No paper to be published at all, until it shall have been previously inspected by the secretary to the government, or by a person authorized by him for that purpose.—5. The penalty for offending against any of the above regulations to be immediate embarkation for Europe.

Rules for the guidance of the Secretaries to Government in revising the Newspapers.—To prevent the publication of—1. All observations on the state of public credit, or the revenues, or the finances of the company.—2. All observations respecting the embarkation of troops, stores, or specie; or respecting any naval or military preparations whatever.—3. All intelligence respecting the destination of any ships, or the expectation of any, whether belonging to the company or to individuals.—4. All observations with respect to the conduct of government, or any of its officers, civil or military, marine, commercial, and judicial.—5. All private scandal, or libels on individuals.—6. All statements with regard to the probability of war or peace between the company and any of the native powers.—7. All observations tending to convey information to an enemy, or to excite alarm or commotion within the company's territories.—8. The republication of such passages from the European newspapers as may tend to affect the influence and credit of the British at peace with the native states.

A few days ago, as James Graham, Esq. of Borrock Lodge, was proceeding in his carriage to pay a visit to the Archbishop of York, at Rose Castle, in passing over Hawkesdale bridge, one of the horses, being very spirited, made a plunge over the battlements, and hung suspended in that situation until, in order to prevent the carriage from being dragged over, the traces were cut, and the animal precipitated into the bed of the river, and killed on the spot. 5th.

Statement of the Quantity of Strong Beer brewed between the 8th July, 1807, and the 5th of January, 1808, by the twelve principal Houses in London:—Meux 79,725; Brown and Parry 65,666; Barclay 61,053; Whitbread 52,640; Hanbury 48,866; Shum 24,374; T. Calvert 22,049; Goodwin 21,185; Elliot 18,166; Taylor 15,537; J. Calvert 15,044; Clowes 14,330.

7th. *Marlborough-ſtreet.* — A woman, of the name of Martha Davies, was charged with violently aſſaulting Charles Tettwell, a youth fifteen years of age, dragging him into a loathſome dark room, and there, with dreadful menaces and violence, robbing him. The youth is a ſervant to Mr. Lewis, of Covent Garden theatre, of whom his maſter ſpoke in the higheſt praiſe. He ſtated in evidence, that he had been ſent with ſeveral meſſages, on Wedneſday evening, to different parts of the town, and on his return from the laſt place, he had called in the vicinity of Bedford-ſquare; he was returning home through Dyot-ſtreet, St. Giles's, when he perceived the priſoner ſtanding at the door of a wretched habitation, who ſeized him by the arm, and dragged him through a paſſage into a dark room, where there was another wretched female. Terrified at the ſudden deprivation of liberty, the youth attempted to excite alarm, when the priſoner knocked him down, and with horrid imprecations threatened him with inſtant death if he perſiſted in making any reſiſtance. The boy was partly ſtripped; his hat, which had on it a ſilver band, was taken off by the priſoner, and concealed under a bedſtead, and ſhe alſo, together with her aſſociate, took from his pockets half-a-crown, which was all the money he had. The door of the room was at length thrown open, and the youth retired with his hat, which he had taken from under the bedſtead; but on the priſoner perceiving that he had got his hat, ſhe followed him, and, aſſiſted by a third perſon, took it from him, and the man who thus aſſiſted took the youth up in his arms, threatening to take him to the watch-houſe. The boy continued to reſiſt, and ſome watchmen interfered, when the man eſcaped, but fortunately the priſoner was ſecured. She was fully committed for trial, and the parties were bound over to proſecute.—The woman was afterwards tried and convicted.

8th. *A Maniac.*—A man of reſpectable appearance obtained an interview with the hon. Mr. Villiers, at Windſor park, and applied to him to procure him an audience with the king, ſtating that he had ſeveral plans to lay before his majeſty, and to expoſe to him a number of abuſes. Mr. Villiers ſoon diſcovered that he was deranged, and in conſequence agreed with all he had ſaid, promiſed to get him introduced to the king, and would give him a letter to a gentleman at Windſor, who would ſettle his buſineſs. He accordingly wrote a letter to Mr. Dowſett, one of the reſident police officers at Windſor, deſcribing the conduct of the man, and his opinion of him; the man took the letter to Mr. Dowſett, who informed generals Fitzroy and Manningham, his majeſty's equerries, who directed him to take care of the man, and to bring him to London on Tueſday morning. Mr. Dowſett accordingly made preparations for ſetting off with the man on Tueſday morning; but when the time arrived, he diſcovered that the man had neither ſhirt nor ſtockings to wear, having contrived to ſend them to be waſhed without his knowledge; which prevented them from leaving Windſor till the afternoon. The man travelled very quietly

quietly with Mr. Dowſett, he having told him he was taking him, by command of the king, to magiſtrates and others, who would attend to every thing he had to ſay. He at length confeſſed that he had broke out of a private mad-houſe on Bethnal-green, which he thought was no harm, as they had ill-treated him very much, and if it was any ſin he was very ſorry for it. When they arrived in London, Mr. Dowſett took him to the Brown Bear public-houſe, and gave him into the care of two men; when he was provided with ſome refreſhment and a bed, and Mr. Dowſett went to Mr. Read to inform him of the directions he had received from his majeſty's equerries. Early on Wedneſday morning Mr. Read diſpatched R. Limberick to the madhouſe on Bethnal-green to make enquiries reſpecting the deſcription the man had given of himſelf; when he found it correct, and one of the keepers ſet off with Limberick to the Brown Bear public-houſe, Bow-ſtreet, and took the man back with him, ſecured in a ſtraight waiſtcoat. During his confinement in a room in the Brown Bear public-houſe, on Wedneſday morning, he broke open the room door, and was fighting his way out of the cage againſt two men, and would have made his eſcape, had not Dowſett come up to their aſſiſtance, who was obliged to uſe great violence in order to ſecure him.

9th. A ſtratum of ſea-ſhells among which were many fiſhes bones and unopened oyſters, in a complete ſtate, was lately found by the workmen employed in finiſhing a well in Fiſher-row, Reading. Beſides the well known ſtrata found at Katerſgrove brick-kiln, theſe antediluvian relics are frequently found under ſimilar circumſtances.

10th. Mrs. Elizabeth Williams, now living at Brenton near Taviſtock in Devon, is in the 109th year of her age; ſhe has almoſt a new ſet of teeth. About 30 years ago ſhe had recourſe to ſpectacles, but at preſent makes but little uſe of them, as ſhe can read the ſmalleſt print without their aſſiſtance. She has two ſons living, the eldeſt 85, and the youngeſt is only 70 years of age, but remarkably ſtrong; he belongs to a carrier's warehouſe, and lately took a caſe from a waggon of nearly three cwt., and carried it the diſtance of 500 yards.

11th. William Chapman, the captain of a Liverpool ſlave ſhip, was on Monday indicted for the wilful murder of Robert Dunn, by expoſing him naked to the weather, by ſtarving him, and by repeated acts of cruelty and ill-treatment.

The ſolicitor-general opened the caſe, when the doctor on board the ſhip, and the principal evidence G. Scott, together with Richard Smith, Henry Nutſon, John Barrie, and others of the ſhip's crew, were called to corroborate the caſe made out.

The deceaſed was ſent out by one of the owners of the ſhip, and it appeared that the captain had taken an early diſlike to him, from a ſuſpicion that he was placed on board as a ſpy on the conduct of the ſhip's officers. The ſhip had not left Liverpool more than a month when the deceaſed, having ſpilt ſome molaſſes, received five dozen laſhes by the captain's orders. From that time, September

1807,

1807, till the 31ſt of March 1808, the deceaſed experienced an uninterrupted ſeries of ill treatment and privation. Every fault, though of the moſt trivial ſort, was viſited with the ſevereſt chaſtiſement. He was ſuſpended hours together with a chain round the middle, and left ſwinging in a horizontal poſition;—he was tied up by the neck, his toes juſt touching the deck, till he was nearly ſtrangled; he was again ſuſpended by the legs, with his fingers' ends reſting upon the hatchways, till, the blood having overcharged the veſſels of the head and brain, he became inſenſible. Again he was expoſed naked to the weather, and compelled, in the midſt of a cold rain, to wring out the ſwabs, and was employed to empty the tubs in which the ſlaves depoſited their filth. On one occaſion, when he had upſet one of theſe tubs upon the deck, the captain beat him with a handſpike, and bruiſed and lacerated his body in a moſt pitiable way; the blood flowed from his head and covered his ſhoulders. He likewiſe had his head half ſhaved and painted, his body marked with colours, and ſuſpended by his wriſts, tied at the extreme end of a broomſtick. In this way he ſet the ſlaves upon deck to laugh at him. His daily allowance was a pound of yam or bread, and three half pints of water, and, of courſe, his body became emaciated, and his fleſh and ſtrength dwindled away. He was alſo beat over the face and eyes with the handle of a cat, and theſe various acts of cruelty and chaſtiſement repeated almoſt daily. The laſt act of cruelty, however, was when the poor wretch was diſcovered lying in the place where the pigs were kept. He again uſed the handſpike, and beat him with it from head to foot. The deceaſed crawled to the forecaſtle, where he lay with a mat to cover him, incapable of moving. He continued in that ſituation till he expired, about three or four days after. The captain was told of his death, and exclaimed—"D—n his eyes, throw him over-board." The doctor's deſcription of the dead body was as follows:—"The face was ſo ſwelled that his eyes could not be ſeen—his head was alſo ſwelled, and his hair clotted with blood—his breaſt-bone ſtuck out like a wedge—his back appeared to be humped—his belly was ſhrunk in—his whole frame was emaciated, and his body covered with bruiſes."

On the arrival of the ſhip at the iſland of St. Dominica, the doctor ſwore to the entry in the log-book, reſpecting the deceaſe of Dunn, in which it appeared that he died of extreme nervous debility and exhauſtion; but this was qualified by the doctor in his evidence, by ſaying, that he made the entry under the apprehenſion that his life would be in danger if he did otherwiſe, the captain having puniſhed him in the way of a common man, for having in his abſence given away a bottle of rum to a mate who had newly come on board. He left Dominica, however, in about a fortnight afterwards, and in two days reached Montſerrat, where he made a diſcloſure to the magiſtracy of the facts before ſtated, and he and the witneſſes were ſent home in the Northumberland to give evidence againſt the priſoner. The captain alſo was ſent home in the ſame ſhip; and in the way he corre-

ſponded

ponded with one Evans, a marine on board the Northumberland, the letters to whom were given to Smith, and by him ſhown to the doctor and the part of the crew detained to give evidence. Theſe letters were now in court, and breathed a ſpirit of contrition on the part of the captain for his ill-treatment of his crew, promiſes to give 100l. if they will appear on his behalf at the trial, and contradict the aſſertions of the doctor: tells them his life was in their hands, and they muſt aſſiſt in attaining his liberty; aſſures them that the depoſitions taken at Montſerrat were all deſtroyed, and could not be brought againſt him: therefore if they were all of one mind, and would falſify the doctor's evidence, he might ſtill have his freedom. He concluded ſeveral of his letters by hoping to God he ſhould eſcape through their means, and aſſured the men, if they behaved generouſly to him, he would never forſake them nor their intereſt.

Dr. Powell and Mr. Ramſden were called in behalf of the proſecution, and ſtated, that if the treatment aſcribed to the captain was true, they had no doubt but it would occaſion death. The hanging by the heels was ſufficient to have produced inſtant apoplexy.

The priſoner, when called on for his defence, gave in a written paper, ſtating, that he had the misfortune to have a turbulent and mutinous crew, and that he was compelled to have recourſe to ſeverities in order to maintain his command. Smith, the gunner, after diſobeying his orders, ſaid, he had the key of the magazine, and would blow up the ſhip; and on another occaſion, eleven out of twenty-five of his crew went on ſhore. In ſhort, that the whole was a conſpiracy to take away his life, and the charge had been made up by the doctor out of revenge, he, the priſoner, having puniſhed him for his miſconduct. With reſpect to the letters he ſent, he was obliged to have recourſe to that expedient, as the only probable way of ſaving his life, as he found the whole of the crew leagued againſt him.

The priſoner's counſel then called captain Bell, captain Duberley, and the purſer of a veſſel called the Challenge, who depoſed that they heard Scott ſay to the crew, in a drinking-houſe at Montſerrat, "I'll make him repent flogging me. We muſt all be of one mind, or we ſhall do nothing."

Captain Brown, of the Eliza ſlave ſhip, then depoſed to the mutinous ſtate of the crew of the priſoner's ſhip; and captain D'Arcey, the commander of a Guineaman, gave the priſoner a good character for humanity.

Mr. Juſtice Le Blanc ſummed up the evidence, and, after commenting at great length, ſaid it was a queſtion purely with reſpect to the credibility of witneſſes. If they believed the facts depoſed on the part of the proſecution, they certainly amounted to murder; but if they thought the facts had been been made up of pique, rather than of public juſtice, then they would take the improbability of the caſe into conſideration, and ſay, whether, under all the circumſtances, the priſoner was not entitled to their acquittal.

The jury withdrew at five minutes after nine at night, and did not return with their verdict until ten

ten minutes after three in the morning, when they pronounced the priſoner *Not Guilty*.

The ſhort contents of two other indictments, the one charging the priſoner with the wilful murder of William Anſon, and the other charging him with a ſimilar crime upon Henry Johnſon, on board the ſaid ſhip, on the high ſeas, within the juriſdiction of the admiralty, were read; and there being no other evidence, a verdict of acquittal was pronounced upon each.

13th. A covey of partridges, conſiſting of 13 birds, come daily to the door of Henry Wilſon, eſq. at St. Helens, near Lancaſter, to be fed; they feed among the poultry, and are ſo tame, that they will even pick corn out of the hands of any of the domeſtics.

14th. At Horſington, Somerſet, a pitched battle was fought between Hazard a butcher, and Stacy a ſhoemaker, two noted bruiſers. The combatants entered a large ring, attended by their ſeconds and bottle-holders. Tom Hazard, a ſailor, ſeconded his brother, and Clarke ſeconded Stacy. The conteſt continued with little variation till the 50th round, when Stacy ſprained his wriſt ſo badly that he could not make a blow with his right hand; and, after nine more ſevere rounds, and appearing very weak, he, at the repeated requeſt of the gentlemen preſent, gave in. A diſpute having taken place between the two ſeconds, a challenge was given and accepted; and after the above was decided, they ſet to, when another ſevere conteſt took place. After 32 hard fought rounds victory was decided in favour of Hazard. Theſe were declared by amateurs to be two of the hardeſt conteſts ever witneſſed.

15th. Ann Thompſon was indicted for the wilful murder of Joſeph Walker, by ſtabbing him with a knife in the ſide, on the 26th of December laſt.

Mr. Pooley opened the caſe for the proſecution, and ſtated the following facts:—The deceaſed was a ſailor of colour, who cohabited with the priſoner in Denmark-ſtreet, near Ratcliffe Highway. On the day of the accident the priſoner and the deceaſed had been quarrelling very much, and in the evening ſhe ſhut him out of doors. He attempted ſeveral times to gain admittance, but ſhe conſtantly refuſed to let him in. At length, however, he went through a back yard, and, as the priſoner ſaid, got in at a back window. What then paſſed could only be known from the relation of the priſoner herſelf. She ſaid, he beat her very violently, and that in the ſcuffle ſhe unfortunately wounded him with the knife.

The firſt perſons who ſaw the accident, were a woman of the name of Murray, and a ſailor, called Matthew Anthony: they were alarmed at his groans, and when they entered the houſe, they found the deceaſed lying on the ground, and the priſoner weeping over him; they put him on a chair, and on examination they found that he had been wounded near the bottom of the belly, and the inteſtines were partly out of the wound. The priſoner ſaid, "This is the bloody knife, and this the bloody hand which did it." Anthony adviſed her to ſend for a doctor, and to ſay that he came home drunk and wounded; but ſhe would not ſay otherwiſe

otherwiſe than ſhe did it herſelf. She aſked the deceaſed to forgive her, and he ſaid, "I freely forgive you, Nancy." The deceaſed was carried to the hoſpital, and the priſoner attended him with great tenderneſs until he died. Theſe facts being proved, four witneſſes for the priſoner proved that the deceaſed, on the night of the accident, was ſhut out of the priſoner's houſe, and he made ſeveral ineffectual attempts to gain admiſſion, ſwearing that if he did get at her he would do for her. One witneſs ſaw him go round an alley, which led to the back part of the houſe, and ſoon afterwards ſhe heard a great noiſe, and the priſoner ſcreaming murder.—The jury found her guilty of manſlaughter.

Laſt night a tremendous gale of wind aroſe from the North-weſt, accompanied with an immenſe ſwell of the ſea and a ſpring tide, which making full upon the town and harbour of Margate, not only effected a conſiderable breach near the head of the pier, and ſhook the pier to its foundation from end to end, carrying the outer parapet nearly the whole length over into the harbour, but alſo demoliſhed the jetty or defence againſt the ſea on the weſt ſide of the High-ſtreet, and occaſioned ſeveral ſmall veſſels then lying in the harbour to break from their moorings, many of which were totally deſtroyed. Notwithſtanding theſe diſaſtrous circumſtances occurring in the harbour to ſeveral of the ſmall craft belonging to the town, yet, in evidence of the utility of the harbour, four veſſels of upwards of 100 tons burthen each, one of them of the burthen of 194 tons, and another (in ballaſt) of the burthen of 230 tons, actually came into the harbour for ſhelter, and were ſafely moored therein. The damage done by the ſtorm to the pier and harbour, and to the weſt ſide of the High-ſtreet leading to the pier and harbour, amount to the ſum of 15,000l. and upwards, excluſive of the very heavy loſſes ſuſtained by individuals.—The ſtore-houſes on the pier, the harbour-maſter's houſe, three heaps of cannon-balls, the ſhort cannon, and upwards of 25 feet of the north ſide of the pier, were completely waſhed away. The cellars of the Foy-boat public-houſe, kept by Mr. Stannard, were filled with water, in conſequence of which ſeven butts of porter burſt, which blew up the whole of the flooring of the tap-room, bar, and parlour, beſides conſiderably damaging the houſe. The large fiſhing-boats in the harbour, as well as the Good Intent packet, were ſtove to pieces. Two collier brigs and two yawls were carried over the wall on the Parade, cloſe under the windows of the hotel: the laſt are mere wrecks, and the brigs have received conſiderable damage. The water overflowed King-ſtreet, as high as the Fountain-inn. An anchor, weighing upwards of 16 cwt. lying on the Pier-walk, was waſhed behind the king's warehouſe. A little before twelve o'clock, that part of the High-ſtreet leading to Mr. Hobart's bathing-rooms, to the King's Head-inn, including Garner's library and dwelling-houſe, gave way with a moſt tremendous craſh, and was inſtantly waſhed out to ſea. The back part of the King's Head inn, kept by Mrs. Cricket, was blown up by the force of the waves. The ground under the houſes in

Hazardous-

Hazardous-row, to the depth of nearly 20 feet, is washed away. The sea has forced its passage up the valley as far as Shotten Dean, being nearly one mile in length. The shock was so sudden and unexpected, that numbers of women were carried by men out of their houses, or they must inevitably have perished. The new road to Dandelion has been nearly destroyed. The houses of Mr. Osborne and Mr. Hurst, in the High-street, are expected to fall, as the earth up to the very threshold of their doors is carried away. The cliffs on the west side of Margate lost more ground on that night than they have ever been known to do in the course of twelve years. The consternation and misery of the inhabitants beggar all description. A petition was presented to parliament for relief by the commissioners of the pier.

Deal. Yesterday, the wind having shifted suddenly from about S. S W. to N.W. it began to blow violently; and, during the night, increased to a perfect hurricane. The morning light presented a most distressing spectacle. Ships parting from their anchors, others drifting; some with the loss of topmasts and bowsprits, and some standing out of the Downs without either anchor or cable left; but providentially none have drove on shore; nor have we yet heard that any have been lost. This day the wind continued with increased violence, and brought in a most tremendous sea, which at one time even threatened the destruction of the town. The foundations of a great number of houses next the sea have been undermined, store-houses have been swept away with their contents, and the ground tier of the dwelling-houses filled with water. The sea, during the tempest, made a considerable breach between Sandown castle and the battery No. 1, which has inundated the chambers, and forced such a torrent of water into the lower streets of Deal, that the cellars have been completely filled, and property to a large amount totally destroyed. In a row of houses adjoining to Alfred-square, the torrent was so deep that boats were obliged to be got down, and the miserable inhabitants taken out of their houses from the chamber-windows. Several quays in the Beach-street, which had braved the fury of the elements for a series of years, have been totally destroyed, and the timber washed out to sea.

At Dover, the Beaufoy victualling hoy sunk at the pier-head. Three other vessels are also sunk, and many others lying-to in the Roads, without anchors or cables. The north pier-head, the harbour, and different parts of the town near the beach, are much damaged.

At Yarmouth, the gale was accompanied with a very heavy fall of snow; but no particular damage was done to the town, though the jetty and piers were much injured. The Calliope, which was building at Winterton beach, was entirely dashed to pieces; and two other ships (belonging to Leith) were driven on shore, and the rest put out to sea.

Whitstable. (Extract of a letter.)

"I am sorry to inform you of the distress of this place (though all along the coast we are fearful it is the same): the sea has laid us in ruins. Last night, women and children

children were taken from their beds, in ſkiffs, out of the windows, and ſmall veſſels which catch the oyſters were driven on ſhore. The coal yards, which contained ſome chaldrons of coals, are entirely waſhed away; not a ſmall coal left to be ſeen. The diſtreſs here is impoſſible to be deſcribed. Hearne Bay coal-wharfs are quite gone to ſea with the coals, &c.; and brigs are on ſhore with their hands in the greateſt diſtreſs. The loſs at Whitſtable muſt be 5 or 6000l. Our wall has given way, which kept the ſea from us, and this inſtant we expect much more damage. (Friday, one o'clock). The tide will be high water at two: therefore, God knows the damage we may receive! What with the houſes on the beach, the boats, and ſmall craft, the wrecks are truly diſtreſſing. We know of no lives at preſent being loſt. The wind is juſt the ſame, N.N.E.; blows hard. The carpenters' yards, with timbers, are waſhed away. Horſes in the farm-yards at Swalecliffe, and in their ſtables, were up to their necks in water. Some were ſaved at Mr. Taſſell's, Swalecliffe Court Farm. Pigs, &c. were the ſame."

Conſiderable damage has been done to the quays, &c. at Harwich, by the very high tide laſt night and this morning; the higheſt that was ever remembered by the oldeſt inhabitant.

A ſwift-footed hero, of the name of Harding, groom to a gentleman, undertook, for a wager of 20 guineas, to go from Hounſlow to Slough, and back to Smallberry-green, a diſtance of 24 miles in three hours and forty minutes. He went ſomething more than ſeven miles the firſt hour, and the ſecond hour he went ſeven miles and a quarter on the heavieſt ground. Over this ground he had to return, and he did ſix miles and a quarter in the third hour. He had three miles and a quarter to do in forty minutes, and he performed it with eaſe in inclement weather.

A ſhocking murder was perpetrated this night, at 19th. a place called Newton Bottom, in the New Foreſt, on Margaret Havard, a fine young girl, the daughter of a little farmer, by a fellow of the name of Iſaac Buzzard, a pig-dealer. The fellow had been admitted as a ſuitor to the farmer's daughter, and after a ſhort acquaintance ſhe proved pregnant. It was propoſed by Buzzard that ſhe ſhould accompany him to a merry-making about two miles from her houſe, on Tueſday night, to which ſhe conſented; but the poor girl never returned; the aſſaſſin ſtabbed her in ſeveral places. She was found dead on the enſuing morning. The monſter was taken on Thurſday, working on a navigation cut, thirty miles from Newton Bottom, after a ſtout reſiſtance, and he confeſſed the horrid crime.

Several perſons applied to Alderman Smith, the 25th. ſitting magiſtrate at Guildhall, to know how to act, as the lawful copper coin of the kingdom had been refuſed. They produced halfpence of George the 1ſt, 2d, and 3d, from the mint, which had been rejected on the ground that they were not the new coinage. The city ſolicitor declared it to be his opinion, "that perſons refuſing to take the lawful coin of his Majeſty, as ſpecified in his proclamation, were

were liable to an information, and, of courſe, would be proceeded againſt by the Solicitor of the Mint."

A beautiful ſpecimen of virgin gold was lately found in a tin ſtream in Cornwall. It is about the length and thickneſs of a lady's little finger, though leſs regularly formed, and weighs above two ounces. Its intrinſic value is nine guineas; but, as a ſpecimen, it is invaluable; for though gold has been frequently found in the ſtream works, and that in larger quantities than is generally known, this is unqueſtionably the largeſt and moſt beautiful ſpecimen ever found in Cornwall.

28th. This morning the brig Catherine, of 111 tons ſet ſail from Spithead, having on board only the owner, his ſon, and two men. About 5 p. m. a large lugger was diſcovered, which made towards the brig, which was then off the Owers, and boarded and took poſſeſſion of her; ſhe carried 18 guns and 100 men; when ſhe had taken the owner and his ſon from the brig, ſhe put four men on board, (two French, a Dane, and a perſon whom they fear is an Engliſhman) and then left her. The captors were now ſteering for a French port, when, after having kept poſſeſſion for about three hours, the prize-maſter, a Frenchman, went below, and the two Engliſh ſeamen, who had been left on board, agreed to attempt a recapture. They accordingly attacked the remaining three. W. Francis began by ſtriking with a cutlaſs at the man at the helm, who returned it with a bayonet, and was ſtabbed in the breaſt, and thrown overboard. Francis then engaged a Frenchman, and was himſelf knocked down, but being relieved by his meſſmate, J. Thomſon, who had hitherto ſtood centry over the prize-maſter and a Dane who had eſcaped below, the Frenchman "ſcudded," as Francis terms it, down below, and hid himſelf in the forecaſtle, and never again exhibited his laurels till nine this morning. The man, ſuppoſed to be an Engliſhman, who had been thrown overboard, having got on board again, attempted to renew the conteſt, but with the loſs of blood, fell down motionleſs. It was now about ten o'clock, and the two Britons, having entirely ſubdued their four opponents, took the wounded man below, and covered him up with a blanket, ordered two of their priſoners below, and kept one on deck, to aſſiſt them in working the ſhip, which they brought ſafe into Dover harbour at ten next morning.

This morning the trial of General Whitelocke, before a court martial, conſiſting of 25 members, commenced at Chelſea College. Sir W. Meadows, preſident. Generals Garth, Norton, Lake, Monſon, Moore, Nugent, Hulſe, Dundas, Pigot, Clanricard, Cuyler, Ogilvy, Fox, Sir E. Duffe, Harris, Manners, Welford, Garth, Stavely, and Sir C. Roſs *.

30th. Several houſes in Prince's-ſtreet, Prince's-court, and Angel-court, Weſtminſter, were deſtroyed by a fire, which was diſcovered in a deſerted houſe. No lives were loſt; but a poor woman had both her legs broken.

* For the charges and reſult of the trial, ſee the Hiſtory of Europe, 1807, p. 195—197.

DIED.

DIED.—3d. At Ballywalter, Ireland, aged 98, Mr. Hercules M'Dowal, who lived to ſee 31 grand children, and 51 great grand children.

23d. Mr. Robert Freebairn, an eminent landſcape painter.

FEBRUARY.

2d. *Eſcape from a Tiger.*—A bhurr laden with water for the Caſtle Eden, Indiaman, having, through the miſmanagement of her people, got on ground on Saugur Iſland, Mr. Tyrer went with a boat's crew to endeavour to get her off; and for the ſake of the walk leaped on ſhore, whilſt his boat pulled toward the bhurr, and inclining a little way from the beach he unluckily came upon the haunt of a large royal tiger, which, by the noiſe he made, fortunately gave Mr. Tyrer warning of the danger in which he ſtood. On ſeeing the ferocious animal Mr. Tyrer ſprang towards and ruſhed into the water, and the tiger plunged in after him in all the eagerneſs of purſuit. Mr. Tyrer, though an excellent ſwimmer, ſoon obſerved his adverſary to gain upon him, when, with an admirable preſence of mind, which ultimately ſaved him from the fangs of the monſter, he dived beneath the water, and continued there as long as poſſible. On raiſing his head above the ſurface, he had the pleaſure to behold his antagoniſt ſwimming leiſurely back to land. He afterwards gained the ſhip's boat in ſafety; owing his eſcape to a quick and fortunate deciſion in a circumſtance of great preſſure and peril.

Dantzic. In the night between the 1ſt and 2d inſt. a fire broke out in the tanneries of the old town, which raged with ſuch fury, that, notwithſtanding all the aſſiſtance that could be given, it continued burning for 24 hours. In the afternoon of the 2d, another conflagration, which threatened to be ſtill more dangerous than the former, broke out in a large magazine, which had been made into a barrack; but the effectual exertions that were made to extinguiſh it, eſpecially by the French troops, ſoon ſtopped the progreſs of the flames. The city preſents a ſcene of deſolation. More than 100 buildings are reduced to aſhes. The ſteeple of the church of the Holy Ghoſt has fallen down, and many perſons have been maimed, and even loſt their lives on this diſaſtrous occaſion.

3d. It is with concern we ſtate, that in conſequence of the loſs of the Rambler, belonging to Leith, no leſs than 150 emigrants, who embarked at Thurſo, were drowned in her off the American coaſt. From whence thoſe emigrants came, is uncertain; but it is ſaid many ſmall tenants have been removed, and their little farms let to ſheep farmers, in the pariſhes of Fare, Lairgs Creech, and Rogart, in the county of Sutherland. The diminution of the inhabitants of our iſland is at all times a ſubject of regret, and the annals of our country cannot point out a period when the emigration of the Highlanders would have been more regretted than the preſent, when recruits for our ſtanding army and militia are ſo hard to be found. From thirty to forty guineas, is, we underſtand,

the common bounty paid in Scotland for ſubſtitutes, and in moſt of the counties in the kingdom.

4th. A fire broke out about ſix in the morning in Caſtle-ſtreet, Leiceſter-fields, at Miſs Pickman's, who kept a lace-ſhop, which raged with ſuch ungovernable fury, that in about two hours three large houſes were completely burned to the ground, and three houſes adjoining ſo much damaged as to be rendered uninhabitable. When the fire broke out, the inhabitants, being faſt aſleep, did not hear the knocking, which was repeated for ſome time at the door. At length a pannel was burſt in, and it was ſeen that the counter and ſhelves behind it were all in a blaze. The admiſſion of air fanned the flame, and every part of the houſe was quickly on fire. There was but a lath and plaſter wall between that and the houſe of Mr. Blewett, who kept a cook's ſhop next door; and the two houſes in a ſhort time exhibited but one body of fire in the lower part of both. Miſs Pickman, her ſervant, a gentleman who lodged in the houſe, and the niece of Miſs Pickman, a fine young girl, who acted as ſhop-woman to the aunt, were awakened, but had no time either to ſave any of the property or to dreſs themſelves. The lady of the houſe went out of the one-pair-of-ſtairs window on the leads over the ſhop. By her heſitation as to which way ſhe ſhould turn, the gentleman who followed had time to recollect that he had forgot a little box, which contained ſomething valuable; he returned to his apartments, and brought it out. The ſervant-maid then followed; ſhe lowered herſelf down by a lamp-iron into the ſtreet unhurt, while Miſs Pickman and her lodger got into the window of Mr. Ball, the muſic-ſeller. The ſhop-woman, Miſs Pickman's niece, ran, as in a bewildered ſtate, up to the three-pair-of-ſtairs floor. The neighbours on the oppoſite ſide called to her to go down to the firſt floor, and to get out on the leads: ſhe appeared to have been momentarily deprived of her reaſon, and, when ſome ſtupid people in the ſtreet, without taking the precaution of holding a blanket or any thing to receive her, told her to jump out, or ſhe would be burnt, ſhe did ſo, and was literally daſhed to pieces. Mrs. Blewett, of the next houſe, with her infant, were for ſome time miſſed; but it was afterwards found that they eſcaped ſafely, through a dormant window, over the top of the houſe, into another that was not on fire.

Wiltſhire.—A monument has lately been erected in Donhead church, by the widow of the late Captain Cooke, one of the heroes of Trafalgar, to the memory of that gallant officer. The following inſcription engraven upon it is from the pen of the Rev. Mr. Bowles:

"Sacred to the Memory of John Cooke, Eſq.
Late Captain of his Majeſty's ſhip the Bellerophon;
Who, in the battle of Trafalgar, on the 21ſt of October, 1805,
Having evinced conſummate ſkill and bravery fell,
At a moment, glorious indeed to his country,

But

But marked by the individual tears of all who knew him.
His inconſolable widow places this tablet
To record his virtues and his fate,
Near the ſpot of his favourite retirement, to which
(Having left it at the call of his country)
He returned no more!

"Be merciful to her, O God, who bends,
And mourns the beſt of huſbands, fathers, friends!
Oh when ſhe wakes at midnight but to ſhed
Freſh tears of anguiſh on her lonely bed,
Thinking on him who is *not*, then reſtrain
Her bitter thoughts, and her ſad heart ſuſtain.
Father of mercies! ſhe remembers ſtill
Thy chaſtening hand, and to thy ſovereign will
Bows ſilent, but not hopeleſs, while her eye
She raiſes to a bright futurity;
Aſſur'd, in better worlds Thou wilt reſtore
That happineſs ſhe here can know no more!"

Dr. Anderſon has diſcovered that the Kew Nopal, which is ſo far an air plant as to preſerve life, and capacity of vegetation for months after an entire removal from the earth, has peculiar qualities for the prevention of ſcurvy in ſeamen. The taſte of the plant is ſaid to reſemble the ſorrel. It has been uſed on board ſeveral of his Majeſty's ſhips in the Indian ſeas, with very good effect both in a crude and boiled ſtate.

7th. An inquiſition was taken at St. George's hoſpital on the body of Mary Carpmeal, who drowned herſelf in the Serpentine river, on the preceding day. The deceaſed, a fine young woman, 18 years of age, was the niece of the late Mr. Carpmeal, of Bow-ſtreet police office, and her father recently kept the Coach and Horſes in Mount-ſtreet. It appeared in evidence, that the deceaſed was walking in the Park with her ſiſter and others, whom ſhe had gone that afternoon to viſit, and on a ſudden ſhe ran away from her companions and in their ſight threw herſelf into the river. A gentleman's ſervant who was on the ſpot, but unfortunately could not ſwim, tied three handkerchiefs together to ſave her, which ſhe attempted to ſeize hold of, but at length ſunk. A man of colour plunged into the water ſoon after, and he ſucceeded in getting the body to the ſhore, but every means to reſtore animation proved unſucceſsful. It was ſtated that a love attachment had deprived the deceaſed of her ſenſes. Verdict—*Lunacy*.

A dreadful fire broke out at the printing-office of Mr. Nichols, in Red Lion Paſſage, Fleet-ſtreet. There is no certainty as to the manner in which it originated, more than that it is generally ſuppoſed to have begun from a ſnuff of candle having been dropped in the ware-room. The whole of that very extenſive concern is conſumed, and valuable works that have been accumulating for many years have been entirely loſt. Meſſrs. Nichols and Son were inſured to the amount

amount of 12,000l. but that ſum is by no means equal to cover their loſs. There is a remarkable circumſtance related, which is as follows: a ſervant girl was in the kitchen, almoſt ſuffocated with the ſmoke, and unable through terror and the deprivation of breath to move; a fireman diſcovered it, broke open the window, and at the riſk of his own life ſaved the girl's. The Red Lion public-houſe, Mr. Edward's printing-office, the Scottiſh hoſpital, and ſome other adjacent places, ſuſtained partial injury. The 3d London and ſome other volunteers muſtered with promptitude, and were extremely ſerviceable.

The celebrated Major Semple met with another unexpected detention on Wedneſday, in Upper Seymour-ſtreet, in conſequence of his having forgotten to ſatisfy the demands of a tradeſman a few days ſince, and he met with a very unexpected deliverance by the liberality of the Earl of B. The major called at the ſhop of a perfumer a few days ſince, and looked out ornaments to the amount of 25 ſhillings, and requeſted the tradeſman to give him the change for a 5l. note, and on his being about to do ſo, the major begged pardon, and with an air of affected ſurpriſe, obſerved that his note was for ten pounds. By this ſtratagem, which was ſo dexterouſly executed, the major obtained poſſeſſion of the goods, and the tradeſman found himſelf duped. He however eſpied his cuſtomer on Wedneſday in Seymour-ſtreet, and demanded his money, but the major was deſtitute of either caſh or note, and he took refuge in the houſe of a Mr. Frear, to avoid the mob, and a conſtable was charged with him. The Earl of B. was paſſing by, and on perceiving a crowd, inquired into the buſineſs, and on the tradeſman making his caſe known, his lordſhip paid the demand; but there were other clamorous creditors in the ſtreet, and to avoid their unpleaſant importunities Mr. Semple decamped from the back part of the houſe.

10th. About half paſt one o'clock, as the Marquis of Thomond was riding through Groſvenor-ſquare, attended by a ſervant, his horſe ſuddenly ſtarted, or got unexpectedly on the pavement, when he plunged and threw the marquis to a conſiderable diſtance in the carriage-way, where his lordſhip was taken up completely ſtunned. A cart driving haſtily along is ſuppoſed to have frightened his horſe. He was carried into Lord Sydney's houſe, and expired in about a quarter of an hour.

A few days ago a young woman was forcibly carried from her mother's houſe at Killbarry, near Waterford, upon a ſpeculation of compelling her to marry the perſon at the head of the party who took her off. She was detained for ſeveral days: when her mother, coming to the knowledge of the place of her confinement, ſent propoſals to the party, ſtating that ſhe would ſettle matters, and that if they would bring the girl, they ſhould have a good dinner. In the mean time, ſhe procured a few dragoons; the party and the girl came according to agreement, when the propoſed bridegroom was recognized, and the dragoons came forward to take him: this unfortunate man being armed, and having more courage than prudence, fired at the ſoldiers, determined to fight his way; but

in

in the conteſt, a ball entered his groin, which was afterwards extracted at his back; and he now lies in cuſtody, under medical treatment, with little hope of recovery.

Early in the month was ſhot at Rufford, Lancaſhire, by the gamekeeper of Sir T. D. Heſketh, a beautiful cream-coloured cock partridge. This extraordinary bird has been ſtuffed, and may be ſeen at Rufford-hall.

11th. The ſnow ſtorm of laſt night was the ſevereſt experienced for a length of time. The accounts received from various parts of the interior are very diſtreſſing. Many perſons have loſt their lives, ſome of whom were frozen to death, and others killed by carriages upſetting. The fall of ſnow was particularly heavy upon the north road; in many parts it drifted from forty to fifty feet deep. In every direction it was found neceſſary to put an additional number of horſes to the coaches, but in few inſtances only was the difficulty thus overcome. In the vicinity of Biggleſwade, the Newcaſtle and ſeveral other mail-coaches were completely buried in the ſnow; and it was only by the greateſt labour and exertions that the paſſengers were reſcued from their perilous ſituation. In other places the mails were taken out, and forwarded on horſeback; but even this mode of conveyance was interrupted in ſome caſes. Several horſes were killed, either by falls or exceſſive fatigue. The damage done at ſea, we fear, has been very conſiderable, particularly on the north and eaſtern coaſts. Along the whole Kentiſh coaſt a great number of veſſels have been driven on ſhore.

The accounts from Bury and Newmarket, reſpecting the fall of the ſnow, and its conſequences, are of the moſt extraordinary kind; in the open lands the depth of the ſnow was tremendous: two ſhepherds were found dead on Newmarket heath, and many other perſons are ſuppoſed to have periſhed. At Bury there was a county ball on Thurſday, where all the company from the neighbourhood were detained till Sunday and Monday; they, however, contrived to keep themſelves not only alive, but merry, during the time, having a public ordinary daily at the Angel-inn, and ſucceſſive balls every evening, with but little ceremony about change of apparel, and even under a ſhort allowance of clean linen.

Shortly after Lady Clare retired to her bed-chamber at night, a large ſtack of chimnies above it was blown down, and forced in part of the roof and ceiling of her bed-room; when near a ton of bricks, together with the ceiling, fell in and literally buried her. In this perilous ſituation ſhe remained till near four o'clock, when ſhe was releaſed by her domeſtics, without having ſuffered any material injury.

13th. Joſeph Fawcet, of Keſnick New Mill, killed a Hampſhire hog which meaſured, from the extremity of the head to that of the tail, nine feet two inches; and from the hinder feet to the extremity of the head eight feet two inches; and weighing forty-two ſtone and ſix pounds.

15th. A boy, fourteen years of age, who had been miſſing ſince the 3d inſtant, was found alive in the Lee-field colliery, near

Cheſter-le-ſtreet. When he went into the pit, being unwell, and unable to work, he walked into ſome of the out-workings, and loſt himſelf. He had nothing to eat ſince the day on which he was loſt. He heard perſons in ſearch of him ſeveral times, and called to them; but being ſo weak, they could not hear him. Notwithſtanding this aſtoniſhing fact, he is in a fair way of recovery.

16th. *Newcaſtle.*—On Friday night came on from the north, one of the moſt dreadful ſtorms of ſnow which has been experienced here for ſeveral years. It was accompanied with a ſevere gale of wind, and continued almoſt without interruption till the following day in the afternoon. We fear that the accounts of the ſhipping from the coaſts round the iſland will be highly diſaſtrous, as by the different reports which have already reached us, the ſtorm appears to have been felt very generally. No London mails, nor, indeed, any mail ſouth of York, have reached us, ſince Friday at noon, ſo that we are led to believe that the ſtorm has been even more ſevere in the midland and ſouthern counties of England than in the north. Such a circumſtance is unprecedented in the memory of the oldeſt perſon living: coaches have been ſometimes ſtopped for two or three days, but the mail was never detained above a day, being always forwarded by ſome route or other on horſeback. At York they are completely unacquainted with the cauſe of the detention of the mail, nor do they even know at what particular ſpot or place the great interruption is, ſo completely are they locked up from any intercourſe with the ſouth.

A ſerious affray took place at Shadwell. A drunken ſailor paſſing by the reſidence of the Laſcar ſeamen, gave one of them ſome offence. A quarrel enſued, and the ſailor beat his antagoniſt, who ran to his quarters. The Laſcars, nearly 400 in number, then ſallied out to attack the ſailor, armed with bludgeons, pokers, &c. The ſailor made an obſtinate reſiſtance, and fought deſperately, with a knife in one hand, and a bludgeon in the other. In the ſcuffle the ſailor ſtabbed one of the Laſcars in three places of his body, and finally effected his eſcape to a public-houſe. The Laſcars then ſurrounded the houſe, and brought the ſailor out. They would have conveyed him to their quarters, where he would doubtleſs have fallen a ſacrifice to their fury, had not the funeral train of a volunteer happened to obſtruct their progreſs. The volunteers, who belonged to one of the Whitechapel corps, hearing the ſhouts of the Laſcars, and being informed of the cauſe, immediately cut off the retreat of them, by puſhing forward with fixed bayonets on each ſide the ſtreet. The Laſcars immediately ſurrendered. They were then made priſoners in their quarters, centinels being placed before the doors.

Lately a cat in Greenock brought forth a very remarkable and perfect monſter of her own ſpecies. It has one head, four ears, eight feet, and two tails; it is one body from the naval up, as it were breaſt to breaſt, and from the navel back forms two kittens; what is remarkable, the one is male, the other female. It had ſuckled for ſome days, and, from all appearance would have lived to maturity, but unfortunately for the admirers

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of natural curioſities, it was deprived of its life from ſuperſtitious motives.

16th. *Caſſel.*—A deputation of the Jews in the kingdom of Weſtphalia has aſſembled here, conſiſting partly of rabbis, partly of elders. On the 8th, the deputation were introduced by M. Iſrael Jacobſon, counſellor of finances, to the miniſter of ſtate, M. Simeon, and afterwards to king Jerome. Mr. Jacobſon addreſſed his majeſty in a ſhort ſpeech, and the following is part of the reply which was made:—

"I am ſatisfied with your ſpeech. That article in the conſtitution of my kingdom, which eſtabliſhes the equality of all religions, is in perfect uniſon with the feelings of my heart. The law ought to interrupt no man in the exerciſe of his worſhip. Each ſubject is as much at liberty to obſerve the rules of his faith, as the king is to follow his religion. The duties of the citizen are the only objects which the laws of the government can regulate."

17th. *Court of Common Pleas.*—The rope-dancer and the conjurer! Price v. Moritz. Mr. ſerjeant Shepherd ſtated the plaintiff's caſe: it was an action, he ſaid, to recover ten guineas (being the amount of ſalary for one month, at the rate of two guineas and a half per week), from the defendant, manager of the *Temple of Apollo*, in Catherine-ſtreet, in the Strand. The plaintiff is a lady eminent for her abilities as a *rope-dancer!* She was with her huſband at Cambridge, when the defendant was exhibiting his *wonderful* performances as the *emperor of the conjurers*, and aſtoniſhing the grave and learned members of that Univerſity, the thoughtleſs and gay, and, in ſhort, every deſcription of perſons!!—Allured by the *ſplendid* offer of an engagement for *three months*, the plaintiff and his wife were induced to come to London, where, under the high-ſounding title of *Signora Belinda*, this *conjuring* manager announced *his fair client* to the world!—She performed, and the conſequence was, that crowds ran to witneſs her performance; the *conjurer* contrived to pocket the caſh; and the public was pleaſed with his *deceptions*. The plaintiff, however, now complained of a ſpecies of *deception*, which he had neither inſerted in his bills, nor, indeed, in the agreement which he had entered into with her. He had turned her from the theatre, after performing two or three weeks, and refuſed to fulfil his engagement. The learned gentleman read a variety of hand-bills and bills of performance. Among them was one in which the defendant challenged that "*lump of arrogance*," Mr. Ingleby (who had denominated himſelf *emperor of the conjurers*), to a trial of *ſkill* in the art of *deceptions*, for the ſum of *three hundred guineas*. He had not only challenged him, but had gone further, and bid the world enter the liſts with him—a ſecond Buonaparte, in point of *deception*.—After making ſome further obſervations, he proceeded to prove his caſe, and called evidence to eſtabliſh the facts of the engagement at the ſtipulated ſum of two guineas and a half per week—that ſhe was ordered on the 23d of November to quit the theatre, and never come there again; and alſo, that ſhe had offered her ſervices to fulfil the engagement ſhe had entered into.

Mr. ſerjeant Beſt, for the de-

fendant, lamented that the caſe ſhould not have fallen into abler hands than his. He was no match for his learned brother (Shepherd); he never attended theſe ſort of places; but his learned brother did, and conſequently was well acquainted with their *tricks* and *deceptions*; and could of courſe manage ſuch a cauſe with better *ſkill*. He had deſcribed his client wrongly—he was *not* the emperor of the conjurers, nor did he wiſh to be ſo conſidered—he was nothing more than a *profeſſor* of the art of *conjuration!* Whatever *ſkill* Buonaparte might have in making and unmaking kings and emperors, *profeſſor Moritz* did not wiſh to be put on a footing with him in that reſpect. His was but an humble *deception* of the world! With reſpect to the preſent action, the lady had herſelf to thank for the diſmiſſal; for ſhe had diſmiſſed herſelf!—Not only that, but ſhe had thruſt herſelf into the private apartment of *profeſſor Moritz*, while he was adjuſting with Miſs Wood their *odd matters*, and *balancing accounts*; had ſtruck him with an umbrella, and abuſed him in the groſſeſt terms; calling him "*a little German humbug!*" Adding, that ſhe would never enter his theatre again, nor *grace* the Apollonian temple with her *agile feats*. Under theſe conſiderations the jury would have no heſitation in turning her round, and finding a verdict for the defendant.

Several witneſſes were called for the defendant.

A Mr. *Denham*, one of the *vocal corps*, ſtated that Signora Belinda had, late on Saturday evening, the 23d November, bounced into the room in which Mr. Moritz and Miſs Wood, his partner, were ſettling the accounts of the evening. That Mr. Moritz requeſted ſhe would withdraw for a few minutes, as he was engaged. She refuſed; and then he ſaid, "Am I not your *maſter*, and the manager, and have the right to inſiſt upon your leaving the room?" The *Signora* rejoined in warmth, "What! you my *maſter!* damn you! you dirty little German *humbug!*" Not content with this, ſhe lifted up her umbrella, and ſtruck the manager twice, ſaying ſhe would not enter his theatre again. Mr. Moritz told her that her wages were not due till Monday; that if ſhe would come then, ſhe ſhould have her money; and never ſhould enter the theatre after that night. He ſaid the lady was *four feet five inches high*.

Several witneſſes corroborated the ſtatement in nearly the ſame words.

Mr. ſerjeant Shepherd, in the courſe of his reply, introduced matter which ſerved to amuſe the audience. Among other obſervations he ſaid, that the conduct of the *emperor* was ſuch that no *ſpunky* dame could put up with! There were certain epithets, which, if applied to women, they never either forget or forgive. No woman likes to acknowledge a *maſter*, eſpecially if ſhe were in the habit of *wearing the breeches!* Was it to be wondered at then, that this lady ſhould reſent ſuch language? None, whatever ſtation of life they might fill, approved of degrading terms. That the *conjurer* was manager, ſhe was ready to admit; but to inſult her with the epithet of *maſter*, was too much. In obſerving upon the teſtimony given reſpecting the attack upon the *conjurer*, he ſaid *that*

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could not be ſeriouſly meant, for ſhe had been deſcribed as a little woman, not more than *four feet* high, and the conjurer was an athletic man, *ſix feet* high and upwards. (Moritz, who ſat behind ſerjeant Shepherd, roſe up, and ſaid, "Here I am, ſir, at your ſervice!" This incident excited much mirth; for he appeared to be a *little man*, not more than *five feet*, although poſſeſſing a pair of heavy ſhoulders! Mutual civilities paſſed between the ſerjeant and the *emperor*.)

The learned ſerjeant then proceeded, and obſerved, that the *emperor*, however was determined that he ſhould not be *deceived!* The *exhibition* of his perſon was certainly intended to do away any impreſſion which the jury might entertain of his intention to *humbug* them! He was, in fact, an athletic man! After ſome further obſervations, he concluded with truſting that they would find a verdict for his client, and thereby *out-conjure the conjurer*, and trick him at his own tricks; for this defence was a trick to defeat the plaintiff's juſt demand.

Sir James Mansfield wiſhed that this unfortunate cauſe had not been brought into court. It would have been better for theſe poor perſons that ſome friend out of court had undertaken to ſettle their differences. Actions of this nature only ſerved the purpoſe of attorneys! The learned judge then obſerved, that from the evidence it was clear that the plaintiff had diſcharged herſelf! If the jury believed the teſtimony of the defendant's witneſſes, they would find a verdict for him. He ſaw no reaſon to doubt the evidence, as they agreed in all the leading facts.—Verdict for the defendant.

Among other accidents which occurred from the late inundation on the Norfolk coaſt, one gentleman farmer, beſides having upwards of two hundred acres laid under water, loſt thirty-five fine ſheep of the Leiceſterſhire breed; the Norfolks ſwam like dogs, ſome nearly a quarter of a mile, and were ſaved. 18th.

A piece of wreck was driven on ſhore near Margate. There were, when it was firſt obſerved, ſix ſeamen upon it; but, within one hundred yards of the ſhore, a heavy ſea upſet them, and they all periſhed. The ſpectators on ſhore could not afford them any aid.—Two luggers belonging to that place, in ſtanding out of the harbour in the evening, for the purpoſe of anſwering ſignals of diſtreſs, ran foul of each other, by means of which one of them ſunk, and two of the crew were drowned. The remains of the pier at that place preſents a moſt mournful ſpectacle; that which once afforded ſecurity and protection to the town, encouraged its commercial intereſts, and was regarded as one of its brighteſt ornaments, is now reduced to a pile of ruins. 19th.

Copy of a Petition preſented to the Houſe of Commons, Feb. 19.—To the knights, citizens, and burgeſſes of the honourable houſe of commons, of Great Britain and Ireland, in the united parliament aſſembled:—The petition of Alexander Stephens, of the honourable ſociety of the Middle Temple, and Park Houſe, in the county of Middleſex, eſquire, humbly ſhoweth, That certain perſons lately ſerving the office of grand jurymen for the county of Middleſex, to the number of about nine, having viſited

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the houſe of correction for the ſaid county, commonly called Cold-Bath Fields Priſon, on Tueſday, Nov. 3, in the year of our Lord 1807, between the hours of eleven and twelve in the forenoon :—— They there diſcovered that all the loaves found by them (each of which ought to contain ſixteen ounces, and to be diſtributed daily, at ten o'clock in the morning) were greatly deficient in point of quantity, as will be ſeen from the annexed ſtatement on the part of one of the magiſtrates of the city of London. ——That the priſon weight demanded and uſed upon the preſent occaſion, for trying the loaves in rotation, proved alſo deficient, as was fully demonſtrated in both inſtances on the ſame day, when compared with the ſtandard at Guildhall, in the preſence, firſt, of ſir W. Leighton, knight, then lord mayor; and afterwards of Richard Phillips, eſq. then and ſtill one of the ſheriffs of London and Middleſex, as well as of four of the late grand jury; and, moreover, that the ſcales of the ſaid priſon were falſe and fraudulent.

Your petitioner, together with other gentlemen, late members of the grand jury, alſo diſcovered that ſeveral of the liege ſubjects of this realm were committed to cloſe cuſtody in cells deſtitute of fire, 8 feet 3 inches long, by 6 feet 3 inches wide, two of them in irons, although ſick; ſome, if not all, of theſe were then innocent in point of fact, as all were then innocent in point of law, being detained under the pretext of re-examination, and conſequently uncondemned by the legal judgment of their peers, or even the accuſatory verdict of a grand jury. Of this number were a mother, a daughter, and a ſon, of creditable appearance; the two former in one cell, ſo ſituated as to be expoſed to a continual current of external air, without the poſſibility of obtaining, even during the ſevereſt froſt, an artificial warmth by means of fuel, while the convicts below enjoyed all the comforts of an open roomy ward, with occaſional acceſs to fire. —That in one of theſe lonely cells was cloſely confined a foreigner of ſome rank, the chevalier de Blin, who, as we were told by one of the jailors, while ſo immured, had been deprived of his reaſon, and who preſented to your petitioner, after communicating with him for ſome time in the French language through the key-hole, and demanding entrance, a memorial on his knees.——That in this place, originally deſtined for the improvement of the morals of petty offenders, a female priſoner, as we have learned, has been lately debauched by the ſon of the chief jailor, or governor, who then held an office of truſt in the priſon, and has ſince had a child, now, or at leaſt lately, burdenſome to the pariſh of Kenſington in the county of Middleſex.——That four debtors were ſhut up in this houſe of correction, the only communication between whom and the world appears to take place occaſionally, by means of two iron grates, at upwards of ſix feet diſtance from each other, with a jailor walking in at intervals, ſo as to preclude complaint; and that from the examination of a debtor, and alſo by a letter from him, both in the poſſeſſion of your petitioner, it appears that he was ſhut up with perſons guilty of robbery, and unnatural crimes.—— And, laſtly, that ſix innocent perſons, the bills againſt whom had been

been thrown out by the grand jury, were dragged from Cold Bath Fields priſon to Hick's-hall, in open day, at the cloſe of the ſeſſion, firſt manacled, and then faſtened together by a rope, to be diſcharged by proclamation.— Your petitioner, therefore, conceiving that ſuch groſs inſtances of fraud, coupled with ſuch an open violation of the laws, and even of the expreſs orders of ſeſſion, are calculated to bring his majeſty's government into contempt, and caſt unmerited odium on our moſt excellent conſtitution; thinking alſo that, if ſuch mal-practices were detected in a caſual and ſlight ſurvey, of leſs than two hours duration, far greater abuſes are likely to be brought to light, by the intervention of the grand inqueſt of the nation, moſt humbly and earneſtly ſolicits this honourable houſe to take the premiſes into conſideration, and by a public and open examination at its bar, or any other mode, afford ſuch relief as may ſeem meet.

A. Stephens.

19th. The inhabitants of the town of Stoney Stratford were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation by information which arrived from Wolverton, that the three large aqueduct arches under the immenſely high embankment, made about four years ago, for carrying the new line of the grand junction canal acroſs the valley, about a mile below that town, had fallen in; and that the river Ouſe was ſo dammed up thereby, that the town muſt ſhortly be entirely inundated to a great depth. The fears of thoſe who haſtened to the ſpot, were much allayed, by finding, that one of theſe arches, which had been propped up underneath with timber, ſoon after the centers were ſtruck, was ſtill ſtanding; and that this one arch, there being no flood in the river, was able to carry off the water as faſt as it came down. On examining the other two arches, it appeared that about 22 yards in length of the middle part had fallen in, and blocked up the openings, laying the canal above in complete ruins, emptying it as far as the neareſt ſtop-gate on each ſide.

Kenſington Palace, Feb. 21.— Lieutenant-colonel Veſey is commanded by his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Kent to requeſt the inſertion of the following:

Although the Duke of Kent flatters himſelf that the officers of the Britiſh Army with whom he has had the good fortune of ſerving in the Mediterranean, America, and the Weſt Indies, will do him the juſtice to believe, that his abſence from Gibraltar at this time, when that fortreſs is menaced by a formidable attack of the enemy, is not owing to any backwardneſs on his part to repair to that ſtation to which his duty calls him, or for want of his uſing his utmoſt exertions to be allowed to reſume the actual command of his government, he feels that he owes it to his own character no leſs as a man than as a ſoldier, to make known to them, to the whole army, and to his countrymen in general, the terms on which he felt it his duty to addreſs his Majeſty upon this ſubject, immediately upon the arrival of the laſt accounts from Gibraltar; and truſts that when theſe have been peruſed, he ſhall ſtand acquitted in the opinion of his brother officers of the army, and of his countrymen, of having been deficient in his duty.

Sire,—The letters received by

the mail juſt arrived from the Mediterranean, having brought the certain information that orders had reached Algeziras from Madrid, immediately to make ſuch preparations in the neighbourhood of Gibraltar as put beyond doubt the intention of the enemy to beſiege it, I could not, under ſuch circumſtances, reconcile it to my feelings, were I to delay a moment in not only aſſuring your Majeſty of my readineſs inſtantly to go out there, but in earneſtly ſoliciting your ſanction for my reſuming the duties attached to the commiſſion I have the honour of holding as Governor of that fortreſs. To your Majeſty, who yourſelf poſſeſs ſo nice a ſenſe of honour, it is quite unneceſſary for me to repreſent, that on the reſult of your deciſion upon this requeſt, which I beg leave in the moſt dutiful, yet in the ſtrongeſt manner to preſs upon your attention, every thing moſt dear to me in life, I mean my character as a man, and my profeſſional credit as a ſoldier, are at ſtake. I will not, therefore, preſume to ſay more than that I place thoſe in your Majeſty's hands, with no leſs confidence in your juſtice as my Sovereign, than your indulgence as my parent. With every ſentiment of the moſt devoted attachment, and the moſt dutiful reſpect, I have the honour to ſubſcribe myſelf,

Your Majeſty's moſt affectionate ſon, and moſt faithful ſervant and ſubject,

To the King. EDWARD.

The duke of Kent conceives that it would be ſuperfluous to add any obſervations upon the foregoing lines, except that he is not going out to Gibraltar, that being a ſufficient explanation of the reſult of his application; and his whole motive of intruding the peruſal of them upon the public at this time, being that of clearing his own character from the aſperſions that muſt unavoidably attach to it in conſequence of his abſence from his government at ſuch a moment as the preſent one, were it conceived to be voluntary on his part, or that he had been paſſive on the occaſion.

Buonaparte has adopted a very extenſive plan for the improvement of Paris:—Amongſt other objects, all the ſtreets between the Carouſel and the Louvre are to be pulled down; and another gallery, correſponding with the gallery of the Louvre, to be built, with an open arcade, leaving in the front of the Thuilleries a parade ſufficiently large to exerciſe an army of 100,000 men.—Another new bridge is building over the Seine, from the middle of the Champ de Mars; ſeveral new fountains are erecting; and the new national monument in the cemetery of the Magdalens, and the triumphal arch in the garden of the Thuilleries, commemorative of the victories of Napoleon, are proſecuting with activity. The other national works going forward are,—a column 150 feet high, in the Place Vendome, to the honour of the French arms, with an avenue to the Boulevards; a martial temple on the Boulevard St. Honoré, to contain the ſtatues of the different generals who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves; on plates of gold, the names of all the officers and men who fell in battle are to be diſplayed; and on plates of ſilver, the names of ſuch as ſurvived thoſe conflicts; a temple to victory

tory at the barrier of the Champs Elyſées, of immenſe magnitude; a new façade to the Legiſlative palace; the Pantheon of St. Genevieve; the quay of Deſaix, which is to be faced with a piazza; and the column of Roſtock.

Buonaparte has lately fitted up his library in the Engliſh taſte, and rather plain than otherwiſe; it is decorated with marble buſts of celebrated characters, among which are thoſe of Mr. Fox and lord Nelſon.

25th. This morning the manor houſe of Lilly, near Luton, the ſeat of Mr. Sowerby was burnt down. The younger Mr. Sowerby and a Mr. Keene had retired to bed about twelve, leaving only a few wood embers in the library grate. Between four and five in the morning one of the men ſervants, on getting up, was alarmed by a noiſe like that of perſons breaking into the houſe, and rouſing a companion, he went to the ſpot whence it proceeded. On opening the library door, a volume of fire and ſmoke broke out, and cut off the retreat of one, while the other eſcaped through the paſſage. The former, by his cries, and by diſcharging a piſtol which he had taken with him, firſt alarmed the two gentlemen, who were faſt aſleep. Mr. Sowerby's room was fortunately over the leads of the portico, upon which he let himſelf down, and was ſaved by the ſervant, who had eſcaped by means of a ladder, together with the other man ſervant. Mr. Keene, on ruſhing to his room door, was almoſt ſuffocated by the flame and ſmoke rolling towards his chamber; and as the ſtair-caſe was on fire, he had barely time to force open the window-ſhutter, and, without any alternative, to leap out: neither received any injury. Three maid-ſervants, who had eſcaped from the attics on the parapet, were ſaved by ladders likewiſe; and as the family were luckily in town, there were no other perſons in the houſe. As the houſe was old and dry, and all the rooms wainſcoted, the rapidity of the flames was ſo great that the whole was conſumed in leſs than three hours, and the gentlemen who ſlept on the firſt floor had ſcarcely ſaved themſelves before the floors of their bed-chambers fell in.

Died.—5th. In Walcot Poor Houſe, Bath, aged 107, James White. He was born in the houſe adjoining the White Horſe cellar, oppoſite Walcot church, and was never out of the pariſh a twelvemonth together. He remembered when there were only eighty houſes in the pariſh of Walcot, and no poor rate.

12th. At Brighton, Mrs. M. A. Bennet, author of "Anna, or the Welch Heireſs," "Juvenile Indiſcretions," and ſeveral other novels.

21ſt. At his houſe in Bedford-ſquare, George Hill, Eſq. ſerjeant at law, the King's moſt antient ſerjeant as he was called, and as he literally was, for he was of a great age, (92 according to the papers). He married a lady who inherited a very conſiderable fortune on condition of her taking the name of Medlycott; but which the ſerjeant would not let her uſe, except on occaſions when it was legally neceſſary; he ſaid his father's name was Hill, and ſo was his, and he thought it a very good name. He had a very profound know-

knowledge of the old law; and there was not a caſe in the old law books which he had not in his recollection.

At Middleton Tyas, in the North Riding of Yorkſhire, Barbara Macknay, aged 102.

At Eſcrick, near York, John Strangeways, aged 101.

Mr. Joſhua Willis, of Raydon. He roſe from his bed very early one morning, left his ſhirt with his other clothes in his ſleeping room, and walked naked to a guide poſt on the road from Raydon to Stoke, and was found hanging by his arms on the poſt. On being taken into the next houſe, he died in conſequence of his having, in a fit of frenzy, beaten and bruiſed himſelf againſt the poſt, and from the inclemency of the weather. He belonged to a ſociety of fanatics, and had, ſome days before, been almoſt diſtracted, ſaying, that his mind was diſtreſſed concerning a future ſtate, and that he wiſhed to die on the guide poſt as our Saviour did on the croſs.

Mary George, aged 114, being great great grandmother to a numerous family.

At Lowry's Mill, near Bellingham, Mr. W. Robley, aged 100.

MARCH.

4th. Thomas Simmons was indicted at Hertford aſſizes, for that he at Broxbourn, on the 20th of October laſt, did make an aſſault on Sarah Hummerſtone, and wilfully gave her a mortal wound in the neck with a knife, of which ſhe inſtantly died. This is the caſe of the inhuman wretch who murdered the two unfortunate women at Hoddeſdon.—The court was crowded at an early hour in the morning to hear the trial. It did not laſt long, as the facts lay in a very narrow compaſs.

Sarah Harris, ſervant of Mr. Boreham, ſaid ſhe had lived four years with him; Simmons, the priſoner, had lived there three years, and quitted it laſt Michaelmas: the priſoner wiſhed to marry her, but her miſtreſs diſapproved of it; they had quarrelled before he quitted the ſervice; on which occaſion he beat her; and when he had done he ſaid he did not care if he had killed her. He has often ſaid he would make away with her, becauſe ſhe would not marry him. About half-paſt eight in the evening of the 20th of October he came to the houſe;—ſhe was in the kitchen, and heard him coming along the yard; he was ſwearing violently. He came up to the window, and ſtruck at her through the lattice, and ſwore he would do for them all. She deſired him not to make a noiſe, as they had company: he ſaid he did not care for the company, he would do for them all. Mrs. Hummerſtone hearing the noiſe, opened the room-door, and came to the yard. She told him to go away. He gave her a blow on the head, which knocked off her bonnet; ſhe ran into the houſe, and he immediately followed her. The witneſs immediately heard the ſhrieks of murder, but did not know from whom. All the family were in the room. The three young ladies, Mr. Boreham's daughter, Mrs. Warner, the married daughter, Mr. Boreham and his wife, and Mrs. Hummerſtone. In a ſhort time the priſoner came to the waſh-houſe to her; ſhe ſhut the

the door, and cried out murder. The witneſs ran into the ſitting-room—ſhe ſaw ſome one lying under the window—ſhe ran from thence down a paſſage—the priſoner followed her—ſhe there met her maſter with the poker in his hand; in running haſtily, her maſter, who is very old and feeble, was knocked down. The priſoner caught her, and threw her down, and drew a knife on her. He threw her acroſs Mrs. Warner, who was lying dead, ſhe believed. He drew the knife acroſs her throat, but ſhe guarded it with her hand, which was cut. He made a ſecond blow, when ſhe wreſted the knife out of his hand. He immediately ran away, and ſhe ſaw no more of him.

Thomas Copperwheat went in ſearch of the murderer. He diſcovered Simmons concealed under ſome ſtraw in a crib in the farm-yard; the place where he was found was about 100 yards from the houſe.

Benjamin Rook, the coroner, ſaid, when the evidence of Harris was read to the priſoner, he ſaid it was very true, he had murdered them, and no one elſe. He added, that he did not intend to have murdered Mrs. Hummerſtone, but he went with an intention of murdering Mrs. Boreham, Mrs. Warner, and Harris, the maid-ſervant.

The conſtable who carried him to priſon, depoſed to the ſame effect. The priſoner alſo told him, that when he had got Betſey down, he heard ſomething fluttering over his ſhoulders, which made him get up, and run away.

The priſoner being called upon to know if he had any thing to ſay, anſwered in a careleſs tone—No!

Mr. Juſtice Heath told the jury the caſe was ſo very clear, that it was unneceſſary for him to addreſs any obſervations to them; the priſoner, as they had heard, had more than once confeſſed his guilt.

The jury found him Guilty; and the learned judge immediately pronounced the ſentence of the law—that he ſhould be hanged on the following Monday, and his body be anatomized.

12th. The Fifth Report of the commiſſioners of military inquiry conſiſts of 274 cloſely printed folio pages. The commiſſioners remark on the great inconvenience ariſing from a diviſion of patronage, which has occaſioned a much greater expenditure than would have otherwiſe occurred. The army general hoſpital ſyſtem has been carried to too great an extent, and has been very diſadvantageous. The expenditure for medicines is enormous. The medicines, medical ſtores, and ſurgical ſtores, and ſurgical inſtruments, are ſupplied both at home and abroad, by a Mr. Garnier, who has a patent for the purpoſe, though no reaſon has been aſſigned for this valuable monopoly. Mr. G. executes no part of the buſineſs himſelf, and receives a ſalary in addition to his profits, which appear to be very great indeed! His charges on a yearly average amount to 67,340l. The whole inſtitution ſeems to have been conducted in a moſt extravagant manner, and affords another inſtance of the mode in which the public money has been ſquandered. The expenditure of wine, ſpirits, and porter, has been conſiderable; for whoſe uſe cannot be eaſily aſcertained. A pipe of wine in ten days, at the

York

York hoſpital, was a common average. Among the many abuſes which the report diſcovers, are thoſe committed in the accounts of the Plymouth hoſpital, in the years 1796, 1797, and 1798.—These conſiſt of double charges; of alterations in vouchers for the purpoſe of introducing larger ſums in the place of ſmaller; and of falſe entries in the monthly charge, under the head of "ſmall bills."

Mr. Halifax, of the Royal Lancaſhire Militia, who lately, for a conſiderable bet, walked thirty miles per day for twenty ſucceſſive days, as detailed in ſeveral papers, and who thereby eſtabliſhed his fame as a pedeſtrian, has now undertaken a labour much more ſevere than the one he has already achieved; it is, to walk two miles an hour for one hundred ſucceſſive hours. The ground ſelected for the performance is near Tiverton, on the road to Halberton. He went thither in a poſtchaiſe, and commenced the undertaking at four o'clock on Wedneſday evening laſt. This exploit will occupy upwards of four days and nights ſucceſſively, allowing, at no time, more than one hour for repoſe or refreſhment. The general opinion is very much againſt his winning; conſiderable bets are laid, and of courſe the odds are in his favour.

A ſtriking diſplay of the omnipotence of love occurred at the High Church, Hull, a few days ago. A young woman having given her heart to a ſailor, who was impreſſed and carried on board the tender by the interference of her friends, reſolved nevertheleſs to marry the object of her choice. He was accordingly brought on ſhore, and eſcorted by the preſs-gang to the church, from whence, after the marriage ceremony, he was again conveyed to the tender.

A melancholy inſtance of ſuicide occurred at Briſtol. A gentleman of reſpectability, from Bath, who had been on a viſit at a friend's houſe in that city, cut his throat, and otherwiſe lacerated himſelf in a ſhocking manner. The unfortunate gentleman had been confined to his room for ſome days through illneſs; and, at ten o'clock on the above morning, the ſervant girl, hearing him groan, looked through the key-hole of his chamber-door, and diſcovered him weltering in his blood. Medical aſſiſtance was procured, but the wounds he had inflicted on himſelf were ſuch as to occaſion his almoſt immediate death.

Epitaph in Kirkeel church-yard:—Here lie the remains of Thomas Nicols, who died in Philadelphia, March 1753. *Had he lived, he would have been buried here.*

A ſhocking accident happened in the Home Park, belonging to his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Kent, near Kingſton. As a labouring man was paſſing through the park, he was attacked by a ferocious bull, and gored in ſuch a manner, as only to ſurvive a very ſhort time. His Royal Highneſs gave immediate orders to the keeper of the park to ſhoot the animal.

At Maidſtone, on Wedneſday, before the lord chief baron, an action was tried, at the ſuit of one Sherwood, a Kentiſh farmer, againſt baron Hompeſch, an Hungarian nobleman, and a general officer in the Britiſh ſervice, for a groſs and obſcene libel on the plaintiff and his wife. The following are the circumſtances of the caſe:—The plaintiff was in the habit 16th.

habit of going to the baron's houſe, and one Sunday in October he ſat with him drinking and playing at cards all the day, and all the night, until five o'clock in the morning; when his wife fetched him home. The next day the baron ſent him a little wine, to refreſh his ſpirits as he ſaid, and afterwards a plaſter to cure the bruiſes which he ſaid his wife might have given him, and an ornamented horſe-whip to correct his wife. He afterwards ſet about to compoſe a ſong, called "The Termagant; or, Direful Kentiſh Tale," which was proved to have been given by him to one Gordon to be circulated. This was the libel complained of, and was an obſcene doggrel poem on Sherwood's wife fetching him home; it contained neither wit, poetry, nor humour, but was mere vulgar obſcenity, containing the groſſeſt and moſt diſguſting imputations upon the character of the plaintiff's wife; and ſtating that by her libidinous courſes ſhe had deformed herſelf in a manner which decency forbids to mention. After ſerjeant Beſt had ſpoken in mitigation of damages, the lord chief baron expreſſed himſelf of the libel in terms of ſtrong diſguſt, and the jury found a verdict for the plaintiff, damages 500l.

19th. This morning a dreadful fire broke out, about three o'clock, at Mrs. Smith's, milliner, in Middle-row, Chelmsford. The inhabitants of the houſe, conſiſting altogether of females, ſeven in number, were in a moſt perilous ſituation. They appeared at the windows of the ſecond floor (for the firſt was on fire), as they had riſen from their beds, uttering the moſt piercing ſhrieks. As the moſt likely means of reſcuing them, two ladders were procured, and raiſed againſt the burning front of the houſe; but, ſuch was the danger of aſcending to their relief, from the violence of the flames, that a momentary irreſolution enſued among the ſpectators of their tremendouſly awful ſituation; till, agonized by their ſcreams, and actuated by the feelings of humanity to a contempt of perſonal ſafety, a young man, Mr. Henry Guy, and Mr. Sorrel, a near neighbour, made an attempt to preſerve them. The former ſucceeded in reſcuing a little girl, about nine years old, niece to Mrs. Smith. The maid-ſervant, who had got out of the garret-window, and climbed to the roof of the houſe, was brought down by the latter. Robinſon, a waggoner, who firſt diſcovered the fire, aſcended a ladder, with the intent of bringing down Mrs. Smith; but ſo extreme was her trepidation, that ſhe was incapable of uſing any exertion, and it became neceſſary to drag her from the window by force; in doing which, owing to her convulſive ſtruggles, ſhe fell upon the pavement below, but miraculouſly without having any bones broken. Almoſt at the ſame inſtant, two young ladies, Miſs Williams and Miſs Wilkinſon, rendered frantic by terror, precipitated themſelves from the window into the ſtreet, and were ſo ſeverely bruiſed, that doubt was long entertained of their recovery, as well as of that of Mrs. Smith. Two amiable young ladies, Miſs Woolmer, aged 19, whoſe parents reſide at Hornchurch, and Miſs Eve, daughter of Mr. C. Eve, of Barniſh-hall, became victims to the devouring element. Notwithſtanding the moſt

moſt ſtrenuous exertions of the populace, and the ſoldiers from the garriſon, by ſix o'clock the houſes of Mrs. Smith, Mrs. Peck, druggiſt, and Mr. Hill, ſhoemaker, adjoining, were totally deſtroyed; and thoſe of Mr. Rood, plaſterer, and Mr. Naſh, hair-dreſſer, were ſo greatly damaged, that they muſt be rebuilt.

22d. About ſix this evening, an alarming fire broke out in the newly-erected flour-mill, at Sturry, near Canterbury, belonging to Mr. Sampſon Kingsford, which, from the wind being high, and the nature of the materials of which it was conſtructed, burnt ſo rapidly, that in the ſpace of three hours it was wholly deſtroyed, together with a large quantity of wheat and flour.

Whitſtable.—A ſmack belonging to Queenborough, bound to Faverſham, laden with king's ſtores, was driven on ſhore on the Pollard, on the 24th inſt. The crew and paſſengers conſiſted of four men, two boys, and one woman, the captain's wife. They got the boat out; and the captain, his wife, and boy, got into it, and put off for the ſhore. At a ſmall diſtance from the veſſel, the boat ſtove, and the captain regained the ſmack; but his wife and the boy periſhed. He remained on board with the reſt of the crew until morning. The veſſel being nearly dry, they left her, and walked aſhore, with the exception of the owner, who periſhed through extreme cold. The woman and boy have been picked up. The diſtreſs of the captain has been great: he had been married only a week, and was bringing his bride to Faverſham, to introduce her to his friends.

John Baker, James Baker, Benjamin Baker, and three others, were indicted for aſſaulting the Rev. H. Williams, and keeping him in impriſonment the whole of the night of Sunday, the 20th of December, and making him ſign a promiſe to pay 5l. as a conſideration for being releaſed. 23d.

The Rev. Mr. Williams was called. He was a young man, and told the following extraordinary tale: he ſaid he was curate of the pariſh of Kirtford, and that he permitted John Baker to live in the vicarage-houſe with him, who, in return, performed little domeſtic ſervices for him. On Sunday, December 20, after the performance of his clerical duties, he returned home, and hearing a great noiſe in the kitchen, he ſent for John Baker to come to him in the parlour, and remonſtrated with him. Baker upon this grew very inſolent, clenched both his fiſts, and thruſt them in a menacing manner in his face. Upon this he ſaid he was alarmed, and ſeeing an old gun in a corner, which he knew to be unloaded, he took it up with a view to defend himſelf, when Baker ſeized him, and beat him to the ground; he was joined by the other two Bakers, who dragged him out of doors to the green, on which there were ſeveral people, ſome of whom cried out, "give it him well." They afterwards dragged him to the public-houſe, and made him ſit down in a little room. After he had been there a ſhort time, he ran out, and eſcaped about 100 yards; but James and Benjamin Baker purſued him, and forced him to return to the houſe; here they kept him all night, and ſung profane and indecent ſongs in his

his hearing. In the morning they ſaid they would take him before a magiſtrate; but by his intreaties, they permitted him to go home and change his clothes. Eldridge and Hillyer accompanied him; and they frightened him by telling him, that he had committed a tranſportable offence, by having taken the old gun. He was ſo much alarmed, that he was induced to ſign a promiſe to give them five pounds, if they would let him go.

On his croſs-examination, it appeared, that he had actually pointed the gun at Baker, and that he ſigned the paper, which was written by his own dictation, as a compromiſe for an aſſault, which he acknowledged he had committed on Baker. He alſo contradicted himſelf in ſo many particulars, that the jury immediately found the priſoners—*Not guilty.*

28th. A fatal accident happened this day in Wych-ſtreet. The wheel of a coal waggon caught a ladder, on which a man was repairing the front of a houſe, and by the turning of the ladder, he was precipitated on the pavement from the third ſtory. The poor ſufferer was taken to the hoſpital, but ſurvived only a ſhort time.

29th. A remarkable occurrence took place at Spithead. A man, belonging to the Salcette frigate was ſentenced to be flogged through the fleet for thieving. The boats from all the men-of-war, as is cuſtomary upon thoſe occaſions, were aſſembled; when, at the moment the puniſhment was about to be inflicted, he jumped overboard, and was never afterwards ſeen. It is conjectured he had previouſly concealed ſome ſhot in his pockets, to prevent the poſſibility of riſing again in the water.

(*From a Jamaica Paper.*) "I witneſſed on Monday laſt, in the pariſh of St. Elizabeth, the moſt horrid and moſt cruel ſight that probably ever was ſeen before. Mr. James Jennings, who was ſettling a coffee plantation about three miles from this, had his throat cut; his houſe-keeper, a Sambo woman, had her head ſevered from her body; their eldeſt daughter, about eight years old, her throat cut; the next boy, about ſix, his throat cut and ſcalped; the third, a ſucking child, ſtrangled; and a black child, about ſix, his throat cut and ſcalped; there is alſo one of Mr. Jennings's brown children miſſing, about three years old, which, there is not the leaſt doubt, has ſhared the ſame fate, as it was ſeen in company with the others the day before by a gentleman who lives in the neighbourhood; and the murderers, to complete their barbarity, cut the throat of a milch-goat, which they left weltering in its blood along with the other dead bodies. Theſe cruel and barbarous murders were committed on Sunday, the day before I ſaw them, and ſuppoſed to be done by ſix Coromantee negromen, purchaſed by Mr. Jennings about ſix months ago. We underſtand that one of the above negroes was diſcovered in the woods, by a party of negroes who were ſent in purſuit of them. They found him aſleep, and we underſtand ſhot him on the ſpot; his head was afterwards cut off and ſtuck on a pole. He was wrapped in the clothes of the unfortunate woman they had ſo cruelly murdered, and her necklace was tied about his ancle."

DIED.

DIED.—12th. George Gregory, D.D. author of ſeveral reſpectable works.

13th. Aged 126, near Cully-backey, in Ireland, Martha Hanna.

25th. In her 101ſt year, Mrs. Catherine Stocks.

Aged 107, at Tickhill, near Doncaſter, Ann Ellis.

APRIL.

3d. *Extract of a Letter from Faverſham.*—"A boy, who had been watching crows, on his return home a few days ſince, left his gun in the corner of the room. A little fellow, nine years old, running into the room, and taking the gun, exclaimed, 'Joe, I will ſhoot you!' pulled the trigger, and wounded his young friend in the hand and thigh. Two gentlemen riding paſt, alighted, and gave every aſſiſtance in their power. One of them, ſhaking the little fellow, ſaid he would have him hanged; which had ſuch an effect on him, that the next morning he was unable to riſe. He cried, and hoped Joe would get better. He was aſſured he was getting better, and that he might go and ſee him: he did ſo, and appeared more compoſed; but his feelings were too great for his ſtrength, and on Thurſday morning he died. The wounded boy is now walking about."

4th. Mr. Lambert, an eminent ſtock-broker, put an end to his exiſtence by ſhooting himſelf with a piſtol. He rode to town in the morning from his villa in the country, about 14 miles diſtant. When he reached his houſe in Cornhill, he read a letter put into his hands by his ſervant, which ſeemed to affect him much. Shortly afterwards he complained of fatigue and indiſpoſition, and ſaid he would retire to his bed-room. He did ſo, and was found there, in the courſe of the day, dead, with the piſtol lying by him. It was ſuppoſed that the piſtol was fired about eleven o'clock, but no report was heard by the ſervants. Mr. L. it appears, was under conſiderable embarraſſments, which were unknown even to his partner or family, but which had occaſioned a depreſſion of ſpirits that led to the unhappy cataſtrophe. On a minute examination into his affairs, it appears that he is minus to the amount of 60,000*l.* and upwards. Mr. L. left behind him a letter, the tendency of which was to exculpate Mr. C. his partner, from any blame which might be imputed to him. The deceaſed was in an extenſive line of buſineſs; gave elegant entertainments to the nobility in the country; and had a taſte for building. He has left a wife, and we believe a family. The coroner's inqueſt has returned a verdict of—*Lunacy*.

5th. Yeſterday a huge ſtone fell from the ſteeple of the church of St. Mary, Aldermanbury; and this day a large ſtone fell from one of the porticoes of St. Paul's Cathedral; but without doing any miſchief. About one, a large ſheet of lead was raiſed, by the violence of the wind, from off the top of a houſe on Ludgate-hill. It fell on the pavement; in its way it broke a part of the parapet wall, which fell into the ſtreet with a terrible craſh; but no perſon was injured.

Ship-

7th. Shipwrecked at ſea, by the ſtranding of the ſhip Agatha, of Lubeck, in a ſtorm, not far from Memel, Lord Royſton, eldeſt ſon of the Earl of Hardwicke, who would have been 24 years old had he lived till the 7th of May, and promiſed to become an honour to his houſe. He left Ireland about two years ago for the continent, accompanied by two ſervants, both of whom periſhed with him. This amiable and accompliſhed young nobleman had been above four years from this country; and not one of thoſe by whom he was accompanied has ſurvived him. His tutor, private ſecretary, and ſteward, all died a natural death ſome time ſince; and his other attendants, together with the companions of his tour, ſunk with him into the watery grave. His lordſhip had twice, ſince he went to the continent, narrowly eſcaped being drowned. In the courſe of laſt winter he went down in a ſledge, and was reſcued by a Mr. Poole, who took him out of the ice by the hair of the head, for which Mr. P. was handſomely rewarded by Lord Hardwicke. There were on board 19 paſſengers, of whom three were children and ſix were ſervants; and there were nine belonging to the veſſel. The following were waſhed overboard and drowned: Lord Royſton and two ſervants; Colonel Pollen and one ſervant; D. T. Barclay, from Peterſburgh; —— Renny, from Riga; —— Becker, from Hamburgh; and one ſervant, one nurſe, and five of the ſhip's crew. Mr. Focke, of Hamburgh, and one ſervant-maid, died on board the veſſel during the night of the 7th and 8th. Of thoſe who were brought on ſhore, and who likewiſe died, were one ſailor and the youngeſt child of Mrs. Barris. The others who were reſcued were, the lady of Colonel Pollen; Mr. Holliday, from Peterſburgh; Mrs. Barris, with two children; M. Pereira, who was ſent by the Portugueſe chargé des affaires from Peterſburgh to Portugal, and who died the next day, in conſequence of his extraordinary exertions; the captain of the veſſel and ſervant, and two ſailors; in all, ten ſouls.—Colonel Pollen, aforeſaid, was the only ſon of the Rev. George P. of Little Bookham in Surry. He was in the 33d year of his age, and, poſſeſſing a fine and vigorous underſtanding, highly improved by education, and by his very extenſive and intereſting travels, there is no doubt, if he had returned to his native country (as he was attempting to do when this dreadful accident put a period to all his hopes), but he would have proved a diſtinguiſhed ornament of it. His fortune would have been large, and his abilities and his experience would have amply qualified him for a ſeat in parliament. In 1796, on his coming of age, he oppoſed the intereſt of the Duke of Norfolk, for the repreſentation of the populous borough of Leominſter, which he carried by a majority of *one*. He afterwards raiſed a regiment of fencibles at his own expenſe, for the ſervice of government, and attended with it on its being ordered to Halifax, in Nova Scotia; but for ſeveral years he has been conſtantly travelling on the continent. At St. Peterſburgh he married one of the daughters of Sir Charles Gaſcoigne (ſiſter to the Counteſs of Haddington, now married to Mr. Dalrymple), who

was with him when the wreck took place, but who was happily ſaved.

8th. Mary Chandley convicted of ſetting fire to her maſter's houſe, in Liverpool, was executed at Lancaſter. She was 19 years old, and ſo ignorant of religious duties as to be unable to repeat the Lord's prayer. As the executioner was putting the cap over her face, ſhe exclaimed, "O man! I never will forgive you!" and her ſhrieks were very loud and piercing.

9th. Charles White, a notorious ſwindler, was indicted for breaking out of Tothill-Fields Bridewell, a few weeks ſince, he having been fully committed for fraud.

The priſoner had been tried and acquitted on no leſs than four indictments during the preſent ſeſſions, by points of law; and on being arraigned for this offence, he at firſt pleaded guilty, but afterwards recalled his plea and took his trial, which diſcloſed ſome curious circumſtances. It appeared that the priſoner had broke out of Bridewell by forcing an iron bar, and he was afterwards heard of at Stratford, where Anthony the officer and the priſon-keeper of Tothill-fields went to ſecure him.

The priſoner made a ſtout reſiſtance, and, together with a ferocious bull-dog, kept the officers at a diſtance for ſome time; but after an attack was made, the dog ſeized his maſter on the body, and very much maimed him. After he had looſed his hold, he ſeized Anthony by the hip, and the officer being within reach of a knife, which he took off the counter of a chandler's ſhop, he cut the throat of the dog, and releaſed himſelf. The priſoner was at length ſecured. The warrant of commitment was produced, and the priſoner was convicted.

Extraordinary Pedeſtrianiſm.—It has been ſtated that a Mr. Paul had matched himſelf for 100 guineas, on the firſt event, and 50 guineas on the ſecond, to go from Knightſbridge to a ſpot near Windſor in two hours and a half, a diſtance of ſomething more than 20 miles, and to return to Knightſbridge in three hours within twelve hours. The pedeſtrian ſtarted at eight o'clock on Wedneſday morning, walked 9 miles within the firſt hour, and had arrived within a mile and a half of Slough at the expiration of the ſecond hour. He then had two miles and three-quarters to walk in the other half-hour, which he did with eaſe. After lying on a ſtraw bed between blankets four hours, the pedeſtrian ſtarted on the next match to return in three hours, but the rain fell in torrents, and he went ſeven miles in the firſt hour with an umbrella. He would, in fair weather, doubtleſs have won both matches, but on his arrival on the ſecond, at Hounſlow Heath, with wind and weather againſt him, he prudently reſigned, winning 50 guineas by his day's fatigue.

Lately, a very valuable mare, belonging to Mr. Padmore, farmer, near Hawarden, Flintſhire, was ſuddenly taken ill, after drinking ſome water in a pond, and all efforts to get her to ſwallow any thing proved ineffectual. She ſwelled remarkably large, and lived two or three days in the moſt excruciating agony, when ſhe died. On opening her, nothing was found in her bowels that could occaſion her death; but, on cutting open the windpipe, a large toad was diſcovered alive!—which ſhe is ſuppoſed

to

to have taken into that orifice on drinking the water.

A lady in Virginia, of the name of Owen, was ſometime ſince bitten by a ſpider. The moſt violent pain reſulted from the wound, flying with an irregular and rapid alternation through every part of her frame. She was cured by copious bleeding; 64 ounces of blood having been taken in 24 hours. Another lady alſo was ſaved by a ſimilar proceſs.

11th. At Stafford aſſizes, on Monday laſt, William Hawkeſwood was found guilty of poiſoning his maſter, Mr. Parker, of Swindon, in Staffordſhire, by adminiſtering to him poiſon (corroſive ſublimate), in a cup of camomile tea. The priſoner, when called upon for his defence, offered a written paper wherein he acknowledged his having adminiſtered the poiſon, without the knowledge of any other perſon, but that he did not do it with an intention of injuring any one; that he thereby meant it as a "trick upon the old woman, the houſekeeper." He alſo ſpoke very highly of his maſter's (the deceaſed) kindneſs towards him. The priſoner was found guilty, and executed on Wedneſday morning.

This day Mr. B. Goldſmid, the celebrated money broker and contractor, put an end to his exiſtence, at his manſion at Roehampton, by hanging himſelf with a cord, which was ſuſpended from the teſter of the bed, for the purpoſe of enabling him to turn himſelf round in his fits of the gout, with which he had been much afflicted. The verdict was lunacy. He is ſuppoſed to have died worth half a million.

The late king of Sweden, a few hours previous to his demiſe, ordered that a large collection of papers in his own hand-writing, ſhould be depoſited in an iron cheſt, under three keys, and placed in a certain department of the Univerſity of Upſal, with a ſtrict injunction that the cheſt ſhould not be opened till the end of twenty years after his death. It is ſuppoſed theſe papers contain ſome very intereſting articles on the ſtate of Europe at the time that prince died.

16th. *The late James Paull, Eſq.*—An inqueſt was held upon the body of the late James Paull, Eſq. at his houſe, No. 2, Charles-ſtreet, St. James's-ſquare. The firſt witneſs called was the butler, Mr. Paull's confidential ſervant. He ſtated, that a great alteration had taken place for ſeveral months in the conduct of his maſter. His orders were frequently contradictory—he was irreſolute, fluctuating, and depreſſed in ſpirits. The change was ſo remarkable as to be perceived by every one acquainted with his maſter, who, he was convinced, was very much diſordered in his underſtanding. About half after four on Friday, knowing that Mr. Paull was engaged to dine out, he went up to his bed-room, knocked at the door, and reminded him of the engagement. The anſwer was, he ſhould be rung for ſhortly. Having remained below for ſome time, he was alarmed by the ſcreams of the ſervant maid, who had attended Mr. Paull in his long illneſs. He inſtantly returned to the bed-room, which he entered, and found his maſter weltering in his blood, reclining upon the bed, with his throat completely ſevered from ear to ear, a vein opened in his right arm, and

another wound in the upper part of the arm. He ſaid Mr. Paull was left-handed. He found near the bed, a baſon, on his dreſſing table, nearly two thirds full of blood, a razor, and a lancet, both of which were bloody. He loſt no time in ſending for ſurgeon Brodie, who had attended his maſter during his late illneſs.

Surgeon Brodie depoſed, that having attended Mr. Paull in his long illneſs, he had many opportunities of obſerving both then and from that time the alteration which had taken place in his mind. He was perfectly convinced that his intellects had undergone a material derangement; and ſtated, that his death was cauſed by the wounds which had been inflicted on Friday. The teſtimony of Mr. Brodie, as to the derangement of his mind, was fully confirmed by Mr. Paull's friends, Mr. Sloper and Mr. Butler.

The ſervant-maid, who diſcovered Mr, Paull in the dreadful ſituation deſcribed, was next called. She ſaid that, knowing her maſter was to dine out, ſhe went to call him, between four and five. She knocked at the door, and was anſwered by him, in a very faint voice, that he would ring preſently. She was much affected at the tone in which he ſpoke, and recollected his late alteration in conduct, and more particularly what he had ſaid to her ſome days before, when, expreſſing his concern for the great trouble he had given her, he added, "an end will be ſhortly put to it all." She acquainted the butler with her fears, and determined to go into the bed-chamber by a ſide-door, which opened from a dreſſing cloſet. She accordingly went up again, and having entered that way, ſhe found her maſter in the ſituation deſcribed by the butler, whom ſhe called up by her ſhrieks and ſcreams. The jury, after a ſhort deliberation, returned a verdict of—*Lunacy*.

Sleeping Beauty.—Sarah Smith, the young woman who ſlept at Cuckfield nine days in Auguſt laſt, namely, from the 15th to the 23d of that month, has, ſince that time, had frequent ſleeps for ſeveral days and nights, without the poſſibility of being awakened. This extraordinary female has lately been married to a ſon of Mars.

17th. By a decree of this day, Bonaparte has ordered the execution of the meaſures determined on at Paris in December laſt reſpecting the Jews. A ſynagogue and Iſraelite conſiſtory is to be eſtabliſhed for every 2000 Jews, but there can be only one conſiſtorial ſynagogue for a department. The conſiſtory is to ſuperintend the rabbis, and ſee that their teaching be conformable to the doctrines of the grand Sanhedrim. They are to give information reſpecting the Jewiſh conſcripts of their diſtricts. Every Jew who wiſhes to ſettle in France or Italy, muſt give three months previous notice to the neareſt conſiſtory. There is to be a central conſiſtory at Paris: each conſiſtory is to have a grand rabbi, elected by 25 notables. The rabbis of the central conſiſtory are to have a ſalary of 6000 francs; thoſe of the conſiſtorial ſynagogue 7000; and the other rabbis are not to have leſs than 1000 francs.

Another imperial decree, dated the 17th, annuls all obligations for loans made by Jews to minors, without the ſanction of their guardians;

dians; to married women, without the consent of their husbands; or to military men, without the authority of their superior officers. Bills granted by French subjects to Jews cannot be demanded, unless the holders prove that full value was given, without any fraud. All debts accumulated by interest above 5 per cent. are to be reduced by the courts of law. If the interest growing on the capital exceed 23 per cent. the contract is to be declared usurious. After the 1st of July next, no Jew will be allowed to trade without a patent, renewable annually. This patent the prefects are not to grant to any individual, until he produces a certificate of his character, testifying that he is no usurer. No Jew not actually domiciliated in the departments of the Upper and Lower Rhine can be admitted to a domicile there. In the other departments the Jews cannot be allowed to settle, except upon the condition of their purchasing rural property, and abandoning commerce. The emperor may, however, grant to individuals exceptions from this law. The Jews of the conscription are required to perform personal service, and are not allowed to find substitutes. These regulations are to be continued only during ten years, in the hope that after that period there will be no difference between the moral character of the Jews and other citizens of the empire. If the contrary should appear, the law will be continued in force.—The Jews of Bourdeaux, of the Gironde, and the Landes, having given no cause for complaint, are not made subject to the above regulations.

†

An inquest was held this day at the Queen's Head, Islington, on the body of Mr. Frederick Monicke, furrier, of Wardrobe-place, Doctors Commons, who was found dead, on the morning of the 17th, in a ditch near the White Conduit-house. The jury very minutely examined it: there appeared a dreadful cut on each side of the throat, and four deep cuts on the left wrist; the left eye was turned black, as if occasioned by a blow or fall; near seven inches of a pocket handkerchief hung out of the mouth; the handkerchief round the neck was very tight, the hands were elevated towards the throat, and the face was covered with blood: it was one of the most dreadful spectacles ever witnessed. The jury had the handkerchief taken out of the mouth, which was effected with difficulty, and were near twenty minutes in making their observations, after which they returned to the Queen's Head. Several gentlemen attended who were passing at the time the body was discovered. After examining several witnesses, the jury returned a verdict, "That the deceased had come to his death by cutting his throat at a time when he was not in a sound state of mind." He was a native of Germany, and has left a wife and six children, the eldest only nine years of age, and the youngest only one month old. When he left his house on Saturday, he told his wife that he was going to Finsbury-square, and would be at home by ten o'clock. Two shillings and some half-pence were found in his pockets. Embarrassment appears to have been the cause of this rash act. 20th.

The

25th. The ſnow was this day ſo deep upon Stanmore, in Weſtmoreland, as to render it neceſſary to cut a road through it.

30th. George Tapp, alias Godbeare, was committed to the Devon county gaol, for the wilful murder of Robert Leach. The following circumſtances which attended the commiſſion of this crime, as ſingularly premeditated as it was inhuman, have been confirmed by Tapp ſince his apprehenſion. It appears, that the priſoner and the deceaſed (the former a taylor, the latter a butcher,) were both inhabitants of the pariſh of Morchard-biſhop, about thirteen miles from that city, and lived on terms of the greateſt intimacy.

On Sunday, the 24th of April, they were ſeen at a public-houſe in the village, and were obſerved to quit it together; after which time Leach was miſſing. Various enquiries were made reſpecting him; but on the Friday following, his friends being alarmed at his continued abſence, inveſtigated more diligently the events which preceded his ſudden departure; when a ſtrong ſuſpicion fell upon Tapp, from his having been the laſt perſon in whoſe company he was noticed, and from his being obſerved to have more money than uſual: added to which, information was given by a neighbour, that on the Saturday preceding the 24th of April, Tapp was obſerved, very late at night, digging a pit in his garden; and, on being queſtioned at the time, his reaſon for working there at ſo late an hour, he replied, it was merely for the purpoſe of burying ſome dung to make a cucumber bed.

On theſe grounds, ſearch was made in the garden, when, ſhocking to relate, the mangled body of Leach was found, thrown into the very pit which appears to have been previouſly deſigned for its reception. Tapp was immediately apprehended, and, when in cuſtody, voluntarily confeſſed his crime, which he ſtated to have committed in the following manner:—That they walked together from the public houſe to that of the priſoner, and, on going into the garden, Leach complained of a pain in his head, and ſat himſelf down on a fallen tree; that while he was in the act of tying a handkerchief round his head, Tapp came behind and ſtruck him a violent blow with an old axe, which he had fitted up for the purpoſe, repeating his blows till he had finiſhed his bloody deed; that after taking from the pockets of the deceaſed caſh and bills to the amount of about ſixty pounds, he threw the body into the pit he had prepared for it;—that he afterwards burnt the handle of the axe, and put the iron part into a running ſtream to waſh off the blood. He alſo burnt his hat, and cut off the marks of blood from the tree with a hook.—On being aſked how long he had premeditated the murder, he replied, about a week.

It does not appear that there had been any quarrel whatever between the parties; on the contrary, the ſtricteſt intimacy exiſted between them. There had been ſome money tranſactions, in which the priſoner was conſiderably indebted to the deceaſed. Theſe, added to a knowledge of his having property about him, are ſuppoſed to have inſtigated him to the commiſſion of this atrocious murder.

Tapp's

Tapp's mother has ſince been committed as an accomplice.

An extraordinary inundation of the river Frome, at Briſtol, occurred in the courſe of laſt week, occaſioned by the uncommon ſwell of freſh water. On Wedneſday the waters began to riſe, and in the courſe of the night, and following morning, a conſiderable part of the city was inundated. All the avenues and places adjacent, preſented one immenſe ſheet of water, in many places four feet high, and at leaſt three feet in the center of ſeveral ſtreets. All the cellars and lower apartments were full, and the inhabitants obliged to fly for refuge to the upper ſtories. Five or ſix boats were employed all day in removing the people, and carrying proviſions to thoſe who were obliged to remain. The goods upon the banks of the Wear, and the adjoining ſhops, were either ſwept away or damaged by the flood. A new ſtrong built wall, 150 yards in extent, near Earl's Mead, was waſhed down, but we have not heard of any other ſerious injury. Friday the waters ſubſided. The lands about Stapleton and Bedminſter were overflowed, and the canal dam ſlightly injured.

DIED.—At Dalton Percy, Durham, Joſeph Yeall, aged 113.

At Eaſt Stoneham, Mrs. Fricker, aged 101.

In St. Nicholas' Workhouſe, Durham, Anne Angus aged 100.

12th. At Whatley, near Frome, Farmer William Truman, aged 104.

23d. In the Weſt Bow, Edinburgh, aged 100, William Roſs, a Chelſea Penſioner.

MAY.

A fine young girl of five years of age died at Glaſgow, 3d. in conſequence of being bit about ten days ago, while aſleep, by rats, to which poiſon had been adminiſtered. On hearing the cries of the child, her parents hurried into the apartment where ſhe ſlept with a light, but not before the voracious animals had ſucceeded in abſtracting a conſiderable quantity of blood from different parts of the body. Medical aſſiſtance was immediately procured; but, owing to the virus of the poiſon having affected the blood, every effort for reſtoring the little ſufferer to health proved ineffectual, and ſhe expired in great agony, exhibiting all the ſymptoms incident to ſuch calamitous ſituations.

At the poor-houſe, Stoke upon Trent, Hannah Bourne, a 5th. deformed dwarf, meaſuring only 25 inches in height, was, after a very difficult and tedious labour, ſafely delivered of a female child, of the ordinary ſize, meaſuring 21 inches and a half, being only 3½ inches ſhorter than the mother. The child was in every reſpect perfect, but ſtill-born; the mother is likely to do well.

A horrid murder was committed at Thaw Farm, near Drayton, Dorſet, on the bodies of Mr. and Mrs. Sledger. At two o'clock in the morning three robbers broke into the houſe, and bound the farmer and his wife together in bed. There was only a maid ſervant in the houſe, who eſcaped, and procured aſſiſtance; but on its arrival the poor old man and woman were found

found dead and mangled in a ſhocking manner. Their ages amounted to 120 years; they were unable to make reſiſtance, and the houſe was completely plundered. According to the information of the ſervant, one of the villians worked on the farm, and he has decamped.

A ſingular inſtace of canine ſagacity occurred a few days ſince in the Thames below Blackwall: Mr. Turnbull, the maſter of a coaſting trader, kept a Newfoundland dog on board. Whenever the veſſel dropt anchor in the river, the dog ſwam to ſhore, and generally ſwam on board again the ſame evening. Having recently attempted to get to the ſhip in his uſual way, the tide drifted him with ſo much velocity, that he could not reach the veſſel; he was conſequently forced to re-land, and to the aſtoniſhment of all who witneſſed the ſagacity of the animal, he went near half a mile from the ſpot where he had firſt ſtarted up the bank, and by ſwimming acroſs the ſtream, made an angle, which enabled him to gain the ſhip. The maſter of the dog does not ſay the animal is a mathematician, but he aſſerts, with reference to this inſtance of ſagacity, that no waterman on the river could have reached the ſhip with more judgment.

At this period of the year it is very uncommon to experience ſuch ſeverity and change of weather as has been for the laſt ten days. The fall of ſnow during the laſt week was almoſt general throughout the country. Accounts from Cambridgeſhire, Lincolnſhire, and Scotland, mention that it lay on the ground for two days.

6th. A litter of ſix young foxes was a few days ſince diſcovered in the ivy over one of the gateways of Warwick Caſtle.

7th. About half paſt nine o'clock on Saturday night, the houſe of Wright Izzard, of Great Paxton, in the county of Huntingdon, was broken into, and Ann Izzard, his wife, was dragged out of bed by a man, at preſent unknown, who, with the aſſiſtance of two other men, with great violence forced her into the yard without any clothes on; here a moſt barbarous aſſault was committed upon her perſon by three women, aided and abetted by ſeveral men: her head was injured by the pin or ſtick which faſtened the door on the inſide; ſhe received a wound under her right eye; her right breaſt was very much bruiſed, whilſt her arms and legs and other parts of her body were lacerated with pins or ſome ſharp pointed inſtruments, till they were literally covered with blood. On the next evening an aſſault, very nearly ſimilar, was again made upon her. The parties offending were brought before the bench of magiſtrates of Huntingdon on Saturday ſe'nnight, and were bound over to keep the peace, and to appear at the enſuing aſſizes, to anſwer the charges which ſhall then be preferred againſt them.

9th. On Monday ſe'nnight died, to the inexpreſſible grief of the *grunting amateurs*, on its road to the metropolis, where it was to be exhibited, the remarkable Lincolnſhire fat pig. This wonderful animal was the property of Mr. Gardiner, of Elſham Lodge, near Brigg, by whom it was bred. It was at the time of its death about two years and a half old. It meaſured in length ſix feet; height two

feet

feet four inches; width acroſs the ſhoulders, two feet four inches; girth ſeven feet; and the circumference of its neck five feet and a half. It was ſuppoſed to weigh upwards of fifty ſtone, and was certainly one of the *greateſt* natural curioſities *of the kind* ever ſeen in this country.

Coroner's Inqueſt.—A ſhocking accident befel the lady of W. G. Althorpe, eſq. of Clewer, Surrey, laſt Monday night:—Mrs. Althorpe, her ſon, and two daughters, had returned home from a viſit, at half after eleven o'clock, when the former went into her bedroom, leaving her family in the drawing-room underneath. The ſhrieks of the mother alarmed her children, and on their haſtening up ſtairs, Mrs. A. was lying on the floor with her garments literally reduced to tinder. Surgical aid was as quick as poſſible adminiſtered to the unfortunate lady, who died in about three hours after the accident happened; ſhe had, it appeared, ſtood too cloſe to the fire, which caught her light garments, and which were conſumed in a very few seconds. The verdict was—*Accidental Death.* The deceaſed has left eight children to bewail her loſs.

On Tueſday laſt, Mr. C. Burton, ſteward to John Gurney, eſq. of Earlham, perceived a lamb, which had loſt its ewe, lying dead, with its neck bloody, and its eyes out; it was quite well at duſk the preceding evening; he took it home, and found it to have a ſmall hole in its neck, about the ſize of a gooſe quill, and juſt below it a ſmall place about the ſize of a ſixpence with the wool off. On looking amongſt the others, he found there were two more living, and following their dams with their necks bloody, and in the ſame ſtate as the dead one. The ſmall ones of the other two died. In the afternoon, Mr. John Scarnell, a near neighbour, ſent down to him a large male cat, as judging him to be the murderer by the following circumſtances: His ſervants having two kittens in the hay-loft, near half-grown, and not having ſeen them in the courſe of the day, one of the men went up to ſee if he could find them, this cat was found lying by them; he ſhut the door and ſecured him. On taking the kittens, they were found to be ſucked juſt under the ear, in the ſame way as the lambs were, and one of them having the hind part and half the body, with its inſide, eaten up. Mr. Burton had obſerved, when the ground was covered by ſnow, the footing of a cat quite around the turnips, and among the ewes and lambs; but yet never thought that a cat would interrupt the lambs.

10th. *Dover.*—A fire broke out on Tueſday afternoon in the warehouſe of Meſſrs. Fector and Co. adjoining the ordnance ſtorehouſes and buildings, through the careleſſneſs of ſome people employed in coopering ſome caſks of turpentine, throwing the ſnuff of a lighted candle on the floor, which caught ſome oakum that had been wetted with turpentine: it was prevented from blazing for ſome time by about 120 bags of wool in a loft over where the fire commenced; but the flames having at length reached many caſks of turpentine, it burſt forth with a fury nothing could reſiſt. The whole range of ſtorehouſes of Meſſrs. Fector,

Fector, which fronted the York Houſe, are entirely deſtroyed, with a very large quantity of prize goods taken from the Daniſh ſhips; the Ordnance ſtorehouſe, at the back of the ſtorekeeper's houſe, is alſo entirely conſumed, and many of the adjoining buildings much damaged. A Greek ſhip at the quay was alſo damaged. Some of the adjoining buildings were depoſitories for Mr. Congreve's rockets and other combuſtibles, which could not all be got out, and ſeveral exploſions took place, the laſt of which carried away the roof, rafters, and materials of the buildings, and cauſed great alarm. No further damage was however done, and the fire was got under between eight and nine in the evening. The loſs is ſuppoſed to exceed 30,000l.

Mr. Sparks, who has a large farm near Guildford, had upwards of 800 ſheep together, when being affrighted by a dog, they jumped into an adjoining field, which is on a great deſcent, and they followed each other over the gap of the hedge ſo faſt, that 123 of them were killed.

The Marquis of Stafford has juſt completed, at Trentham, a building of a ſingular conſtruction, being the only edifice of the ſort in this country. It is a cemetery, after the manner of the Roman tombs, and, like them, is ſituated on the road ſide. The building is of ſtone, of the moſt durable workmanſhip, and exhibits a ſtyle of grand and ſolid architecture highly expreſſive of the ſubject: it is a ſquare 40 feet on the baſe, and riſes pyramidically 40 feet high. The inſide contains 40 catacombs, under one groined arch of ſtone; the whole is lined with a beautiful dark and highly poliſhed marble.

At Bow-ſtreet, a charge of robbery has been for ſeveral days under the inveſtigation of Mac Reed and Mr. Graham, of an extraordinary nature. Mr. Mac Rae, a baker of Peter-ſtreet, Weſtminſter, attended before Mr. Graham, and ſtated, that on the 1ſt of February at eleven at night, he had been robbed by three men, on Weſtminſter-bridge, of his pocket-book, containing 130l. and he knew where to find one of the robbers. The magiſtrates directed Humphries to attend Mr. Mac Rae, which he accordingly did, and went early on Sunday morning to Deptford, and took into cuſtody Mr. Mac Donald, a baker of that place. On the examination the proſecutor ſtated the above, and that he well knew the face of the priſoner, having often had dealings with him. The magiſtrate thought it a ſtrange thing that he ſhould know the priſoner ſo well, and where to find him, and ſhould have delayed having him apprehended for ſuch a length of time. The explanation he gave of his conduct was, that the priſoner owed him a ſum of money, and he wiſhed to get that paid before he apprehended him, or he ſhould loſe his debt; and that he had, a few days previous, promiſed the balance of their accounts, amounting to 6l.; after which he ſent the priſoner a note, deſiring him to come to him, reſpecting the draw (robbery) he made on him on the firſt of February. The priſoner on Saturday morning, the 7th, called and requeſted an explanation of the note, when a violent altercation enſued. Mr. Mac Donald was admitted to bail. 11th.

Dublin.—

14th. *Dublin.*—This morning, in the Court of Chancery, the attorney-general (Mr. Saurin) moved the court on the part of the Earl of Limerick, for an attachment againſt Mr. Wm. Beaumont of Sackville-ſtreet, an eminent ſolicitor of that court, and againſt his wife, Mrs. Beaumont, on the ground that they had adviſed and procured the marriage of Miſs Edwards, Mrs. Beaumont's daughter, by a former huſband, with the noble earl's eldeſt ſon, lord Glentworth, who is a minor of only nineteen years of age, although a prohibitory order had iſſued from that court, cautioning them againſt ſuch proceeding, and that the ſame would be conſidered as a high contempt. Mr. and Mrs. Beaumont's affidavits were afterwards read, in order to oppoſe this application. Mr. B. admitted he was well aware of the intimacy that prevailed between lord Glentworth and his daughter-in-law, but declared, that he had carefully abſtained from taking any ſtep to further it. Mrs. Beaumont admitted ſhe was made very uneaſy by the continuance of that intimacy, which had become the topic of public converſation; that ſhe had, in conſequence, conſulted with ſome female friends, who thought that the buſineſs would be beſt ſettled by a marriage, and that an intimation to that effect ſome way or other, though not ſtrictly from Mrs. Beaumont, was conveyed to the young couple, who, it was admitted, were ſince married at Gretna-Green. The cauſe ſhewn againſt the attachment was allowed as to Mr. Beaumont, and Mrs. Beaumont was ordered to anſwer further perſonal interrogatories; the attachment was not to iſſue in the mean time. Miſs Edwards, now lady Glentworth, is a beautiful girl of 17 years of age, and is niece to Sir Jonas Barrington. The court was amazingly crowded. The ducheſs of Richmond was accommodated with a ſeat on the bench, and near her were arranged all the faſhion, rank, and beauty Dublin can boaſt. The marchioneſs of Donegal and Thomond, lady Elizabeth Littlehales, Lady Edward Somerſet, lady Denny Floyd, lady Roſſmore, lady Cox, &c. &c.

About four months ſince, Mr. Bartlett, of the Halfway-Houſes, died ſuddenly, as he was going to receive his pay. One of his daughters, who has loſt the uſe of her limbs, upon ſeeing the dead body of her father brought into the houſe, received ſuch a ſhock, that, from that time, ſhe began to recover, and is now in perfect health, and has the full uſe of her limbs. She attributes her recovery to the effect produced on her frame by the ſudden death of her father.—*Hampſhire Telegraph.*

PROSECUTION FOR HERESY.—*Conſiſtory Court of the Biſhop of London. Friday, May* 13.

Biſhop, the King's Proctor, v. *Stone.*

This was a proſecution inſtituted by his majeſty's procurator-general on behalf of the ſtate, againſt the Rev. Francis Stone, clerk, rector of the pariſh church of Norton, otherwiſe Cold Norton, in the county of Eſſex, on the alleged charges of having preached on the 8th of July, 1806, a viſitation ſermon, in the pariſh church of Danbury, in the ſaid county, before the arch-deacon of the dioceſe, and afterwards

afterwards printing and publiſhing the ſame, in which he denied the doctrine of the miraculous conception of the Virgin Mary, the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, the divinity of our Lord and Saviour, and the atonement by the birth and death of Chriſt. In ſupport of theſe charges, the teſtimony of the arch-deacon and four other clergymen preſent on the occaſion, and alſo the evidence of Mr. Joſeph Johnſon, of St. Paul's Church-yard, and Mr. Staines, of Chelmsford, bookſellers, were read to the court, to prove the printing and publiſhing thereof. On the part of the proſecution, it was contended by the learned counſel, that this was a doctrine held forth contrary to the eſtabliſhed law of the church of England; for by a ſtatute of the 13th Eliz. it is enacted, That if any perſon ſhall adviſedly maintain or affirm any doctrine directly contrary and repugnant to any of the articles of religion, and ſhall perſiſt in the ſame, and not revoke his error, he ſhall be deprived of his eccleſiaſtical preferments.—Mr. Stone here read to the court a written defence, which occupied nearly two hours time, wherein he endeavoured to ſhow that he had done no more than fulfil his engagements with his ordaining biſhop; that he had conformed to the church of England as by law eſtabliſhed, and that he had not offended againſt the ſtatute of the 13th of Elizabeth.—The court (ſir William Scott), after making many obſervations on this important ſubject, was of opinion, that the charges were clearly eſtabliſhed by the evidence produced, and therefore obſerved, it could not reſiſt the act of parliament; but it deferred giving final judgment till the next court day, in order to give Mr. Stone an opportunity of revoking his error.

This day the Rev. Francis Stone, rector of Cold Norton, in Eſſex, was called upon by the court, (ſir William Scott), agreeably to its directions, to appear and revoke his error, for having preached a ſermon in the pariſh church of Danbury, before the archdeacon of the dioceſe, wherein he maintained doctrine contrary to the eſtabliſhed law of the church of England, by denying the Holy Trinity, the divinity of our Lord and Saviour, and the atonement by the death of Chriſt. An immenſe number of perſons aſſembled in the court-room and hall adjoining. 20th.

About nine o'clock ſir William Scott took his ſeat, and Mr. Stone placed himſelf at the bar, and was called upon for his recantation.

The regiſtrar of the court then read a written paper, ſigned by Mr. Stone, to the following purport:—That he was not aware, by preaching this ſermon before the archdeacon, he was offending againſt the act of parliament paſſed in the reign of queen Elizabeth, that he was well perſuaded that the ordaining biſhop authorized him to preach as he did, and that he promiſed and engaged not to offend again in like manner.

Sir John Nicholls then addreſſed the court at conſiderable length, and commented on the unaccountable conduct of the reverend gentleman, who, inſtead of recanting his error, after the licenſe and indulgence that had been granted him, ſtill perſiſted in maintaining his heretical doctrines under the plauſible pretext of an evaſion. He begged

ged leave to obſerve, that he did not by any means wiſh to force opinions upon a man which he could not conſcientiouſly believe, but in conformity to his duty he could not avoid preſſing the preſent proſecution, which was founded upon a very important act of parliament.—That act provided, that no perſon in holy orders ſhould be allowed to preach any doctrine ſubverſive of, or contrary to, the 39 articles of belief; and as an offence againſt that ſtatute had been clearly proved againſt, and admitted by the defendant, it became his duty, in his official capacity, to pray the court for the ſentence the law preſcribed. The conſtitution of the land had left every man the liberty of chooſing his own religion, but it had wiſely provided againſt perſons profeſſing diſſenting principles, from participating in the emoluments appropriated to the miniſters of the eſtabliſhed church.

Dr. Laurence followed, on the ſame ſide; he obſerved that the proſecutors were legally entitled to claim judgment. On the laſt occaſion, the reverend defendant appeared before the court: what the reverend gentleman had ſaid, was not a ſuitable atonement for his error; and it therefore became his duty to pray ſentence of the court.

Mr. Stone then addreſſed the court extemporaneouſly, and ſaid, he conſidered the holy Scriptures to contain all the doctrine and inſtruction neceſſary to ſalvation through faith in Jeſus Chriſt. The doctrine of the church of England appeared to him to have no better authority than the church of Rome. They were both erroneous, only the Roman catholic was more abſurd—they were pope againſt pope, each aſſerting their reſpective infallibility. The principle of intolerance was common to both, although the practice was different: when he was originally ordained a prieſt, he admitted that the holy Scriptures were the only rule of his faith, and he ſhould always apply to them in the conſcientious diſcharge of his duty. To ſwear a man to preach according to the ſpirit of the holy Scriptures, and to make him conform his preaching to the proviſions of an act of parliament, was a ſpecies of eccleſiaſtical chicanery for which he could not find a parallel.

Sir. J. Nicholls interrupted the reverend gentleman, and obſerved, that the court did not ſit to examine the merits of his ſyſtem of belief, but to determine the queſtion which he had been called to anſwer. The law determined what he had preached and publiſhed to be error, and it was for him either to recant it, or ſubmit to the ſentence which the law had provided for ſuch an offence.

Sir W. Scott ſaid, he had heard the defendant with great patience. Inſtead of a formal recantation, as had been requeſted of him, he only perſiſted in his former error; what conſolation the reverend gentleman could derive from his conduct, he was utterly unable to ſay.

Mr. Stone ſaid, he had fulfilled the oath taken on his ordination, and if he erred, he was anſwerable to God, and him alone. He conceived that he had as good a right to preach the worſhip of one God, as the Trinitarians had to preach the unity of three deities in one; and as many other ſectaries preached doctrines different from that acknowledged by the eſtabliſhed church.

church. At all events he ſhould conform himſelf to God's word, and not to any act of parliament. He however requeſted the learned judge would be kind enough to inſtruct any perſon properly qualified, to draw out the form of a recantation, and give him a week to conſider of it.—He would be happy to ſign it if not contradictory to the dictates of his conſcience. He was the more ſolicitous to retain his living, as he had a wife and ſeven children unprovided for, and entirely dependent on him for ſupport. He felt it a ſevere trial, but he ſhould ſooner ſubmit to that than ſacrifice his duty to his Creator.

Sir W. Scott ſaid, he did not require any formal revocation in writing of the doctrines he had preached, but to acknowledge them verbally and openly in court, and to declare his belief in the thirty-nine articles of the church of England as eſtabliſhed by law.

Mr. Stone ſaid, he would not by any means ſacrifice his duty to God, nor could he agree to the terms preſcribed to him by the learned judge, unleſs with the *ſalvo* of conſcience.

Sir W. Scott obſerved, the law permitted no *ſalvo* of conſcience.

Dr. Laurence begged leave to remark, that neither he nor his learned friend who conducted the proſecution meant or wiſhed to argue the doctrine themſelves. This he wiſhed and particularly obſerved, leſt ſome of the auditors ſhould depart under an impreſſion that they had been hearing a theological argument.

Mr. Stone ſtated, that he believed God to be the principal Saviour of the world, and Jeſus Chriſt to be his agent. God condemned us all to everlaſting puniſhment, but he reverſed the judgment through the medium of Jeſus Chriſt.

Sir W. Scott interrupted him, and ſaid, the only queſtion he had to determine was, whether Mr. Stone had revoked the errors which he was proved to have preached and publiſhed.—The ſtatements made by Mr. Stone were unſatisfactory. On the juſtneſs of his argument, and in ſupport of his opinions, it was not a competent ſubject for him to judge upon. He thought the indulgence of another week would be productive of no good; if he did not avail himſelf of the preſent opportunity of revoking the error, no alternative was left him, but to certify his caſe to the dioceſan to whom he belonged, who would pronounce the ſentence of the law.

The biſhop of London and the biſhop of Lincoln, accompanied by other dignified clergy, then entered the court, and after being informed by ſir William Scott that the charges alleged againſt the reverend Francis Stone were clearly proved and eſtabliſhed by the evidence produced, the biſhop of London proceeded to read the ſentence, and afterwards ſigned the ſame, which deprived Mr. Stone of his eccleſiaſtical preferments.

Immediately after ſentence was pronounced, Mr. Stone caſt up his eyes to heaven, and exclaimed,—"God's will be done."

Extract of a Letter from a Lady in Madrid to her Brother in Dublin.

"Words cannot deſcribe the horror with which we have been ſurrounded ſince the firſt of this month; the approaching ſtorm was expected, but on the 2d, immediately after breakfaſt, it broke out in

in the moſt furious manner. Our friend T. had provided a retreat at his country-houſe, about ſix miles diſtant, to which we were to remove that very evening, but the ſtorm overtook us, and ſtopped our journey. The thunder of the artillery announced the beginning of the buſineſs, and in a few minutes after the whole male population of the city appeared in arms; wherever a French ſoldier was diſcovered, he was inſtantly cut down or ſhot; ſix of them were put to death under our windows: the ſcene was dreadful beyond deſcription. After two or three hours' carnage, particularly in our great ſtreet called Alcala, a reinforcement of Frenchmen poured into the town, and in their turn became the aſſailants; our doors were burſt open by the defeated populace, and ſeven or eight of the inhabitants took refuge under the couches, and in different parts of the houſe; but the French ſoldiers followed them, and in my preſence they moſt unmercifully bayoneted thoſe who had firſt entered the room, where I and my children ſat ſhivering with horror. The preſence of a young French officer protected us; and he had the humanity to continue in the houſe the entire of this fatal day, to whom I certainly owe the lives of myſelf and children. All night the inhabitants were forced to illuminate their windows, and fifteen dreadful-looking fellows took entire poſſeſſion of the lower part of the houſe; they ſoon broke open the cellars, which they plundered, nor could the preſence of the friendly officer I have mentioned prevent them. The following morning was indeed a ſcene of horror. Almoſt every perſon that paſſed through the ſtreets was ſtained with blood, and the dead bodies lay in heaps; it was reported, and I believe with ſome truth, that Murat, the French general, intended to erect ſome works outſide the town, to batter it to the ground, in revenge for the lives of his ſoldiers. This, however, he abandoned. The next day, when the tumult had a little abated, T. and I got ſome articles of plate and the books of the houſe, and through the interceſſion of our French friend were ſuffered to remove to his reſidence at Ombro, where we now are with the children. You ſhall hear from me by the firſt poſſible conveyance. The chance I have of ſending this to Liſbon is but ſmall, but it may poſſibly reach you."

Manchester.—In conſequence of the rejection of the bill for fixing the *minimum* of wages, a very great agitation has been excited amongſt the weavers in this town and vicinity. Yeſterday and this day many thouſands of them aſſembled in a field near St. George's church, by Newton-lane, and appointed delegates to attend the magiſtrates with a ſtatement of their grievances, which they aſſert aroſe not ſo much from a ſcarcity of employment, as from the unparalleled reduction which the prices of their work have recently experienced, inſomuch, that, after labouring for ſix days, at the rate of fourteen or fifteen hours per day, they cannot poſſibly earn more than ſeven or eight ſhillings! A pittance which will not ſupport nature. Their employers, on the contrary, inſiſt that, owing to the ſtagnation of trade, they cannot afford to pay higher prices, and promiſe 25th,

promiſe to increaſe them to their wonted ſtandard as ſoon as the reſtoration of peace ſhall enable them. —Be this as it may, a very ſerious alarm has been excited. The people this day flocked hither from all the circumjacent townſhips, viz. Stockport, Bolton, Bury, Oldham, Aſhton-under-Line, Eccles, &c. and became ſo formidable, though certainly at firſt orderly and quiet, that the military from the barracks (4th dragoons) were drawn out, and all the volunteer corps aſſembled. The magiſtrates repeatedly requeſted the people to diſperſe, and uſed every poſſible means to appeaſe them; but as they perſiſted in their right to aſſemble, and remained unmoved on the field, the Riot Act was at length read, and the ſoldiery made ſeveral apparently furious charges, merely with a view to enforce compliance, at the ſame time carefully avoiding any ſerious injury. Notwithſtanding this forbearance, however, the mob perſevered, and conſiderable miſchief has been done; one man is killed, and many wounded. About 20 perſons have likewiſe been apprehended, and committed to priſon. The utmoſt conſternation ſtill (at eight o'clock, *p. m.*) pervades the town, and every one dreads the reſult.

Eleven o'Clock.—"All is quiet; but I have been informed, that in the courſe of the evening two men have been ſhot, who are ſince dead, and ſeveral have been wounded by the ſwords of the cavalry. About forty priſoners have been committed to the New Bailey."

On Saturday morning, the houſe of ſir Vicary Gibbs, at Hayes, in Kent, was robbed in the following extraordinary manner. When miſs Gibbs, daughter of ſir Vicary, awoke in the morning, ſhe diſcovered that all her clothes were taken away, the quilt off the bed, and every thing that was portable in the room. On examining the premiſes, it was diſcovered that the robbers had, by tying ſome hurdles together, made a ladder, and aſcending a colonnade, which goes round the houſe, found eaſy acceſs to miſs Gibbs's room, and made off with the property without awakening her. A large ſtick was left upon the bed.

This day a ſhocking circumſtance occurred in the neighbourhood of Wolverhampton. Mr. Webb, of Moſeley, was married on the preceding Sunday, to an amiable young lady of that place; and only a few hours after, he aſtoniſhed the family with ſymptoms of inſanity. In this ſad ſtate, he on this day deſtroyed ſeveral ſheep. He next got poſſeſſion of a razor, and dreadful to relate, he firſt cut his wife's throat, and then his own. Almoſt every perſon who attempted to ſecure him was wounded. Neither he nor his wife are expected to recover.

At Cardiff aſſizes, which terminated on Saturday ſe'nnight, William Williams, aged 19, was tried for the wilful murder of David Williams, of Lantriſſent, about 12 years of age, under circumſtances of peculiar atrocity. It appeared in evidence, that the priſoner and the deceaſed were in habits of intimacy, and that the latter had mentioned to one of his playmates, that the priſoner had been guilty of a horrid crime. This coming to the knowledge of the priſoner, he threatened to kill the

the boy, and throw his body into the river. The deceaſed reſided with his grandfather, whoſe houſe he left on Sunday morning, the 23d of Auguſt laſt, and was traced to a farm in the neighbourhood, where he remained playing with ſome boys till about 12 o'clock, when the latter were called to dinner, and the deceaſed returned homeward, promiſing to meet his companions in the evening, but was never ſeen alive afterwards. His abſence occaſioning alarm, ſearch was made, and on the following Tueſday his body was found in a ditch, with ſeven wounds on the neck, and one on the belly, all of which appeared to have been inflicted with a ſharp inſtrument, and each was ſtated to be mortal. On the day the body was diſcovered, the priſoner abſconded; but a verdict of wilful murder having been returned againſt him, a ſearch took place, and the clothes he had worn on the Sunday morning were found in his father's houſe, with evident marks of blood-ſtains attempted to be waſhed out. Purſuit was immediately made after him, and he was apprehended at Gellygare, where he had applied for work, ſaying he had come from Danharry, a place about ſix or ſeven miles diſtant from Lantriſſent, and had been employed by one Llewellin Yorath, but having quarrelled with his maſter, had quitted his ſervice. A claſp-knife was found upon him when taken. In the priſoner's defence it was ſtated, that he came home about twelve o'clock on the Sunday, eat dinner with the family, went with them in the evening to a place of worſhip, afterwards viſited a young woman to whom he was attached, then returned home, went to bed, and followed his uſual labour for two ſucceeding days, during the whole of which he manifeſted the moſt perfect compoſure of mind. The evidence having been ſummed up, the jury ſhortly after declared the priſoner guilty. He heard his fate without emotion, but confeſſed that he was guilty, and ſeemed penitent. He was executed on Monday laſt, on the New Drop, at Cardiff, amidſt a great concourſe of people, who aſſembled on the occaſion.

Cambridge.—On Thurſday morning, about ten o'clock, a terrible fire broke out at Aldrey, in the pariſh of Haddenham, in the Iſle of Ely, which raged with great fury for ſeveral hours, and deſtroyed nine dwelling-houſes, with barns and out-buildings belonging. Part only of the property was inſured. It was occaſioned by a farmer's ſon incautiouſly firing at a hawk who was carrying off ſome poultry, when part of the wadding fell upon the thatch of a barn. 26th.

During the ſtorm this day, about three in the afternoon, an aſh tree, in the earl of Portſmouth's park, Hampſhire, was ſhivered to pieces by the lightning. A brace of bucks were under the tree; one was ſtruck dead, and the other much injured. Several deer were alſo about 17 yards weſt of the tree, one of which was ſtruck dead. On the ſame day, a ball of fire entered the ſide, and came out at the roof, of a barn belonging to Mr. Sergrove, at South Moreton, near Wallingford, Oxfordſhire. It ſet fire to the thatch; but there being a number of perſons on the ſpot, it was prevented from ſpread- 31ſt.

ing. At Warminſter, a ball of fire fell on a thatched public houſe, and penetrated through two floors into a kitchen, where it exploded, and ſet the houſe on fire, nothing being ſaved except the ſtock of beer. Two adjoining houſes were burnt to the ground, notwithſtanding the torrents of rain that poured down at the time. A tremendous ſtorm of thunder and lightning likewiſe paſſed over the city of Briſtol.

Lately, in digging into a mound of earth adjoining the ſouth ſide of the ruins of Tynemouth Priory, a capacious cemetery or arched tomb was diſcovered, with ſeveral human bones of a large ſize, and ſkulls on the floor. It is not known that the place has been opened ſince the diſſolution of the priory in 1539. It is to be converted into a gunpowder magazine.

The late admiral Rainier has left property to the amount of nearly 250,000*l.* and after providing amply for his near relations, he made the following bequeſt:

"I bequeath one-tenth part of my perſonal property to the chancellor of the exchequer, for the time being, towards the reduction of the national debt, in acknowledgment of the generous bounty of the national eſtabliſhment of the royal navy, in which I have acquired the principal part of the fortune I now have, which has exceeded my merit and pretenſions."

Died, 4th.—In St. Giles's Gate, Durham, in his 96th year, William Cloyd. Among the many eccentric tricks of his youth, he once undertook to deſcend upon a rope from the ſteeple of St. Giles's Church to the Bower Banks adjoining, and accompliſhed it unhurt. In 1739 he was with Admiral Vernon, at the taking of Porto Bello. In 1742 he was deprived of his eye-ſight by lightning on the African coaſt; and after this became famous for dreſſing ſheep's feet, which proved a very profitable trade to him, and enabled him to procure his quantum of ale, of which he conſumed no ſmall quantity. At cards and bowling matches Cloyd was generally one of the foremoſt, and frequently betted very freely. He enjoyed in general a very good ſtate of health; and within this laſt 20 years has been ſeen to run round the feet of a large ſtool, turned topſy-turvy, with his boots on. About 26 years ago he was at a bowling match on Giles-gate-moor, when a violent altercation ariſing about the poſition of the bowls, Cloyd ſtarting from the crowd, cried out, "Lead me to the place where the bowls are." On his arrival there, after groping awhile for the bowls, he cried out, "Any body may ſee that bowl is firſt." This created a loud laugh, and put all parties into good humour again. About 18 years ago, he received one of Hetherington's benefactions of 10 pounds a year to blind men, on which he ſubſiſted till his death.

14th. At Eaton, near Northampton, where he was on a viſit, Thomas Percy, LL.D. fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, and nephew to the Biſhop of Dromore. He was a man of great taſte and learning, and not leſs amiable than learned. Some of his poetical compoſitions with the ſignature of T. P. may be found in the early volumes of the Poetical Regiſter.

17. At Ballygurton, county of Kilkenny,

Kilkenny, aged 118, Dennis Carrol, farmer, who had never experienced an hour's ſickneſs, and retained all his faculties to the laſt moment.

26th. At Drumaul, Mr. John Reſide, farmer, aged 102 years.

At Tunſtall, a ſmall village near Richmond, in Yorkſhire, the population of which is little more than 100 inhabitants, Ellen Glentan, aged 107, and Ann Reynolds, aged 103. Theſe venerable neighbours died within a few days of each other.

At the Almſhouſes at Bray, Berkſhire, five out of forty have died within the laſt eight months at the following ages: Mary Kimber, 91; Eleanor Lambden, 87; Sarah Mather, 88; John Luff, 93; Sarah Ray, 87; and in the ſame houſe, only five died in three years and three quarters preceding the above-mentioned period, all little under eighty.

In Cranbourne workhouſe, — Young, aged 104 years. He had long reſided in the workhouſe, but till within the laſt four years he retained ſufficient ſtrength to work at huſbandry labour for three or four hours in a day.

At Caſtle Waller, in the county of Limerick, Bridget Behan, aged 110 years. She retained all her faculties till the laſt. About ſix years back, ſhe fell down ſtairs and broke her thigh, and contrary to expectation, ſhe recovered and walked ſtronger on it than ever; and, ſtrange to tell, it completely cured her of an old rheumatiſm with which that limb had been affected. Very lately, ſhe cut an eye-tooth.

At Paris, aged 34, Madam Cotin, known in the literary world, by the intereſting novels of *Claire d'Abbe*, *Malvina*, *Amelia de Mansfield*, *Mathilde*, *Elizabeth*, and a ſhort epic compoſition in proſe entitled *La Priſe de Jericho*.

JUNE.

According to the accounts given in at the laſt Pontefract ſeſſions, there has been a decreaſe in the woollen manufacture, for the year ending March 25, when compared with the preceding one, of 13,518 pieces of narrow cloth, making 498,848 yards; and of 28,245 pieces of broad cloth, making 1,139,035 yards. The quantity manufactured the laſt year is greater than that of 1803 and 1804, and exceeds the average of the five preceding years. The following is the account of the quantities manufactured for the laſt ſix years; and it is ſaid, that the quantity of woollens manufactured during that period, and not included under the ſtamp act, has increaſed in an unprecedented degree. Manufactured in 1803, 13,709,800 — 1804, 13,966,794 — 1805, 15,427,434 — 1806, 16,272,573 — 1807, 15,991,279 — 1808, 14,353,396.

Mancheſter.—" I am ſorry to inform you that the numerous body of cotton-weavers, in this town and neighbourhood, are yet ſtill diſſatisfied with the propoſals which the maſter manufacturers have agreed on at their meeting laſt night at the Bull's-head inn here, which is 10 per cent. advance on all kinds of cotton goods weaving, to take place this day (June 1), and 10 per cent. again advance, to take place the 1ſt of Auguſt next—this makes a full 20 per cent. which 1ſt.

does not meet the approbation of this great body of uſeful men. Their demands are, and they do ſtand out and perſiſt in having 6s. 8d. to the pound ſterling advance, an advance which is 33 1-3d per cent. ſo that between the manufacturer and weaver there is juſt 13 1-3d per cent.; and I am ſorry to add, at this moment, not any of them will go to the loom, neither here nor in any part of the neighbourhood; and, upon a moderate calculation, there are not leſs than 60,000 looms in the cotton trade only, ſtanding ſtill in this town and neighbourhood of twelve miles. If any of them are at the ſhuttle, parties ruſh into the houſe, cellar, or garret, and take it from them. This, I am ſorry to ſay, is too true. Great numbers of weavers walk in ſmall parties about the ſtreets, and in a peaceable manner. I am happy to ſay all is quiet.—Paſt 10 o'clock, Wedneſday night, June 1."

We are ſorry to learn, that on Monday laſt, the market day at Rochdale, 12 miles from Mancheſter, a tumult took place amongſt a number of working weavers, ſeveral of whom were apprehended and committed to the New Priſon. The mob, however, in the evening, releaſed the priſoners, and ſet fire to the gaol, which was burnt to the ground.

The following is a copy of the bill from the weavers of Mancheſter:—

"*To the Public in general, and to the Cotton Manufacturers and Weavers.*

"A number of hand-bills have been printed and circulated, purporting that an agreement has taken place betwixt the maſters and weavers:—This is to inform the public, that the perſons who ſigned ſuch an agreement (if any) were not authoriſed in any reſpect, on the part of the weavers, to do ſo, and we declare the ſame null and void; and that nothing leſs than ſix ſhillings and eight-pence in the pound (being one-third in advance upon our preſent wages) will be ſufficient for our ſupport; and all manufacturers that will give the above advance, their weavers will immediately go to work; that all goods that may be taken in from the date hereof, ſhall be paid for by the yard, according to its length, breadth, and ſtrength, and a liſt of the prices will be prepared for the uſe of the public as ſoon as poſſible.

"Signed on behalf of the weavers,

"M. MORRAY."

"Mancheſter, June 2, 1808."

Ireland.—A moſt daring attack has recently been made by the Thraſhers on a reſpectable gentleman near Ballynamore, in the county of Roſcommon. After having forced their way into the houſe in the middle of the night, the uſual oath was tendered to him, which he refuſing to take, one of the villains exhibited to his aſtoniſhed eyes a dreadful machine in the form of a wool-card, filled with crooked iron ſpikes, and a weighty hammer, ready to infix them in his back at one blow. It is not to be wondered at, that this horrid preparation produced his immediate compliance to their demand, and they then ſwore him to the following terms: "1ſt, That he ſhould not purchaſe tithes, except from a miniſter; 2dly, That he ſhould pay only the old dues to the Roman clergy; 3dly, That he ſhould not give

give evidence againſt a Thraſher in a court of juſtice; 4thly, That he would be faithful, and bear true allegiance to captain Thraſher." On the next morning he ſurrendered himſelf, and gave an account to lord Aſhtown, who immediately apprehended ſeveral of the miſcreants, and lodged them in gaol.

Lately was married at Otley, in Yorkſhire, Mr. George Raſtrich, of Hawkeſworth, aged 78, to Mrs. Mitton, of Burley-wood-head, aged 60, making the fourth viſit paid by the huſband, and the third by the bride, to the altar of Hymen. In compliance with a vulgar notion, that the wife being married in a ſtate of nudity, exonerates her huſband from legal obligations to diſcharge any demands on her purſe, the lady, with much *ſang froid*, began to diſrobe herſelf at the altar, and did not deſiſt till her ſhift remained her only covering: thus having attained the very ſummit of the *nude ton*, the marriage ceremony commenced, and it was not till the whole had been deliberately gone through, that the pariſh ſexton, in the capacity of waiting woman, began to dreſs this blooming daughter of Eve, and to revive, by the genial warmth of clothing, that ſpark of hymeneal fire, which a chilling air and humid atmoſphere had well nigh extinguiſhed.

Early this morning, in a field at the back of the Queen's Head and Artichoke public-houſe, leading to Camden Town, Mr. Joachim, of Pratt-place, Camden Town, was found dead. In the afternoon he went to viſit Mr. Moſs, who reſides at Cumberland-place, Liſſon Green, and received ſome money. When he left Mr. Moſs, he ſaid he was going to Saliſbury-place, where he ſtopped to ſee ſome perſons play at ſkittles till a late hour. About half paſt eleven o'clock, the landlord of the Queen's Head and Artichoke public-houſe heard the report of a piſtol, and the cry of "Murder!" It was ſuppoſed Mr. J. was then attacked by robbers, and that he, being a reſolute man, had reſiſted their attack. His money and watch were ſtolen, but notes about him to the amount of 100l. were not taken. A large bullet had entered the left ſide, and paſſed through his heart.

John Taylor, a ſailor, was tried under lord Ellenborough's act, for ſtabbing, cutting, and wounding Sarah, the wife of John Wood, with intent to kill, diſable, or do her ſome grievous bodily harm. He repeatedly begged of her to go and live with him, and ſhe as often refuſed. On the 12th of May they met in the ſtreet; they drank ſome porter together, and the man then repeated his ſolicitations; ſhe poſitively refuſed; on which he drew a knife and ſtabbed her. He was found Guilty, and ſentenced to be executed on Monday. 3d.

The per centage due to Mr. Palmer, on the net revenue of the Poſt-office beyond 240,000l. from the 5th of April, 1793, to the 5th of Jan. 1808, deducting the produce ariſing from increaſed poſtage and reſtriction in franking (according to the amount at which they were ſeverally taken), and alſo the ſum of 3,000l. a-year, received during that period, amounts to 69,347l. 5s. 4d.

Mr. Hammond, formerly pilot of the Saturn, has been arreſted in France as a ſpy, and ſhot,

ſhot, by order of the French government. Other accounts ſtate, that he was beheaded, and his body dragged round the town, the name of which is not mentioned. He had been ſent from the Saturn, on board l'Aigle, captain Wolfe, to reconnoitre the French coaſt, and landed at a port near L'Orient; he had been on ſhore twelve days, and was preparing to come off in a boat, when he was arreſted by two cuſtom-houſe officers. He received a penſion of 50l. per annum from our government, for the information he obtained ſome time ſince, by landing on the enemy's coaſt. He was a Frenchman by birth, but had been many years in our ſervice, in the courſe of which he had more than once riſked his life, by making incurſions into France, and returning in an open boat to our ſhips off the coaſt.

For ſome time paſt, a ſow pig, belonging to Mr. Tudor, of Leominſter, has been increaſing in bulk, and was ſuppoſed to be breeding; but not farrowing within the uſual time after ſhe was perceived to be enlarging, and daily increaſing in bulk, Mr. Tudor ſuſpected that ſhe was not breeding, and conſulted a medical gentleman, who, upon viewing the animal, pronounced that her complaint was the dropſy; and laſt week, the ſow, under the direction of an eminent ſurgeon, was tapped, and full 16 gallons of water was taken from her, and ſhe is now recovering.

The old accuſtomed paſtime of Green meeting, was revived on Saturday ſe'nnight, at New Morton, in the pariſh of Elleſmere, Shropſhire, where the largeſt aſſemblage of perſons met that was ever known in that part of the country. The firſt dance was taken by Mr. N. Davies, gent. (who is now in his 93d year), with all the hilarity of a youth of 16; after the meeting broke up, he attended his fair partner to her home, and enjoyed her company many a happy hour till the moon reminded him of returning to his home.

The following curious account is given by Dr. Clanny.—"Sunday, June 5, the morning was cloudy, and portended a thunder ſtorm, and about mid-day diſtant thunder was heard in the neighbourhood, attended by very vivid lightning. The ſtorm gradually increaſed till the evening was far advanced, and the lightning was remarkably vivid, approaching very cloſe to the earth. At nine, p. m. as captain and Mrs. W. were walking on the race ground, a flaſh of lightning paſſed between them, running along the metal buttons of captain W.'s coat; he felt a ſenſation, as he expreſſed, as if a ſtrong electrical ſhock had been given to the left ſide, which was followed by a numbneſs of that ſide for four hours after, and next morning he felt a pain of the left ſhoulder. He remarked alſo, that though he had been much abroad, in tropical climates, he never remembers to have ſeen ſuch vivid lightning; and that he is perſuaded, that if he had been only half a ſtep further advanced, it would have ſtruck him lifeleſs!" Mrs. W. did not feel any ſhock, though ſhe was on the *left* ſide of captain W. and cloſe to him when it happened.

Mancheſter. — The report mentioned in my laſt, of the priſon at Rochdale having been burnt, is but too true. The mob, in order to releaſe ſome of their con- 5th.

confederates, broke into, and actually ſet fire to the building. Further miſchief would probably have been effected, had not a detachment of dragoons from Mancheſter, and the Halifax volunteers, arrived in time to prevent it. Several perſons are in cuſtody, charged with riotous proceedings in Rochdale and its vicinity. At Oldham alſo ſome injury has been done to factories and dwellings, ſuch as breaking windows, &c.

Soldiers are pouring into Mancheſter from all quarters, though the town is perfectly tranquil; three regiments, one of cavalry and two of infantry, are expected in a day or two. I pity the publicans, who are likely to be ſevere ſufferers on this occaſion.

A ſpecial commiſſion is expected to be appointed for trying the priſoners, in order to make a ſtriking and ſpeedy example of the guilty.

Yeſterday the magiſtrates had information where the committee of the weavers had aſſembled; the conſtables, with three companies of the Weſt York militia, went and ſurrounded a houſe (ſign of the Plaſterer's arms) in Newton-ſtreet, Ancot-ſtreet, in this town, in which they took 37 men, with a large bundle of papers. Some of the men were diſmiſſed, as not having any connection with the weavers. There are about twenty of the latter kept in the New Bailey priſon, to be examined in a day or two. The magiſtrates have all this day been very buſy in looking over theſe papers, and to make ſuch arrangements as may appear neceſſary. The town appears very quiet, and many of the weavers are contentedly taking their work again. This morning I was informed, by a friend from Bolton, that yeſterday at noon there aſſembled many weavers, but the two troops of cavalry that are ſtationed there ſoon diſperſed them in every direction, purſuing ſeveral of them for three or four miles upon the moor, which is cloſe by the town.—P. S. I am this moment by authority informed, that information has been given to the magiſtrates of this place, of there being an intention of ſome of the weavers to meet at a place called White Moſs, a few miles from Mancheſter. There is not the ſmalleſt doubt of their being ſoon diſperſed, as there is every exertion made according to the neceſſity of the times.

Laſt week as the carriage of ſir Thomas Gooch was travelling on the road from London to Suffolk, with four poſt-horſes, near the 15-mile ſtone, it overtook a cart, in which were Mr. Mead, a farmer of Baſſilden, his wife, and a female acquaintance. The poſt-lads wiſhing to paſs the cart, called out in a manner that frightened Mr. Mead's horſe, inſomuch that he became ungovernable; they ſtill perſevered in following his cart, and kept up the ſame noiſe; the dreadful conſequence was, that juſt as the carriage was paſſing the cart, Mr. Mead's horſe ſprang out of the road, threw the cart over, and precipitated all the paſſengers directly under the wheels of the carriage, which paſſed over the head of Mr. Mead, and the breaſt of his wife: they received ſo ſevere an injury, that a few minutes after being removed to the Nag's Head, Brook-ſtreet, they both expired, leaving a family of nine children to lament their melancholy fate.

America. Fire at Trinidad.—We have been favoured by a correſpondent with the following account

count of the dreadful and extenfive conflagration of the town of Port d'Eſpagne, in the ill-fated iſland of Trinidad, where every houſe has been burnt to the ground. The fire began at a chemiſt's ſhop in Frederick-ſtreet, about ten o'clock in the evening of the 24th of March; by eleven o'clock that ſtreet was conſumed, and before twelve the whole front of the town was burnt, extending from the corner of the old Ordnance-yard in the eaſt, down to Unwin's corner in the weſt, excepting the commiſſary-general's houſe and ſtores, Mackintoſh's and Ciprian's brick buildings, which are oppoſite on the ſea-ſhore, and which were ſaved by knocking down the wooden buildings at each end. From Unwin's-corner, the fire extended up to the new buildings owned by Dr. Williams and others, to the north of Brunſwick-ſquare, from whence it ran up obliquely to the end of St. Ann's-ſtreet, and to the market-place in the eaſt, where it ſtopped. This deſcribes the circumference of this dreadful conflagration; within which there is not a houſe ſtanding. Such was the rapidity of the flames, that many of the inhabitants with difficulty eſcaped with their lives. The conſequences that muſt enſue from the dreadful havock made by this fire are at this time (April 3d) almoſt incalculable. It is ſaid that 1500 houſes are conſumed, together with their furniture and ſtores of merchandize, ſuppoſed to be of the value of one million and a half ſterling, and that 10,000 people are without houſes, beds, clothes, and food.

A letter from Charleſton, (America) dated March 21, ſtates as follows:

"Laſt night a fellow belonging to Major Rouſe, and a wench, his wife, belonging to Mrs. D'Azeveda, put an end to their exiſtence by ſtrangling themſelves with ropes. It is ſuppoſed that the fellow, who was about to go into the country for ſome time, anticipated ſome infidelity in his wife during his abſence, as he had been heard to expreſs himſelf to that effect. Sooner, as it appears, than labour under the tortures of jealouſy, he formed the dreadful reſolution of committing ſuicide, and had influence enough over his wife to prevail on her to quit the world with him. From the ſituation in which the wench was found ſitting, it is ſuppoſed the fellow had aſſiſted in her death before he proceeded in the execution of himſelf. The hands of both were at liberty, ſo there is no room to ſuppoſe that either had not conſented to die. They evidently had been drinking, as two empty bottles were found near them, both of which had contained brandy."

Mancheſter. — We lament that the refractory ſpirit amongſt the weavers in this town and neighbourhood ſtill exiſts. It has been continued by acts of the moſt oppreſſive kind towards their fellow workmen who have been inclined to follow their employment. From theſe, beſides taking away their ſhuttles, their pieces have, in ſeveral inſtances, been cut. To prevent ſuch daring outrages, the military have patrolled for ſeveral miles on the different avenues to the town, for the protection of the induſtrious and well-diſpoſed workmen.—That the weavers are as a body, a loyal people, we cannot doubt; but it 11th.

ſeems

ſeems certain that artful agents amongſt them have mixed political ſentiments with their claims, and have thus been the cauſe of continuing a temper that ſeems to riſe in its demands, as the manufacturers offer conciliation.

King's Bench, June 11. The King *v.* Governor Picton.—This cauſe came on again to be tried this day, and occupied the court (which was extremely crowded the whole day), from nine o'clock in the morning until eight at night.

Mr. Garrow, in ſtating the caſe on the part of the proſecution, obſerved, that as the evidence which he was again about to adduce in ſupport of this proſecution, had been already fully laid before the public, he had no matter of novelty to ſtate to the jury; and whatever might be the perſonal feelings on the other ſide, he proteſted for himſelf, that out of this caſe he knew nothing of the defendant, and had no other view but wiſhing juſtice might be done to all parties, determined on his part to do his duty to the public. The horrid barbarities charged againſt this defendant were ſuch as had never before been charged againſt any Britiſh governor, that of cruelly torturing a female of the tender age of fourteen years. He then ſtated, that in the year 1801 the iſland of Trinidad was ceded to the Britiſh forces, under general ſir Ralph Abercromby, when the defendant was appointed governor of that iſland, and it was ſtipulated that the people of the iſland were to be governed by their own, namely, the Spaniſh laws, until his majeſty's pleaſure ſhould be known. It was the cuſtom of that country that perſons ſhould marry at an early age; and the unhappy female, who gave riſe to this proſecution, (Louiſa Calderon,) had been contracted to a perſon of the name of Pedro Lewis; but by the artifices of his ſervant Carlos Gonſalez, ſhe was by him ſeduced, and he afterwards robbed his maſter of 2000 ducats. The robber eſcaped, but the girl was taken up, and application was made to the governor, to permit torture to be inflicted, in order to compel her to confeſs what ſhe knew of the facts. The manner in which this torture was inflicted, he ſhould abſtain from deſcribing, but the jury would have the pain to hear it deſcribed by the unfortunate ſufferer herſelf, corroborated by other evidence. Before inflicting the torture, it was neceſſary however to ſhow that the defendant, a Britiſh Governor, had conſented to it. In anſwer to this, it was ſaid, that the defendant was authorized by the law of Spain in ſuch caſes; but in reply to this, he ſhould ſhow that no ſuch law exiſted in the Spaniſh code, that no Spaniſh governor could have inflicted ſuch a puniſhment, and that it was reſerved for governor Picton to be the firſt to introduce torture into that iſland, which by the Spaniſh laws could only be reſorted to, in caſes of witchcraft, and Louiſa Calderon was the only inſtance of the kind ever known in that iſland, where torture was inflicted for a different crime. If, however, ſomething ſhould be ſhewn on the other ſide, from the old Spaniſh books, recognizing torture in ſuch caſes, he would ſhow, on the contrary, that ſuch laws were obſolete, and that this, and this only, was the one ſolitary caſe where torture had ever been inflicted, and he was ſorry to repeat that it was firſt introduced by

by a Britiſh governor; and he ſhould further contend, that from the introduction of the Britiſh government, all ſuch laws, if they ever did exiſt, muſt ceaſe, and be wholly void and nugatory.

Louiſa Calderon was then examined, and deſcribed the manner in which the torture was inflicted, in nearly the ſame way ſhe had done on the former trial, with the exception that ſhe now gave her evidence in the Engliſh language, with much fluency and correctneſs. Having deſcribed the pike on which ſhe ſtood, ſuſpended by a rope and pulley from the ceiling, her fainting, &c. &c. ſhe further ſtated, that the perſons preſent were Begerot, the judge, who firſt applied to the governor for the order to torture; de Caſtro, the eſcribado, or ſecretary to the judge; and Ralpho Shando, the alguazil or conſtable. She alſo ſtated, that when brought before the governor, he ſaid if ſhe did not declare who had got the money, he would make the hangman paſs his hands over her.

Ralpho Shando corroborated her ſtatement.

The order for applying the torture was then produced, and appeared in the words following:—

"*Appliquez la queſtion* * *à Louiſa Calderon.*"

(Signed) THE GOVERNOR.

Mr. Dallas, in ſtating the caſe of the defendant, admitted the facts to have been fully proved; but the jury were to recollect, that the idea of applying the torture did not originate with Governor Picton, but with the judge of the country. With reſpect to its ſeverity, he had nothing to ſay, but it muſt be recollected that the proſecutrix was accuſed of a crime which, in this country, would be conſidered a capital offence, and lead to an ignominious execution. In order that the jury might judge rightly of the caſe, it was neceſſary they ſhould ſee and underſtand what the charge truly was. It was not for cauſing Louiſa Calderon to be cruelly tortured, but giving an order that torture ſhould be applied. He did not, however, mean to ſay, that if his conduct was illegal, he was not by the laws, and in a moral point of view, anſwerable; but the impriſonment and ſevere treatment were not applicable to him, unleſs the Governor was to be conſidered as the gaoler and executioner. The only point, therefore, which the jury had to try was, whether Governor Picton had ordered the torture to be applied unlawfully and maliciouſly, or otherwiſe; but, in fact, the malice might be of courſe inferred, if the thing was done illegally. If the law was in exiſtence, he was authorized and bound by it to exerciſe that power.

A great number of depoſitions were then read to prove the laws of Spain on this ſubject.

After a vaſt body of evidence being adduced, to ſhow that torture was authorized by the Spaniſh laws, and much argument on both ſides, it was at length agreed that a ſpecial verdict ſhould be taken; and after a charge from lord Ellenborough, in which he obſerved, that however the law of Spain authorized torture, and that Governor Picton had not acted maliciouſly, in his opinion he had acted extrajudicially, for the dernier appeal

* The torture.

was

was not to the Governor, but to the King of England, and therefore the court would infer that he was guilty of the fact.

The jury then returned a ſpecial verdict: That, at the time of the ceſſion of the iſland of Trinidad to the Britiſh force, the law of Spain authorized torture, and that Governor Picton had not acted maliciouſly, except ſo far as the law inferred from the facts. Upon the other counts of the indictment, the jury found a general verdict of—*Guilty*.

We have already mentioned the melancholy fate of Lord Royſton. The following letter from one of the paſſengers on board the veſſel gives further particulars of this unfortunate event:—

"*Memel, April* 12, 1808, *N.S.*

"On Saturday, the 2d inſt. N.S. at 12 o'clock at noon, we ſailed from Liebau with a fair wind, and ice for about two verſts only, after which we got into clear water, and from that time ſaw no more ice. This fair wind continued for about twenty-four hours, and carried us within forty Engliſh miles of Carlscrona. The ſhip began to make a little water the firſt night, but it was a trifle; the ſecond night however increaſed ſo much, that Meſſrs. Bayley, Becher, Renny, Focke, and Pereyra, who were lying upon hay, were obliged to move to a higher place; but as I lay in my kibitker, the water never touched me till the laſt night, when I was alſo obliged to move. When we came within forty miles of Carlscrona, the wind became direct weſt, and blew a gale: we were ſeveral times cloſe to the iſland of Oland, but could not land on account of the ice; but that would not have prevented our attempting it, had not the captain ſaid that there was no place for anchorage, nor was there a harbour; ſo we tacked about till the 6th, all the time the pumps going, and all hands baling the ſhip; but we did not gain on the leak, and had always four or five feet water in the hold.

"On the 6th inſt. at noon, colonel Pollen aſked the captain if he thought the ſhip could ſtand the ſea? He anſwered, that 'It was impoſſible;' whence it would appear, that had Colonel P. not put the queſtion, the ſhip muſt the next day have foundered with us all.

"Upon receiving that anſwer from the Captain, Colonel Pollen ordered him immediately to put back, and make the firſt port (this was Memel); and as it blew a gale, and the wind quite fair, we were ſure of reaching it early next morning. During the whole of the day and night, we were employed in clearing the ſhip of water, and prevented it exceeding five feet. At two o'clock in the morning of the 7th, we ſaw the coaſt, and, at four, Memel. I immediately went into the hold, opened my deſk, and took out what money I had there, placing it in the pocket of my kibitker, that I might ſecure it at a moment's warning, in caſe of danger; I then locked my deſk, and left my ſervant to put it away.

"When I came upon deck, we were cloſe to the bar; I had not been there five minutes, when the ſhip ſtruck with ſuch violence, that the ladies and children in the cabin, and the paſſengers in the hold, had juſt time to reach the deck, when the ſhip filled with water, and immediately

mediately after the rudder was knocked off.

" The women now took refuge in the ſailors' cabin upon deck, where I alſo put the children.

" The ſea running dreadfully high, we were obliged to cut away the maſt, to prevent the ſhip upſetting; the boats were then cut looſe and launched, and Lord Royſton, with four or five others, jumped into them, but were upſet in a moment.

" I determined to take my chance with the women, and followed them into the round-houſe, where I found eleven perſons; Mrs. Pollen, and three ſervants, Mrs. Barnes, three children and maid, Pereyra, and Focke. All the reſt of our dear friends, except thoſe who were loſt by getting into the boats, were immediately waſhed overboard.

" Shortly after, the life-boat came alongſide, and found the captain and three ſailors upon the bowſprit, who telling the captain of the life-boat that every one elſe was waſhed overboard, it put off, leaving us twelve in the round-houſe, in water up to the middle.

" There was only one dry bed-place, into which we put the children, but Mr. Focke prayed for God's ſake we would permit him to go in too, as he could not endure the cold. Mr. Pereyra ſat upon a cheſt, and had Mrs. Pollen on his knees; Mrs. Barnes ſat upon another cheſt, with her little one at her breaſt, the water covering the cheſts.

" That night we all went to prayers, forgave our enemies, and reſigned ourſelves to the Almighty.

" Next morning at eight o'clock, Anthony, who was out, gave notice that the life-boat was at the bowſprit. I went out with Mrs. Pollen and the youngeſt child; Mrs. P. with great difficulty reached the life-boat. I was twice knocked down by the ſea, with a child in one arm, but ſucceeded in keeping faſt hold with the other. Finding, however, my ſtrength failing me, I gave the child to Ann (Mrs. B.'s maid), deſiring her to remain where ſhe was, till I could ſend one of the men from the life-boat to take the child. Whether ſhe attempted to follow me or not I cannot ſay, but juſt as I threw myſelf into the boat, the ſailors called out that the woman with the child, and a man, were waſhed overboard; this man was Hearn, Mrs. Pollen's ſervant.

" The weather was too boiſterous to permit the boat to remain long where it was; it therefore put off with Mrs. Pollen, her ſervant Anthony, Mrs. Pereyra, and myſelf.

" When we reached the ſhore, I told the people there were ſtill four living perſons on board, viz. Mrs. Barnes, her two children, and the third ſervant of Mrs. Pollen. They were with difficulty perſuaded to return, and ſucceeded in ſaving them.

" Mr. Focke had died during the night, from cold, in the little bed-place before deſcribed; the body is now on ſhore, and is to be buried to-morrow, according to the directions he gave me about half an hour before his death.

" Mr. Pereyra is not expected to ſurvive this day.

" Mrs. Barnes is laid up, having had her feet frozen. Mrs. Pollen is tolerable, but, as you can imagine, very low. We were upwards of

of forty hours without meat or drink, and muſt have all periſhed, had we remained ſix hours longer.

12th. A dreadful affray took place this night in Whitechapel, between a body of Portugueſe and a body of American ſailors. The forces had been aſſembled on both ſides during the courſe of the day, and about ten at night they came to a ſerious engagement; they fought with ſticks, ſtones, ſwords, knives, and every other weapon that they could muſter. Two of the Americans were killed on the ſpot, and ſeveral wounded, two of whom are not expected to recover. One of the men who was killed had his ſkull fractured by the point of a ſtick of an umbrella, which was forced into his head near his ear. Some of the ringleaders have been committed to priſon.

14th. This morning an inqueſt was held at the Swan, the corner of Church-ſtreet, Lambeth, on the body of Miſs Jemima Proſſer, about ten years of age, the daughter of a reſpectable tradeſman in the Strand, who loſt her life by falling from a barge into the Thames, about four o'clock on Sunday evening laſt. She had juſt returned from boarding-ſchool, and was on a viſit at the houſe of Mr. Davies in Northumberland-ſtreet. The deceaſed went in company with Miſs Anne Davies, on board a barge at the end of the ſtreet, it being a fine evening, and the tide high up. As they walked along the gunwale of the veſſel, Miſs D., who was foremoſt, ſuddenly miſſed her companion, and, upon looking into the water, ſhe could diſcern her clothes, though her face was not viſible. She gave an alarm, but the body had ſunk before a boat could reach the ſpot. Several perſons repeatedly endeavoured with drags to recover the body; but it was not found until between ten and eleven o'clock on Monday night, when T. Duffin, a waterman, ſaw the body lying partly on the ſhore, and partly immerſed in water, oppoſite Lambeth-palace. Verdict—*Accidental Death.*

15th. *Manchester.*—Parties of the weavers aſſembled yeſterday at and near the New-croſs, and in Newton-lane; but they diſperſed peaceably, after being cautioned by the general ſent hither to command the troops, Sir Charles Roſs, I believe, who humanely adviſed them to return to their employment, leſt a contrary conduct ſhould ſubject them to diſagreeable conſequences. Every thing has been tranquil during this day.

21ſt. *Manchester*—Owing to the perfect tranquillity which reigned here during the greater part of laſt week, I had cheriſhed the hope that every thing was ſettled, and any further communication from me, on ſo diſagreeable a ſubject, rendered unneceſſary. This hope, however, I regret to ſay, has been diſappointed. Yeſterday, large bodies of refractory weavers again aſſembled in St. George's-fields and neighbouring ſtreets, and not only ſtopped all the looms they found at work, but intercepted every weaver coming in with finiſhed pieces, or going out with freſh work, forcing the workmen to return from whence they came. Some pieces, indeed, are ſaid to have been actually cut out, or deſtroyed in the looms. Conſiderable bodies of the above deluded

deluded artiſans have likewiſe met in the ſame places this day, but indicated rather a peaceable diſpoſition. Parties of the fourth dragoon guards have patrolled the ſtreets in that vicinity during the day; a meaſure which has probably prevented a repetition of the ſcenes of yeſterday, and afforded the well-diſpoſed country-weavers a quiet ingreſs and egreſs.

22d. A very novel ſpecies of duel has lately taken place at Paris. M. de Granpree and M. Le Pique having quarrelled about Mademoiſelle Tirevit, a celebrated opera-dancer, who was kept by the former, but had been diſcovered in an intrigue with the latter, a challenge enſued. Being both men of elevated mind, they agreed to fight in balloons, and in order to give time for their preparation, it was determined that the duel ſhould take place on that day month. Accordingly, on the 3d of May, the parties met at a field adjoining the Thuilleries, where their reſpective balloons were ready to receive them. Each, attended by a ſecond, aſcended his car, loaded with blunderbuſſes, as piſtols could not be expected to be efficient in their probable ſituations. A great multitude attended, hearing of the balloons, but little dreaming of their purpoſe: the Pariſians merely looked for the novelty of a balloon race. At nine o'clock the cords were cut, and the balloons aſcended majeſtically amidſt the ſhouts of the ſpectators. The wind was moderate, blowing from the N.N.W. and they kept, as far as could be judged, within about eighty yards of each other. When they had mounted to the height of about 900 yards, M. Le Pique fired his piece ineffectually; almoſt immediately after, the fire was returned by M. Granpree, and penetrated his adverſary's balloon; the conſequence of which was its rapid deſcent, and M. Le Pique and his ſecond were both daſhed to pieces on a houſe-top, over which the balloon fell. The victorious Granpree then mounted aloft in the grandeſt ſtyle, and deſcended ſafe with his ſecond, about ſeven leagues from the ſpot of aſcenſion.

Mancheſter. — I am extremely ſorry to ſay, that the weavers have met again this day, and evinced a more turbulent diſpoſition than at any period of the diſpute. They have burnt in effigy ſeveral reſpectable manufacturers, whom they deem the moſt hoſtile to their claims, and ſtopped every loom in that part of the town, which is unfortunately the ſcene of their unlawful meetings. Many pieces of different goods have been maliciouſly deſtroyed by means of ſpirit of vitriol or aqua fortis, which they artfully convey to the looms through the medium of a ſyringe, from which the deſtructive ingredient is ſquirted through the broken panes in the windows; and ſometimes it is dropped upon the bags hung over workmen's ſhoulders, containing pieces.

The women are, if poſſible, more turbulent and miſchievous than the men. Their inſolence to the ſoldiers and ſpecial conſtables is intolerable, and they ſeem to be confident of deriving impunity from their ſex. Two men were apprehended yeſterday, and three this day, and lodged in the New Bailey priſon. One of the perſons concerned in burning the priſon at Rochdale has likewiſe been taken into

into cuſtody, and committed to Lancaſter-caſtle.

To ſuch a length have theſe deluded men carried their audacity, that written papers were this day ſtuck upon the walls in Newton-lane, &c. threatening deſtruction to the houſes of all weavers who ſhall attempt to throw a ſhuttle, until every manufacturer agrees to an advance of wages.

The military continue upon duty night and day, and the magiſtrates and conſtables are indefatigable in their exertions to preſerve the public tranquillity. With exception of this town and its vicinity, all is quiet, moſt of the weavers having reſumed their work.

NEW VOLCANO.—*A Letter from John B. Dabney, Eſq. Conſul of the United States of America, to a Friend at St. Michael's.*

" Fayal, (Azores) June 25, 1808.

" Dear Sir—A phenomenon has occurred here not unuſual in former ages, but of which there has been no example of late years; it was well calculated to inſpire terror, and has been attended with the deſtruction of lives and property. On Sunday, the 1ſt of May, at one *p. m.* walking in the balcony of my houſe at St. Antonio, I heard noiſes like the report of heavy cannon at a diſtance, and concluded there was ſome ſea engagement in the vicinity of the iſland. But ſoon after, caſting my eyes towards the iſland of St. George's, ten leagues diſtant, I perceived a denſe column of ſmoke riſing to an immenſe height: it was ſoon judged that a volcano had burſt out about the centre of that iſland; and this was rendered certain when night came on, the fire exhibiting an awful appearance. Being deſirous of viewing this wonderful exertion of nature, I embarked on the 3d of May, accompanied by the Britiſh conſul, and ten other gentlemen, for St. George's. We ran over in five hours, and arrived at Vellas, the principal town, at eleven *a. m.* We found the poor inhabitants perfectly panic-ſtruck, and wholly given up to religious ceremonies and devotion. We learned that the fire of the 1ſt of May had broken out in a ditch, in the midſt of fertile paſtures, three leagues S. E. of Vellas, and had immediately formed a crater, in ſize about 24 acres. In two days it had thrown out cinders or ſmall pumice ſtones, that a ſtrong north-eaſt wind had propelled ſoutherly; and which, independent of the maſs accumulated round the crater, had covered the earth from one foot to four feet in depth, half a league in width, and three leagues in length; then paſſing the channel five leagues, had done ſome injury to the eaſt point of Pico. The fire of this large crater had nearly ſubſided; but in the evening preceding our arrival, another ſmall crater had opened, one league north of the large one, and only two leagues from Vellas. After taking ſome refreſhment, we viſited the ſecond crater, the ſulphureous ſmoke of which, driving ſoutherly, rendered it impracticable to attempt approaching the large one. When we came within a mile of the crater, we found the earth rent in every direction, and, as we approached nearer, ſome of the chaſms were ſix feet wide: by leaping over ſome of theſe chaſms, and making

making windings to avoid the larger ones, we at length arrived within 200 yards of the ſpot, and ſaw it in the middle of a paſture diſtinctly, at intervals, when the thick ſmoke which ſwept the earth lighted up a little. The mouth of it was only about 50 yards in circumference; the fire ſeemed ſtruggling for vent; the force with which a pale blue flame iſſued forth, reſembled a powerful ſteam engine, multiplied a hundred fold; the noiſe was deafening, the earth where we ſtood had a tremulous motion, the whole iſland ſeemed convulſed, horrid bellowings were occaſionally heard from the bowels of the earth, and earthquakes were frequent. After remaining here about ten minutes, we returned to the town. The inhabitants had moſtly quitted their houſes, and remained in the open air, or under tents. We paſſed the night at Vellas, and the next morning went by water to Urſulina, a ſmall ſea-port town, two leagues ſouth of Vellas, and viewed that part of the country covered with the cinders before-mentioned, and which has turned the moſt valuable vineyards in the iſland into a frightful deſart. On the ſame day (the 4th of May) we returned to Fayal, and on the 5th and ſucceeding days, from twelve to fifteen ſmall volcanoes broke out in the fields we had traverſed on the 3d, from the chaſms before deſcribed, and threw out a quantity of lava, which travelled on ſlowly towards Vellas. The fire of thoſe ſmall craters ſubſided, and the lava ceaſed running about the 11th of May; on which day the large volcano, that had lain dormant for nine days, burſt forth again like a roaring lion, with horrid belchings, diſtinctly heard at twelve leagues diſtance, throwing up prodigious large ſtones, and an immenſe quantity of lava, illuminating at night the whole iſland. This continued with tremendous force until the 5th of June, exhibiting the awful yet magnificent ſpectacle of a perfect river of fire (diſtinctly ſeen from Fayal) running into the ſea. On that day (the 5th) we experienced that its force began to fail, and in a few days after it ceaſed entirely. The diſtance of the crater from the ſea is about four miles, and its elevation about 3500 feet.

The lava inundated and ſwept away the town of Urſulina, and country-houſes and cottages adjacent, as well as the farm-houſes, throughout its courſe. It, as uſual, gave timely notice of its approach, and moſt of the inhabitants fled; ſome few, however, remained in the vicinity of it too long, endeavouring to ſave their furniture and effects, and were ſcalded by flaſhes of ſteam, which, without injuring their clothes, took off not only their ſkin, but their fleſh. About ſixty perſons were thus miſerably ſcalded, ſome of whom died on the ſpot, or in a few days after. Numbers of cattle ſhared the ſame fate. The judge and principal inhabitants left the iſland very early. The conſternation and anxiety were for ſome days ſo great among the people, that even their domeſtic concerns were abandoned, and amidſt plenty they were in danger of ſtarving. Supplies of ready-baked bread were ſent from hence to their relief, and large boats were ſent to bring away the inhabitants who had loſt their dwellings.

lings. In ſhort, the iſland, heretofore rich in cattle, corn, and wine, is nearly ruined; and a ſcene of greater deſolation and diſtreſs has ſeldom been witneſſed in any country.

A weaver of Trafford, near Cheſter, has lately worked a piece of table-linen, of the uncommon length of 192½ yards, a circumſtance before unknown in that branch of manufacture.

Mr. Cunnington opened various barrows in the neighbourhood of Stonehenge this month, under the direction of Sir Richard Hoare, bart. and with the aid and aſſiſtance of A. B. Lambert, Eſq. and found a number of curious remains of Celtic ornaments, ſuch as beads, buckles, and broaches in amber, wood, and gold; one of which, for its elegance and appropriate form, is at once a proof of the nobility of the perſon for whom the barrow was raiſed, and the elegance of the arts at the period of the interment, about 3000 years from the preſent period. The ſhape of this curious article is conical, and the exact form of the barrow itſelf, which it was moſt probably intended to figure. Conceive a piece of wood, imbricated in layers, one over the other, to the ſummit of the cone, and covered with thin plates of pure gold, and adorned with circles round the middle, and near the bottom with a triangular feſtoon about the lower edge, in which are two holes for a thread or wire to ſuſpend it.

Singular Animal.—A reſpectable farmer of Weſtrip, in the county of Glouceſter, has a calf, now about ſeven weeks old, which has but three legs. The two fore legs are perfect, but there is only one behind, which, however, ſerves him to walk with; which he does with as much freedom as if he poſſeſſed the other.

An extraordinary large fiſh was caught a few days ago, in a mackerel net, at Mount's-bay, of a ſpecies to which the fiſhermen were ſtrangers; but we are informed, by a gentleman of conſiderable zoological ſcience, who ſaw it, that it was a male of the fiſh denominated the baſking ſhark. It was full 30 feet long, and of great bulk. Its liver alone was eſtimated at a ton weight. A man might eaſily have crept down its throat. The ſtrength of its jaws was ſo great, that the fiſherman having thruſt his boat-hook into its mouth to turn it, while ſtruggling in the net, it ſnapped off the ſhaft of it, he ſaid, as if it were a pipe-ſtem. A female of the baſking ſhark, but of leſs bulk, was caught a few years ago on the coaſt of Dorſetſhire.

Ireland.—On Monday ſe'nnight, the ſcaffolding which has been raiſed round the ſpire of St. Patrick's cathedral, Dublin, (in order to reach the top, ſome time ſince diſturbed by a thunder-ſtorm,) having been completed to within ten feet of the ball, a thoughtleſs wretch, for a ſmall wager, determined to be the firſt who ſhould reach the ball. He accordingly clambered up by his hands and knees, and, to the extreme terror of a multitude of ſpectators, placed himſelf aſtride that part of the ſpire which the ſtorm had bent into a horizontal poſition; he had ſcarcely done ſo, when, to the horror of thoſe below, the whole gave way, and, with the ball and about one ton of the ſtone-work, the unhappy wretch was 27th.

precipitated in a moment: he fell upon the firſt ſcaffold, and was carried by the weight through the two next ſtages, when his clothes entangled in the timbers, and he was detained; the ball paſſed down to another ſtage of the ſcaffolding, and the ſtone-work, hurled from a height of 200 feet, was forced nearly a yard beneath the ſurface of the pavement in Patrick's-cloſe. The man ſoon extricated himſelf from his difficulties, deſcended exultingly to the ſtreet, and was carried in perfect ſafety to the next whiſkey-ſhop, to celebrate this extraordinary exploit. The ball was put up in the year 1754.

Died.—4th. At Glencullen, county of Dublin, aged 100 years, Valentine Walſh, farmer. He enjoyed perfect health until within a few days of his death, was a keen ſportſman, and a jovial companion, much attached to his native whiſkey, of which he drank regularly two quarts a day in grog, till a week before his death.

10th. Mr. Robert Wootton, of Nottingham. He was known by the appellation of "The ſteeple climber," having been famous for repairing ſpire ſteeples without the aid of ſcaffolding. In this dangerous undertaking he uſed only ladders, hooks, and belts. In 1789, he repaired St. Peter's ſteeple, Nottingham, and after having finiſhed it, he beat a drum round the top of it, and drank a bottle of Nottingham ale there, in the preſence of thouſands of ſpectators.

19th. At his houſe in High-ſtreet, Mary-le-bone, aged 70, Alexander Dalrymple, Eſq; a gentleman who, by his abilities and the inceſſant labour of half a century, had attained the well-earned reputation of undiſputed pre-eminence beyond all his contemporaries, in the important ſcience of hydrography. He was diſmiſſed from his ſituation of hydrographer to the Britiſh navy on the 28th of May laſt; and it is ſaid that, in the opinion of his medical attendants, he died in conſequence of vexation reſulting from the event. He left a paper explanatory of the tranſaction.

27th. Aged 110 years and ſix months, Mary Ralphſon, of Kent-ſtreet, Liverpool.

At Shenton, aged 106 years, Joſeph Lemon. He retained the uſe of all his faculties to the laſt.

At Llanvon, near Aberyſtwith, Jeremiah Davies, the Welch dwarf, aged 58; meaſuring only forty-ſix inches in height; his perſon was the perfection of ſymmetry, which is rarely found in a dwarf.

JULY.

5th. While two colliers were in the act of deſcending a coal pit, at Stanmore, and were about one third of the way down, the bucket in which they were, became unhooked, and they were precipitated to the bottom; one of them was killed on the ſpot, and the other ſo much bruiſed that his life is deſpaired of.

On Saturday ſe'nnight one of thoſe phenomena which rarely occur in theſe climates took place near Kirkconnel, about ſix miles above Sanquhar, which had a moſt terrifying aſpect. In the afternoon a large black cloud appeared to reſt

reſt on the hill of Corſencon, which ſoon ſhifted and ſtood over the coal pits, about two miles from that place, when a whirlwind apparently riſing directly below it, appeared to ſtrike the cloud. At that inſtant a loud and confuſed noiſe was heard, and the water immediately deſcended with great velocity, in an awful and tremendous manner, tearing up the ground, and ſtones of immenſe ſize, whereever it touched. Thoſe who witneſſed this ſcene, deſcribe the water deſcending from a conſiderable height, in broken columns rolling over one another, which, when it approached near the earth, terminated in a ſmall point in an inverted conical ſhape. The day was uncommonly warm and ſultry, and ſcarce a breath of wind could be felt.

10th. A remarkable inſtance of the fatal effects of the introduction of virulent animal matter into the human ſyſtem, lately happened in the caſe of James Grey, a ſhepherd, in the ſervice of Mr. Archbold, of Hetton, who, in the act of ſkinning a ſheep which had died of diſeaſe (the thorter ill) and was at the time in a ſtate of putrefcence, accidentally cut one of his fingers with the knife. The effect of the poiſonous matter was truly aſtoniſhing; for on his going home in the evening, he complained to his wife "that he had inoculated himſelf, and he already began to feel the bad conſequences of it over all that ſide of his body on which the finger was cut." At five the next morning, medical aſſiſtance was ſent for, but no kind of relief could be given; and with ſuch rapidity did the morbific matter attack his ſyſtem, that he became a corpſe, in the higheſt degree of putridity, by eleven o'clock that day, being leſs than twenty-four hours from the introduction of the matter.

A ſingular inſtance of the ſagacity of a Newfoundland dog occurred a few days ſince on the river. As Mr. Cook, who keeps a tavern in Cleveland-ſtreet, and a party of friends, were returning from Richmond, where they had been ſpending the day, the boat upſet a little below Kew-bridge, in conſequence of Mr. C., who is a very corpulent man, ſhifting from his ſide of the boat too ſuddenly. Having a Newfoundland dog on board, the faithful animal immediately laid hold of his maſter, and took him on ſhore, and returned again with an aſtoniſhing ſpeed to the boat, and continued to go backwards and forwards until he had reſcued ſix men from their perilous ſituations in leſs than a quarter of an hour, to the admiration of a multitude of ſpectators, who had aſſembled on the bridge.

Manor-houſe, Hayes, Middleſex, July 13, 1808.

The extraordinary heat of yeſterday and to-day, which exceeds any ever previouſly experienced in England, induces me, ſays Mr. Walker, to ſend you a correct account of it, as obſerved in a north open aſpect at this houſe, by two thermometers, by Ramſden and Cary, quite detached.

On Tueſday the 12th inſt. at two P.M. both ſtood at - 87 deg.
At midnight - - 69
At half paſt eleven this morning - - 90
And at this inſtant, at one, have fallen to - 88
The hot Sunday and Tueſday.

in the year 1790, only amounted to 83 degrees in open ſhaded ſituations. The average heat of the Weſt Indies is about 82 degrees.

The thermometer under the northern entrance of the Royal Exchange, was Thurſday at noon at 87. In a tranſparent glaſs thermometer at a window in the Strand, on Wedneſday afternoon, it was 101.

The heat of the atmoſphere in the north-eaſtern parts of Lincoln, on Wedneſday the 13th, exceeded what it is ſtated to have been in moſt other parts of the kingdom. A thermometer, made by Nairne and Blunt, hanging in the ſhade, in a north aſpect, at Gainſborough, at one o'clock in the day ſtood at *ninety-four degrees* (ten degrees higher than the meteorological records of this county ſtate it to have ever been before). Human efforts were paralized under ſuch a temperature, and many of the brute creation died; as did likewiſe ſeveral labourers and travellers. A reſpectable correſpondent aſſures us, that "a large quantity" of ſheep were found dead at Burgh in the Marſh, and in the neighbourhood of Spilſby, which had periſhed by the heat.

The following is an exact ſtatement of the height of the thermometer, from July 11 to 19 inclusive, expoſed to the open air in a northern aſpect, in James-ſtreet, Buckingham-gate. Monday, July 11, 80 degrees. Tueſday 12, 88½. Wedneſday 13, 94. Thurſday 14, 91. Friday 15, 77. Saturday 16, 86. Sunday 17, 83. Monday 18, 84. Tueſday 19, 92. In Kent, on the 13th, the thermometer was at 98; in various parts of London, near 100, and expoſed to the ſun at its greateſt heat 147.

In the king's bench an indictment was tried againſt Edward Brown, Edward W. Roberts, and Elizabeth Dorothy Roberts, alias Brown, alias Cole, for a conſpiracy to cheat divers tradeſmen of their goods, by deceit and miſrepreſentation:—Brown took a houſe at No. 36, Great Coram-ſtreet, Ruſſel-ſquare, and Mrs. Roberts paſſed for his wife. They had a chariot and ſervants proper for ſuch an eſtabliſhment, and their habit was to drive to tradeſmen's houſes and give their orders, the manſion in Coram-ſtreet ſerving as a convenient depôt for the articles furniſhed. The almoſt uniform repreſentation by Brown was, that he was a wine-merchant of eminence, and carried on buſineſs in the city, where he had a ſuitable counting-houſe; and that he had eſtates in Scotland. The fraud was conſummated by confeſſing a judgment to Roberts, who having entered the houſe upon that judgment, ſought to ſell the goods in execution under the ſheriff's hammer. In defence it was attempted to be ſhown, that Roberts was not a party to the miſrepreſentations, and that the confeſſed judgment was given to him for monies he had lent Brown. It was alſo inſiſted, that, notwithſtanding Mrs. Roberts had paſſed for Mrs. Brown, nothing criminal had taken place between them, and that ſhe was the unſeduced wife of Roberts. The jury found all the defendants guilty. 14th.

In the court of exchequer on Monday was tried an action at the ſuit of the exciſe office, a gainſt Meſſrs.

Meſſrs. Brown and Parry and others, proprietors of the Golden-lane brewery, for duties. By ſeveral acts of parliament, common brewers ſelling wholeſale are allowed a deduction of 1½d. of the duties on beer in name of leakage, ſpillage, &c. but this is not extended to brewers who ſell their own beer in retail. The preſent company conſiſts of 600 ſubſcribers, of whom 120 are victuallers, and it was therefore contended that they were liable to the full duty as ſelling their own beer by retail. On the other hand it was contended, that this by no means conſtituted the company retail ſellers, eſpecially as the ſubſcribers to the brewery paid exactly the ſame for their beer as any indifferent perſon; that every brewery in town had houſes belonging to them, and in which, particularly on a houſe being empty, they place their own ſervants to ſell their beer, and all of them, except this, had their own taps where they ſold their beer themſelves, in the regular courſe of retail. It was agreed, on the ſuggeſtion of the lord chief baron, to take a ſpecial verdict, ſubject to the opinion of the court. The ſolicitor-general ſaid, that in the mean time the defendants would, he preſumed, have no objection to paying in the money allowed to be due for duties, amounting to 24,000*l.* Mr. Brown, who was in court, immediately tendered the amount in exchequer bills, or would next day pay the ſame in caſh, adding, that they were likewiſe willing to pay intereſt from the time a ſtop was put to their payment by the legiſlature.

16th. *Briſtol.* The ſtorm of laſt night appears to have exceeded, in awful phænomena, any one recorded for many years paſt. Unlike the tempeſts of the milder zones, the thunder was remarked to roll in one continuous roar for upwards of an hour and a half, during which time, and long afterwards, the flaſhes of lightning followed each other in the moſt rapid and uninterrupted ſucceſſion. But the moſt tremendous circumſtance attending this elemental tumult was the deſtructive hail-ſhower which accompanied its progreſs. It may be doubted, however, whether ſuch a name be applicable to this extraordinary phænomenon; ſince the maſſes of ice which fell on the places where the tempeſt moſt fiercely raged, bore no reſemblance to hail-ſtones in formation or magnitude, moſt of them being of a very irregular and polygonal ſhape, broad, flat, and ragged; and many of them meaſuring from three to nine inches in circumference. They appeared like fragments of one vaſt plate of ice, and broken into ſmall maſſes in its deſcent towards the earth. The tempeſt aroſe in the ſouth-weſt, and, ſpreading to the north-weſt, gradually died away in the north-eaſt. At Frenchay, there were between 14 and 1500 panes of glaſs broken, a large field of beans entirely deſtroyed, and many buſhels of wall-fruit picked up; the loſs is eſtimated at little leſs than 200*l.*—The row of trees before Mr. Tucker's houſe at Moorend was ſo broken, that the leaves and ſmall branches lay in the road a foot deep.—The windows of J. R. Lucas, Eſq. at Stapleton, and of Mr. Alderman Claxton, at Almondſbury, were moſt of them broken.

At Newton, Corſton, and Kel-

ſton, moſt of the windows that lay in the direction of the ſtorm have been broken, as well as the glaſs of the hot-houſes, &c. in the gardens; and many windows in the manſions. The plantations and ſhrubberies of Mr. Langton were covered with leaves and branches of trees, and the pines and other plants in his hot-houſes deſtroyed. In the ſouth and weſt fronts of Mr. Jolliffe's manſion not a pane of glaſs was left whole; and the ground was even the next morning covered with ice that fell.

At Mr. Dickinſon's, Kingsweſton, Somerſet, the ſtorm was tremendous. All the windows on the ſouth-weſt ſide of the houſe were broken; and many rooks were picked up on the lawn, killed by the weight of the hail-ſtones.

At Radſtock, ſeveral fields of corn are nearly deſtroyed, the ſtalks being moſtly cut off in the middle by the maſſes of ice. At Writhlington, near Radſtock, very great damage has been done to the corn. Farmer Hockey, in particular, will be a ſufferer of more than 500*l.*; Farmer Brown upwards of 360*l.*; Farmer James upwards of 160*l.*; and the other farmers in proportion. The ſtorm laſted about 40 minutes; and many of the hail-ſtones meaſured from ſix to nine inches in circumference.

A boy belonging to Mr. Harding, of Keynſham, was ſtruck down by the lightning, and his recovery was for ſome time doubtful. A ſheep was killed.

At Glouceſter, a fire ball burſt in the College-green, and carried away one of the pinnacles upon the weſt end of the cathedral.

A conger eel was lately taken in the waſh at Yarmouth, by a fiſherman, which meaſured ſix feet in length, and twenty-two inches in girth, and weighed three ſtone ſeven pounds. This eel, on finding no way to eſcape, roſe erect, and actually knocked the fiſherman down before he could take it. Another fiſherman caught an eel about a mile below the bridge at Yarmouth, ſix feet one inch long, twenty-one inches in girth, and weighing forty-two pounds. It was exhibited in Harwich, and, incredible as it may appear, was a ſilver, not a conger eel.

The houſe of a ſuppoſed pauper, in Colcheſter, who has taken relief from his pariſh for nine years paſt, to the ſum of 42*l.* 7*s.* was lately ſearched under circumſtances which led to a ſuppoſition that he had ſufficient property to ſupport himſelf; when the ſum of 189*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* in caſh, was found hoarded upon the premiſes, together with ſeven cheſts, each having from three to ſix locks, and containing the following articles:—32 coats, 11 jackets, 42 waiſtcoats, 36 pairs of breeches and pantaloons, 33 pairs of ſtockings, 20 ſheets, 6 new hats, 12 pairs of boots and ſhoes, 7 pairs of ſilver ſhoe and knee buckles, 14 ſilk and other handerchiefs, &c. all of which it appeared he had regularly purchaſed at different periods, and which were of the beſt quality.

Dover.—A moſt ſtrange phenomenon occurred on Thurſday morning, between ſeven and eight o'clock, the water being at the time near low-water mark; the tide ebbed and flowed three times in an hour, and at one time roſe to the height of two feet; at the ſame time a great rumbling noiſe was heard. A caſe 21ſt.

nearly

nearly ſimilar took place about forty years ſince, which was thought to be in conſequence of an earthquake.

22d. *Brighton.*—The following characteriſtic exploit occurred here laſt night. Two ſailors, who had landed but a ſhort time before from the Dapper gun brig, in paſſing up North-ſtreet, obſerved a whiſky ſtanding empty, at the door of the Coach and Horſes Inn in North-ſtreet, a boy having the care of the horſe. The ſailors, both nearly intoxicated, inſtantly determined on a ride, and preſently ſeated themſelves in the vehicle, and called to the boy who held the horſe to take care of himſelf. Without conceiving it neceſſary to make uſe of the reins, the whip was now forcibly applied, and the horſe at full ſpeed daſhed off with them. On reaching the top of the ſtreet, the horſe in lieu of purſuing the road over the church hill, took another that led into a chalk pit, where, finding his progreſs impeded, he turned about, and returned down North-ſtreet with the ſame degree of ſpeed as he had previouſly paſſed up, one ſailor continuing furiouſly to make uſe of the whip, while the other with Stentorian lungs, deſired all the people he ſaw to take care of their hulks, leſt his veſſel, which was ſailing at the rate of twenty knots an hour, ſhould run them down. It was about half paſt nine, and rather dark, ſo that the individuals in the ſtreet, from the irregular progreſs of the chaiſe being as much on the foot path as in the road, were often in imminent danger. The ſailors, however, paſſed through North-ſtreet, and Caſtle-ſquare with ſafety; but, on reaching the Steyne, the horſe, inſtead of taking the road to the right, made a deſperate leap at the fence, breaking one of the poſts and two of the rails, and throwing the ſailors to the ground. One of them was little hurt, the other had two of his ribs and his collar bone broken.

25th. During the heavy ſtorm of rain, thunder, and lightning, this day, a ball of fire ſtruck the houſe of Mr. Milton, fiſhmonger and fruiterer, of Crown-ſtreet, Walworth, ran down a ſword hanging at the window of a room where Mrs. Warner was ſitting, without doing her any injury, paſſing a wainſcot, which it ſhivered to pieces, and finally exploded in the lower room, where Mrs. Milton was at breakfaſt, and ſtruck her; ſhe fell to all appearance lifeleſs, but from the ready aſſiſtance afforded by the medical gentlemen, the uſe of one ſide was reſtored; the other is wholly devoid of feeling, like the effects of a paralytic ſtroke. Several other ſhocks were felt near the ſame ſpot, but we do not know of any other where perſonal injury has been ſuſtained.—Great damage was done by the violent ſtorm this day in the neighbourhood of Putney, Barnes, and Fulham, but particularly the latter, where the houſe of his excellency the Sardinian ambaſſador, and ſome other houſes, were entirely unroofed. A ſtorm to an equal extent has not been felt for many years.—A houſe belonging to Mr. Cheeſman, ſituated in Broomfield place, Deptford, and the one adjoining, were particularly ſtruck by the lightning. The electric fluid appeared to come from a ſouth-eaſt direction, and ſtriking the window of Mr. C.'s houſe obliquely,

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tore away the frame and ſill. In the room it did more conſiderable damage, tearing away the plaſtering and ceiling, and otherwiſe injuring the roof. Mr. Cheeſman ſitting in the room, was thrown on the floor by the violence of the ſhock, but received no other injury than the fright. The adjoining houſe experienced a ſimilar ſhock; and two females in a room were ſtruck to the ground, one of whom had not on Wedneſday evening recovered the uſe of her limbs.

In the king's bench, at Guildhall, an action of damages, at the ſuit of Sir John Carr, knt. was brought againſt Meſſrs. Hood and Sharpe, bookſellers.

The plaintiff had written a variety of books of travels, of which he made a conſiderable emolument. The defendants had publiſhed a book, called "My Pocket Book," ridiculing the plaintiff's writings, and in conſequence of which he was prevented from diſpoſing of a manuſcript Tour through Scotland. For this he ſought damages, not only to the amount of the loſs ſuſtained, but to deter others from ſending forth ſuch ſcandalous and ſcurrilous publications.

Mr. Johnſon, bookſeller, proved that he purchaſed the manuſcript of The Stranger in France from the plaintiff for 100*l.*—Sir Richard Phillips depoſed that he purchaſed from the plaintiff his Northern Summer Tour in the Baltic for 500*l.*; The Stranger in Ireland he gave him 700*l.* for; and for his Tour through Holland 600*l.* He had ſeen the manuſcript of the Tour through Scotland, and would have given 600*l.* if it had not been for My Pocket Book, which he heard had depreciated the works of the plaintiff ſo much, that it deterred him. Sir Richard was croſs-examined by the attorney-general, who aſked if he ever read Reviews: to which he anſwered, that he did not; abhorring the ſcurrility, partiality, and miſrepreſentation with which they abounded, and knowing, as he did, the manner in which they were manufactured. He had, he allowed, for ſome time been a publiſher of The Oxford Review, which had been ſet up as an experiment, to try if a review free from ſcurrility would ſucceed; which it did not. Being aſked if he had not read The Edinburgh Review, he ſaid, he did not remember to have read more than two or three of the firſt numbers, unleſs he might occaſionally turn it over in a bookſeller's ſhop; and the ſame as to the other Reviews mentioned by the attorney-general.—He was aſked if he himſelf publiſhed no anonymous books. He ſaid, he publiſhed a great many; but they contained no ſcurrility or abuſe. He was aſked, had he not publiſhed books, entitled Anecdotes of the Founders of the French Republic, and Public Characters, with ſome others. [Here Lord Ellenborough ſaid, the witneſs need not anſwer this queſtion to criminate himſelf.] Sir Richard warmly replied, that he was ready to anſwer that, and all other queſtions the attorney-general might chooſe to aſk, and was in no degree afraid to criminate himſelf by acknowledging the contents of any work he had ever publiſhed. He, therefore, courted the queſtions of the attorney-general rather than ſhrunk from them, exclaiming, God forbid that he ſhould be

aſhamed

aſhamed to avow, in that place, every act of his life. Nothing was gained by the croſs-examination, which laſted above an hour.

The attorney-general, in his reply, declared Sir Richard Phillips muſt either have ſlipped in his teſtimony, or he was the greateſt fool on earth, to be, as he was, the greateſt publiſher of books in London, and not to read the Reviews of his works, and treat with his authors accordingly. The publication called My Pocket Book, the learned gentleman contended, was nothing more than a fair criticiſm of a book which deſerved to be held up to public ridicule.

Lord Ellenborough obſerved that every man had a right to criticiſe the writings of another, and even to hold them up to ridicule, ſo that he caſt no perſonal reflections on the author. If fair criticiſm injured the ſale of a work, it was *damnum abſque injuria*. As to the preſent queſtion, if the criticiſm went beyond obſervations on the work or on the author, merely as ſuch, it was actionable, and not otherwiſe. The jury found for the defendant.—The Duke of Bedford, and other noblemen, friends of Sir J. Carr, were on the bench.

DIED.—9th. At Hull, the widow Pindar, aged 109 years.

23d. In Cripplegate workhouſe, aged 103, Mrs. Mary Carey.

Mrs. Duke, of Bandon, aged 109 years. The newſpapers, in announcing her death, ſaid, that ſhe enjoyed the happineſs during her laſt illneſs, of ſeeing 197 of her children, grand-children, and great grand-children, weeping by her bed ſide.

AUGUST.

That fine wooded bank, immediately oppoſite to Spring-field paper-mill, near Edinburgh, ſlipped with a dreadful craſh into the river Eſk, which runs at the bottom, and ſo completely choked it up, that not a drop of water paſſed for ſeveral hours. The bank, which is about 200 feet in height, had diſcovered ſymptoms of agitation on the preceding day, and for about an hour before it gave way, the agitation was extremely violent, and the trees were ſeen falling in all directions; but, when it began to move in a body, it was awfully grand and terrific, and the noiſe was equal to the loudeſt thunder. 2d.

A grand dinner, in honour of the glorious cauſe of the Spaniſh patriots, was given to the Spaniſh deputies at the city of London tavern. The chair was filled by Sir Francis Baring; and immediately round him ſat the Spaniſh deputies, the Spaniſh admiral, Portugueſe ambaſſador, Earls Camden and Bathurſt, Viſcount Sidmouth, Lords Erſkine and Hawkeſbury, Sir C. Price and W. Curtis, Meſſrs. Canning, Windham, Perceval, and Sheridan, Aldermen Combe and Shaw, Meſſrs. Melliſh, Thornton, &c. There were ſix tables lengthways, and one croſs table, in the large room, at which 328 noblemen and gentlemen ſat down to dinner; and in the adjoining room there were 72, making together 400 perſons, whoſe united property, it is no exaggeration to ſay, exceeded fifteen millions. The decorations and ſtyle of the entertainment 4th.

tainment in general were moſt ſplendid. Every thing was elegant, profuſe, and excellent. There were dreſt for the day 2500 lbs. weight of turtle, and the intervals between the tureens had every delicacy in ſeaſon. The deſſert was extremely magnificent. The ſcene was enlivened by many loyal and patriotic ſongs and toaſts; among the latter were The king, The queen, Prince of Wales, Ferdinand VII; Succeſs to the gallant heroes of Spain, &c.; The patriots of Portugal, and the houſe of Braganza; The king of the Two Sicilies; The king of Sweden, &c.; all of which were drunk with enthuſiaſtic plaudits. The health of the preſident of the United States of America was alone received with murmurs of diſapprobation; but it was explained, that it was to the preſident individually, and not to the United States, that this diſapprobation extended. On the health of their noble viſitors being given, Mr. Canning returned thanks in their name. The health of the chairman, and of Mr. Canning, were alſo drunk. The Spaniſh deputies departed amid loud teſtimonies of reſpect from the company at large.

A curious *luſus naturæ* appeared in a breed of three young canaries, hatched lately at Aberdeen in a breeding-cage.—The birds are all healthy, and now fully fledged, but they are entirely without feet.

On Wedneſday evening, about ſeven o'clock, as the daughter of a noble peer was walking up the Haymarket, leaving her carriage at the entrance into Pall Mall, ſhe was accoſted by a middle aged perſon in the moſt indecent manner. She paid no attention to what he ſaid. At laſt, however, he attempted to kiſs her, and take other indecent liberties, when ſhe ſcreamed, and fainted with fright. A gentleman caught hold of her and ſupported her. The culprit was ſeized by ſome gentlemen who had witneſſed his miſconduct, and conducted to a pump, where he was drenched for half an hour. They then delivered him to the mob, who introduced him to another pump at Charing-croſs, where they amuſed themſelves by pumping upon him for an hour longer, and then allowed him to depart, with a number of bruiſes and a broken head.

At York aſſizes Joſeph Ingleſon was indicted for the commiſſion of a rape on the perſon of his own daughter, a girl 15 years of age.—Grace Ingleſon, the unfortunate daughter of the priſoner, ſtated, that on the 11th of July ſhe went with her father to cut turf, at Radliſh, a diſtance of ſix miles; that on their return, her father threw her down in the cart; and, notwithſtanding her cries, had perpetrated the foul and unnatural crime of which he ſtood charged: yet, when the queſtion was put to her by the judge, though ſhe was almoſt convulſed with agony by the recital of the tranſaction, ſhe aſſerted, and perſiſted in it, in the face of her own evidence, and the repeated admonition of the judge to ſpeak the truth, that the crime was committed with her own conſent, and that her father neither uſed violence nor threats. The judge, in his addreſs to the jury, ſaid, whatever ſuſpicions they might have, and however well-grounded thoſe ſuſpicions might be, that the unhappy witneſs, Grace Ingleſon, had, to ſave a father's life, ſuppreſſed

preſſed a material part of the dreadful tranſaction; yet as ſhe had repeatedly declared, upon her oath, that ſhe was conſenting to the great crime which had been committed, the jury could not ſafely convict the priſoner. The jury accordingly returned a verdict of *Not Guilty*. When the judge addreſſed the priſoner in the following terms:—"Joſeph Ingleſon, you have narrowly eſcaped paying the forfeit of your life to the offended laws of your country. You are, there is too much reaſon to believe, a very bad man; and if you do not repreſs your wicked propenſities, you will certainly terminate your life at the gallows: you ought to be for ever aſhamed of yourſelf, and hide your face from the view of your fellow-creatures."

Sir J. Piers, who had been ſo long an exile from Ireland in conſequence of the verdict againſt him for ſeducing lady Cloncurry, has committed ſuicide in the iſle of Man, which has been ſome time the place of his retreat. The cauſe of this unfortunate man's cataſtrophe is of a moſt melancholy nature. He had debauched the daughter of a reſpectable clergyman, who, on diſcovering his diſgrace, inſtantly ſhot himſelf; and it was upon hearing of this that Sir J. Piers put an end to his exiſtence by ſhooting himſelf through the head. The unhappy female is in a ſtate of diſtraction that threatens her life.

IRELAND. — *Armagh Aſſizes. Trial of Major Campbell, 21ſt Regiment.* —Alexander Campbell, brevet major in the army, and a captain in the 21ſt regiment, ſtood indicted for the wilful and felonious murder of Alexander Boyd, a captain in ſaid regiment, by ſhooting him, the ſaid Alexander Boyd' with a piſtol-bullet. To ſupport this indictment, the firſt witneſs produced was—

George Adams, who ſtated, he has been aſſiſtant-ſurgeon in the 21ſt regiment ſince April twelve months; he knew major Campbell and captain Boyd. In June 1807 they were quartered in the barracks in the county of Armagh, ſide of Newry. On the 23d of ſaid month captain B. died of a wound he received by a piſtol-bullet, which penetrated the extremity of the four falſe ribs, and lodged in the cavity of the belly. On that day the regiment was inſpected by general Kerr, and after the inſpection the general and officers meſſed together; about eight o'clock all the officers left the meſs, except major Campbell, captain Boyd, witneſs, and a lieutenant Hall. A converſation then commenced by major Campbell ſtating that "general Kerr corrected him that day about a particular mode of giving a word of command, when he conceived he gave it right;" he mentioned how he gave it, and how the general corrected him. Captain Boyd remarked, "neither was correct, according to Dundas, which is the king's order." (This obſervation witneſs ſtated, was made in the uſual mode of converſation.) Major Campbell ſaid it might not be according to the king's order, but ſtill he conceived it was not incorrect. Captain B. ſtill inſiſted, "it was not correct, according to the king's order." They argued this ſome time, till captain B. ſaid, "he knew it as well as any man." Major C. replied, "he doubted that much." Captain Boyd at length ſaid, "he knew it better than him,

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let him take that as he liked." Major Campbell then got up, and ſaid, "then, captain Boyd, do you ſay I am wrong?" Captain B. replied, "I do—I know I am right according to the king's order." Major C. then quitted the room. Captain B. remained after him for ſome time; he left the room before witneſs or lieut. Hall, but no obſervation was made on his going more than any other gentleman that had dined there. Witneſs and lieut. Hall went out together in a ſhort time after; they went to a ſecond meſs-room, and there captain Boyd came up and ſpoke to them; (the converſation was not admitted, as major Campbell was not preſent at it.) They then went out together, and witneſs left captain Boyd at lieut. Deivaris's. In about 20 minutes after he was called on to viſit captain Boyd; he went, and found him ſitting on a chair vomiting; he examined his wound, and conceived it a very dangerous one; he ſurvived it but 18 hours; he ſtaid with him till he died, during which time he got gradually worſe till his diſſolution.

On his croſs-examination, he ſtated, there was ſomething irritating in captain Boyd's manner of making the obſervation alluded to; ſo much ſo, that he conceives major Campbell could not, conſiſtent with his feelings, paſs it over; but if a candid explanation had taken place, he does not conceive the melancholy affair would have occurred.

John Hoey ſtated, that he is meſs-waiter of the 21ſt regiment, and was ſo then. He remembers the night this affair took place; knew major Campbell and captain Boyd; he ſaw major C. that night in a room where he was waſhing glaſſes: major Campbell had quitted the room about ten or fifteen minutes; as major Campbell was coming up ſtairs, captain Boyd was leaving the meſs-room, and they met on the ſtair-head; both went into the meſs-waiter's room, and there remained ten or fifteen minutes, when they ſeparated. Priſoner, in about twenty minutes, came again to witneſs, and deſired him to go to capt. Boyd, and tell him a gentleman wiſhed to ſpeak to him if he pleaſed; he accordingly went in ſearch of capt. Boyd; he found him on the parade-ground; he delivered the meſſage, and capt. Boyd accompanied him to the meſſ-room; no one was there; witneſs pointed to a little room off it, as the room the gentleman was in; he then went to the meſs-kitchen, and in eight or ten minutes, he heard the report of a ſhot; thought nothing of it till he heard another; he then went to the meſs-room, and there ſaw captain Boyd, and lieutenants Hall and M'Pherſon; captain B. was ſitting on a chair vomiting; major Campbell was gone, but in about ten or twelve minutes he came to the room where witneſs was waſhing ſome glaſſes; major C. aſked for candles; he got a pair, and brought them into the ſmall room; major C. ſhowed the witneſs the corners of the room in which each perſon ſtood, which diſtance meaſured ſeven paces; he never ſaw major Campbell after till a week ago, though witneſs never quitted the regiment, and retained his employment.

John M'Pherſon ſtated, that he is lieutenant in ſaid regiment; knew major Campbell and capt. Boyd; recollects the day of the duel; on the

the evening of that day, going up ſtairs about nine o'clock, he heard, as he thought, major Campbell ſay—"On the word of a dying man, is every thing fair?" He got up before captain Boyd replied; he ſaid, *Campbell, you have hurried me—you're a bad man.*" Witneſs was in coloured clothes, and major C. did not know him, but ſaid again —"Boyd, before this ſtranger and lieut. Hall, was every thing fair?" Capt. B. replied *O no, Campbell, you know I wanted you to wait, and have friends.* Major C. then ſaid, "Good God!" will you mention before theſe gentlemen, was not every thing fair? did not you ſay you were ready?"—Capt. B. anſwered "*yes,*" but in a moment after ſaid, "*Campbell, you're a bad man.*" Capt. B. was helped into the next room, and major C. followed, much agitated, and repeatedly ſaid to capt. B. that he (Boyd) was the happieſt man of the two. "I am (ſaid major C.) an unfortunate man, but I hope not a bad one." Major C. aſked capt. B. if he forgave him? he ſtretched out his hand and ſaid, "I forgive you—I feel for you, and I am ſure you do for me." Major C. then left the room.

Duncan Dewar, adjutant of the regiment, who was with captain Boyd for ſome time after he was wounded, was produced to ſhow captain Boyd's firm conviction he would die in conſequence of that wound, in order to let in his declaration then made as evidence; but captain B. not having (before him) expreſſed ſuch a conviction, that evidence failed.

Surgeon W. S. Nice was produced to the ſame point, and likewiſe failed.

Colonel Paterſon, of the 21ſt regiment, was produced to the ſame point, and alſo failed.

George Sutherland, quarter-maſter of ſaid regiment, was produced to the ſame point; he ſtated he ſaw him ten minutes before he died; he was in bed, agitated with pain, in his ſenſes, but rolling in the bed; he did not, however, ſay to him he thought he was dying.

Upon this a ſpecial verdict was directed to the jury to enquire whether captain Boyd, ten minutes before his death, and under the circumſtances ſtated, muſt or muſt not have known he was dying. After ſome ſhort deliberation, they found for the affirmative of this iſſue—(that he muſt have known it.) The declaration was then admitted, but none could be proved within that place, except his aſking for major C. and his ſaying, "Poor man, I am ſorry for him."

John Greenhill was produced merely to prove that major C. had time to cool after the altercation took place; inaſmuch as he went home, drank tea with his family, and gave him a box to leave with lieut. Hall, before the affair took place. Here the proſecution cloſed.

The defence ſet up was merely and excluſively as to the character of the priſoner for humanity, peaceable conduct, and proper behaviour; to this ſeveral officers of the higheſt rank were produced, who vouched for it to the fulleſt extent, namely, colonel Paterſon, of the 21ſt regiment, general Campbell, general Graham Stirling, captain Macpherſon, captain Menzies, colonel Gray, and many others whom it was unneceſſary to produce.

The learned judge charged the jury in a moſt able manner, recapitulated the evidence, and explained

plained the law on the ſubject moſt fully and clearly. The jury retired, and in about half an hour brought in a verdict.—GUILTY OF MURDER, *but recommended him to mercy on the ſcore of character only.* He was ſentenced to be executed on Monday, but reſpited to Wedneſday ſe'nnight.

A ſhort time ſince, as ſome gentlemen were walking on the Hoe, Plymouth, curioſity led them to ſee a remarkable vein of fine ſand, which has been diſcovered in the midſt of an immenſe body of limeſtone rock, which compoſes that eminence; the ſand is at leaſt fifty feet above high water mark, and ſurrounded by the ſtone. One of the company thruſting his cane down to aſcertain the depth of the ſtratum of ſand, found that it ſtruck againſt ſome hard body, which, on taking up proved to be one ſide of the jaw of ſome non-deſcript animal: the teeth, of which there is a double row, are each nearly two inches long, and the jaw about eighteen inches long, and evidently carnivorous. On ſearching farther, a joint of the back bone was diſcovered of an amazing ſize, being in diameter, nine inches and a quarter by four and a half deep. There is no perpendicular hole for the ſpine, but three holes paſs horizontally through the centre. Several other bones were found near the ſpot, all of which preclude the idea of its being a marine genus.

19th. William Pilkington was tried on an indictment charging him with the wilful murder of Montague William Hyndes, at the Maze, Southwark, on Friday ſe'nnight, by diſcharging a piſtol loaded with ball. The priſoner, who married the daughter of the deceaſed, and who was alſo the ſtep-ſon of Hyndes, who married his mother, was alone with the deceaſed, in the parlour of the Red Lion public-houſe, in the Maze, when a piſtol was diſcharged which killed the father. It was proved on all hands, that the priſoner was very much inebriated, and that his father and he lived on the moſt affectionate terms.

The priſoner made a very artleſs defence, in a way ſo truly penitent and diſtreſſed, that tears of ſympathy were flowing in every part of the court. He profeſſed his wretchedneſs, and the ſincere love he bore his father, whom he had for a length of time maintained, and never excited his anger.

After a humane charge from the lord chief-baron, the jury returned a verdict of manſlaughter.—The priſoner was ſentenced to be impriſoned twelve months.

The following ſingular act of heroiſm has been communicated as a fact, on the authenticity of which our readers may rely. While Mr. Turner, now reſident at Kildwick, in the Weſt Riding of Yorkſhire, was in India, in the Company's ſervice, he and five of his comrades in arms, when tracing one of the extenſive wilds in that country, were menaced with an attack from a royal Bengal tyger. The animal was making towards them with full ſpeed, and his companions, intimidated by the ferocious aſpect of the enemy, ſought their ſafety in flight, and in order to diſencumber themſelves from every thing that might retard their eſcape, left their muſkets on the field. In the midſt of this general panic, Mr. Turner ſtood undiſmayed, and before the animal reached him, had diſcharged his muſket, and lodged ſeveral ſhots in his body. Rendered furious by

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the torture, the tyger now came to close quarters, when the intrepid soldier received him with a fixed bayonet, which by some accident came from the muzzle of the firelock, and lodged in the animal's foot. The tyger's eyes flashed fire, and making a second spring at his adversary, he seized him by the loins, and had it not been for his cartouch-box and side-arms, which broke the force of the ravenous gripe, certain death must have ensued. In this dreadful dilemma, vibrating as it were betwixt life and death, Mr. Turner had the good fortune to fix his hands in one of the wounds of his furious assailant, and by a preternatural effort of strength derived from his perilous situation, tore open the wound, and laid his enemy lifeless at his feet. From this daring and heroic action, he obtained the name of the man-tyger, and the East India Company settled upon him a pension for life.

20th. Between twelve and one o'clock, as some boys were amusing themselves gathering mushrooms in St. James's Park, they started a fox on the north-side; he ran toward the Horse Guards, but by the time he got to the end of the canal, the word *fox* was echoed from one end of the park to the other, so that a number of people were collected there to obstruct his passage through the railing. Reynard, who was too cunning to hazard such an host, immediately turned tail, to show the soldiers he had not been cropped, and took the water, and swam a considerable way up the canal, bidding defiance to his pursuers; at length two recruits, who were expert swimmers, stripped and followed him, but they were in a short time distanced. Reynard, however, got tired of his aquatic excursion, and approached the shore, when he was caught by a serjeant of the 3d Foot Guards, and carried to the guard-house in triumph.

25th. *Major Campbell.*—This unfortunate officer suffered at twelve o'clock at noon, amidst a vast multitude of spectators. He met his death with pious and becoming fortitude, having spent his last moments with Dr. Bowie, the father of his amiable and distressed widow. His body, after having been suspended the usual time, was put into a hearse in waiting, which left the town immediately, escorted by Dr. B. for Ayr, in Scotland, to be interred in the family vault. To describe the distresses of the fond wife of the deceased, would be impossible. Mrs. Campbell, who, it is already known, has used every effort to preserve the life of her partner, left London by the Glasgow mail on Saturday night, frantic betwixt hope and despair, but still cheered with the probability of her solicitude obtaining, at least, another respite. On Monday morning, the friend of her husband, at whose house, in Bury-street, St. James's, she resided, whilst in London, received a letter from the lady's father, with the intelligence that "major Campbell was no more." Mrs. C. reached Ayr on Tuesday morning, the very time the corpse of her husband arrived; and we must here leave the tragic scene. Major Campbell, in his conversation with his intimate friends, previously to surrendering himself, had always said, that if he were convicted of murder, he should suffer as

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an example to duelliſts in Ireland; but it was always his opinion, that a jury would not convict him of murder. It has been erroneouſly ſtated, that the jury recommended the deceaſed to mercy from his univerſal good character; but the jury recommended him in conſequence of the duel having been a fair one, although, by direction of the judge, they were bound, on their oaths, to convict the priſoner of murder. Major Campbell, previous to his death, obſerved that life was not an object ſo dear to him, as the reflection was diſtreſſing that his children and family ſhould bear the ſtigma that he was executed for murder. His fate has been rendered peculiarly intereſting by the unremitting exertions of Mrs. Campbell, to procure a mitigation of his puniſhment, in the proſecution of which ſhe appears to have endured fatigues of body and mind, which might be ſuppoſed too great for female ſtrength. On her arrival at Windſor, with a memorial to his majeſty, ſupplicating mercy, it was paſt eight o'clock, and his majeſty had retired to his apartment. Her majeſty, notwithſtanding, preſented the memorial that night, and Mrs. C. received the kindeſt attention from the whole of the royal family; but it appears to have been a caſe to which the royal mercy could not be extended, and the law has been accordingly permitted to take its courſe.

Major Campbell made his eſcape from Ireland after the duel, and lived with his family under a fictitious name for ſeveral months at Chelſea; the duel took place in June 1807; but his mind became ſo uneaſy, that he at laſt determined to ſurrender himſelf to take his trial, be the reſult what it might. He was a firſt couſin of the earl of Breadalbane, a man eſteemed and beloved by all his friends. It is ſuperfluous to add, that Mrs. Campbell is a moſt amiable woman. She has four infant children.

The unfortunate cataſtrophe which produced ſuch an awful reſult to major Campbell, it is hoped, will not fail to leave a leſſon to mankind of ſalutary influence. Both of the parties were gentlemen, eminent in their profeſſion, of high character and honour, who had long lived on terms of mutual friendſhip and eſteem. The unfortunate irritation of a moment at once deprived ſociety of one of the beſt of men, and left a widow and infant family to mourn their irreparable loſs. Retribution of the moſt awful kind has fallen to the lot of the other; and his amiable wife and infant family are alſo involved in all the diſtreſs which the human mind can conceive.

From the period of the unhappy event, to the cloſing of the tragic ſcene, major Campbell evinced the moſt heartfelt grief for what had happened to his friend.

The ſentence of the court martial which tried the generals who ſigned the capitulation of the ſurrender of Copenhagen to the Engliſh has been made public. Generals Pyeman and Bielfeld are adjudged to ſuffer death, and gen. Watterdorff to be baniſhed. The ſentence of death was commuted to that of baniſhment.

29th. The queen of France, and the ducheſs of Angoulême, and their ſuite, amounting to ſeventy perſons, arrived on Monday at Harwich.

30th. *Middlesex Meeting.*—A meeting of the freeholders of this great county was held at the Mermaid, Hackney. The business being opened by Mr. Sheriff Smith,

Major Cartwright rose, and stated that, as one of the persons who had signed the requisition to the sheriffs, he had thought himself bound to draw up some resolutions for the approbation of the meeting. His only object was the good of the country and mankind.

The major here took an animated view of the present situation of Spain, highly praising the exertions of government to assist that magnanimous nation in throwing off its chains.

The hon. mover could not refrain from calling the attention of the meeting to the remarkable similarity which existed between this country and Spain. Spain was a peninsula—we were an island. Spain was separated from France by hills—we by a channel, which in particular circumstances might be as easily passed. They had their cortez—we had our house of commons. They had achieved their late exploits by their armed inhabitants—we owed the liberties we enjoyed to our *posse comitatûs*, the best model for ensuring the liberties and prosperity of a nation which the world ever saw. It was impossible for us too strongly to inculcate into the minds of our brave allies in Spain what we ourselves knew to be the true principles of freedom, prosperity, and safety;—Liberty, and arms in the hands of the people! These were the only means by which a nation could be defended against such a power as France. Since Bonaparte had taken on him to dictate to the Spanish nation, he had given them a constitution which would not be unworthy the perusal of many gentlemen in the present meeting. In one clause their cortez were secured to them, but in many instances 300,000 were to be represented by one man, and the whole nation by 36. These, again, were to meet at least once in three years; but this was to be at the pleasure of the king. They were not to be at liberty to make any of their proceedings public; if promulgated, the person disclosing them was to be punished as if he had been guilty of causing an insurrection. Our cortez, the honourable mover confessed, needed mending; but, he trusted, we would keep the mending of it in our own hands, and would never allow Bonaparte to interfere in so sacred, yet so necessary a work. On this head, therefore, he should move a petition to the house of Commons, convinced that the two nations could not do mutual good to each unless they strengthened themselves. Freedom and arms were the only means of doing so. These could only be secured by a fair representation of the people, and by the *posse comitatûs* which we had enjoyed for a thousand years, having been handed down to us from the immortal Alfred. As the honourable mover began with thanking the king for his exertions in behalf of the Spaniards, so should he end with moving an address of thanks to him.

He then moved the resolutions severally; and they were seconded by Mr. Holt White. The first six were as follows; and they were adopted unanimously, after a slight amendment to the third, proposed

by Mr. Melliſh, one of the repreſentatives for the county, and cheerfully acquieſced in by the honourable mover.

1ſt, That for aiding the Spaniſh patriots the king is entitled to the gratitude of mankind.

2dly, That a people who will fight for their liberties are alone worthy of the friendſhip of a free nation.

3dly, That to have found ſuch allies is an event peculiarly gratifying.

4thly, That we ardently deſire to ſee re-eſtabliſhed in Spain the antient government of a king and an independent cortez, ſo balanced as to ſecure their national liberties.

5thly, That in the grand example of Spain is ſeen how a nation is to be defended, and how Europe is to be delivered.

6thly, That what has been loſt to the ſacred cauſe of human liberty, by the levity, the vices, and exceſſes of France, ſince from that ſhe departed, we truſt may be regained by the gravity, the virtues, and the moderation of Spain.

31ſt. As the Rev. C. Cooke, tutor to the two ſons of the Hon. H. Vernon, of Wentworth Houſe, Yorkſhire, was this day riding a high ſpirited hunter in the park, ſome of the deer croſſed him, and cauſed the horſe to run away with him. In vain his rider endeavoured to ſtop him, the beaſt ran at his fulleſt ſpeed at the park (an iron) gate, which is ſeven feet nine high, and with very large ſpikes on the top; above the gate is a fine arch of Portland ſtone, and about three feet above the top of the ſpikes; the horſe nevertheleſs endeavoured to cover the gate, but in the exertion broke the two croſs bars of heavy maſſy iron, and by the ſhock wrenched the lower hinge from the poſt; by this means the gate hung obliquely, when frantic with pain, to the ſurpriſe of every beholder, he leaped the gate, and carried his rider over perfectly ſafe, who had ſome difficulty to ſtop him afterwards from running away. So great was the concuſſion, that the bone, from the forehead to the noſe, was completely fractured in two parts. The horſe ſtruck his rider a moſt violent blow in his right eye, immediately before covering his leap, which has nearly deprived him of the ſight of it. The horſe is expected to recover.

An Account of the Attack on the Perſon of Ann Izzard, for the ſuppoſed Crime of Witchcraft; and the Circumſtances which led to it.

In the afternoon of Wedneſday the ſeventeenth of February laſt, Alice Brown, a young woman of Great Paxton, imprudently ventured to croſs the ice which then covered the ſurface of the Ouſe. A thaw of ſome hours had rendered the ice unſafe, and ſhe had not walked many yards upon it, before it gave way, and let her into the river. From this perilous ſituation ſhe providentially extricated herſelf, and reached the oppoſite bank, where her friend, Fanny Amey, ſcarcely leſs terrified than herſelf at what had happened, ſtood anxiouſly waiting for her. Shivering and frightened ſhe haſtened to her father's houſe, about a quarter of a mile from the river, and almoſt as ſoon as ſhe entered was ſeized with a ſtrong epileptic fit. Fanny Amey had been ſubject to epilepſy for ſeveral months previous to this period, and therefore it is not at all ſurpriſing that ſhe ſhould be

ſympa-

ſympathetically affected, and fall into ſimilar convulſions.

Alice Brown did not ſpeedily get over the effects of her fright: her diſtreſſing fits returned at ſhort intervals, and diſqualified her for every kind of work; indeed ſhe was ſo much reduced by them, that her friends began to deſpair of her recovery. The clergyman, inquiring after the ſtate of her health on the 5th of April, was aſtoniſhed and grieved to hear from her brother, that her fits, weakneſs, and dejection, were aſcribed to the effect of witchcraft. "She is under an ill tongue," ſaid the youth. "As ſure as you are alive, ſir," continued a man who ſtood by, "ſhe is bewitched; and ſo are two other girls that live near her. There is a man in the town I come from in Bedfordſhire, who was exactly like Alice Brown—he could do no work, loſt all his ſtrength, and was waſting away very faſt, when a perſon told him what was the matter with him, and how he might be cured. He filled a bottle with a particular kind of a fluid, ſtuffed the cork both top and bottom with pins, ſet it carefully in an oven of a moderate heat, and then obſerved a profound ſilence. In a few minutes the charm ſucceeded; for he ſaw a variety of forms flitting before his eyes, and amongſt the reſt the perfect reſemblance of an old woman who lived in the ſame pariſh. This was what he wanted—he was now ſatisfied who it was that had injured him, and that her reign would ſoon be over. The woman whoſe figure he ſaw died in a few days, and the man immediately recovered. Thomas Brown tried this charm laſt night for his daughter; and though a ſtrange noiſe was diſtinctly heard twice by his wife, who was in bed with the poor girl, it did not ſucceed according to our wiſhes: ſo they have not at preſent found out, who it is that does all the miſchief."

"Shocked," ſays the writer, "at this man's abſurdity and ſuperſtition, but infinitely more ſo to underſtand it was the general opinion of the people, that Alice Brown, Fanny Amey, and Mary Fox, were certainly bewitched by ſome perſon who had purchaſed a familiar or an evil ſpirit of the devil, at the expenſe of his own ſoul; and that a variety of charms and experiments had been tried to diſcover who it was—

"When the public ſervice of the day was over, I called on Fanny Amey and Alice Brown. It was not in my power to judge from the countenance of the former that any thing was the matter with her; ſhe was perfectly collected, and looked the picture of health. Alice Brown was aſleep in bed, and therefore I did not ſee her. At both houſes I endeavoured to explain to the relations and friends of the young women, that it was an utter impoſſibility for one human creature to injure the health of another by any inviſible and preternatural proceſs,—entreated them to diſcountenance notions ſo wild and irrational, and begged them to try other means than ſenſeleſs charms to recover their children.

"A few minutes before I went into church on the following Sunday, Ann Izzard, a poor woman of Great Paxton, requeſted leave to ſpeak with me. She is a little woman, about ſixty years of age, and by no means ill-looking; ſhe

has had eight children; five are now living. In tears, and greatly agitated, she told me, her neighbours pretended they had discovered by means of certain charms that she was a witch, and blamed her for the fits and illness of Alice Brown, Fanny Amey, and Mary Fox: she said, they threatened to punish her, abused her children, and frightened her so much that she frequently dropped on the ground in fainting fits; and concluded with asserting her innocence in these words:—*I am not a witch, and am willing to prove it by being weighed against the church Bible.*"

After the sermon, the clergyman addressed the congregation upon the subject, pointed out the folly of their opinions, the fatal consequences which might result from brooding over them, and tried to persuade them, that, although they might be weak enough to suppose there was no harm in laying violent hands on a woman they madly called a witch, yet the laws of their country would view their conduct in a very different light.

But the mania had taken full possession of them, and was only to be cured or restrained by the powerful arm of the law.

On Thursday, the fifth of May, Ann Izzard was at St. Neots market; and it so happened that her son, about sixteen years old, was sent the same day to St. Neots, by his master, Mr. John Bidwell, a respectable farmer of Great Paxton, for a load of corn. Mr. Bidwell and his wife have been the steady friends of Ann Izzard in her affliction. They have been very instrumental in keeping her from the horrors of despair. Instead of being commended, however, they have been abused and pointed at for their humanity.

When the lad returned, his mother and another woman accompanied him. Contrary to the better advice of her neighbour, the latter insisted upon putting a basket of grocery upon the top of the sacks of corn. One of the horses which drew the cart was young and unmanageable, and in going down the hill which leads into the village of Paxton, by his plunging and restiveness, overturned it. By this unfortunate accident, the shopkeeper's grocery was materially damaged; and because Ann Izzard had repeatedly advised her not to put the basket upon the sacks, she charged her with overturning the cart by means of her infernal art, on purpose to spoil her goods. It will scarcely be credited, that in an hour after, the whole parish was in an uproar: "She has just overturned a loaded cart, with as much ease as if it had been a spinning-wheel," was echoed from one end of it to the other. Men, women and children raised their voices, and exclaimed, "We have now proof positive of her guilt—this last act in open day speaks for itself—she is the person that does all the mischief, and if something is not done to put a stop to her baseness, there will be no living in the place."—Nor did this extraordinary fit of phrenzy terminate till they had made two attacks upon her, which, atrocious as they must appear to every rational person, are considered by themselves as not only justifiable, but highly meritorious.

A considerable number of people

ple aſſembled together, as it grew dark on Sunday evening the eighth of May, and taking with them the young women ridiculouſly ſuppoſed to be betwiched, about ten o'clock proceeded to the cottage of Wright Izzard, which ſtands alone, at ſome diſtance from the body of the village. When they arrived at this ſolitary ſpot, ſo favourable for the execution of their villanous deſigns, they broke into the poor man's houſe, dragged his wife out of bed, and threw her naked into the yard; where her arms were torn with pins, her head was daſhed againſt the large ſtones of the cauſeway, and her face, ſtomach and breaſt were ſeverely bruiſed with a thick ſtick that ſerved as a bar to the door. Having thus ſatiated themſelves, the mob diſperſed. The woman then crawled into her houſe, put her clothes on, and went to the conſtable, who ſaid, "He could not protect her, becauſe he was not ſworn." The humanity, protection, and aſſiſtance, which ſhe could not find at the conſtable's, very happily for herſelf, ſhe found under the roof of a poor widow. The compaſſionate and honeſt Alice Ruſſel unlocked her door at the firſt call, wrapped up her neighbour's bleeding arms with the niceſt linen rags ſhe had, affectionately ſympathized with and comforted her, and gave her a bed. But, with the deepeſt grief, it muſt be mentioned, that the compaſſion and kindneſs of this poor woman were the means of ſhortening her days. "The protectors of a witch are juſt as bad as the witch, and deſerve the ſame treatment," cried the infatuated populace the next morning. The envenomed ſhaft flew direct to its mark—and the widow Ruſſel neither ate nor ſlept again. She who had exhibited during life many proofs of her punctuality, fidelity, and honeſty, died, a martyr to fear and apprehenſion, on Friday the twentieth of May.

In the evening of Monday the ninth of May, Ann Izzard was a ſecond time dragged out of her houſe, and a ſecond time were her arms torn with pins till they ſtreamed afreſh with blood. Alive the next morning, and apparently likely to ſurvive this attack alſo, her enemies reſolved to have her ducked, as ſoon as the labour of the day was over. On hearing this, ſhe haſtily quitted her home, and took refuge in a neighbouring village, where their inhumanity and malevolence could not reach her.

At the aſſizes for the county of Huntingdon, on Monday, Aug 8, 1808, a bill of indictment was preferred againſt Joſeph Harper, James Staughton, Thomas Braybrook, Mary Amey, Fanny Amey, and Alice Brown, for an aſſault on the perſons of Wright Izzard and Ann Izzard, of Great Paxton, in the night of Sunday, May 8th, 1808.

Another bill of indictment was preferred againſt Edward Briers, James Staughton, Mary Hook, and Mary Fox, for an aſſault on the ſame perſons in the evening of Monday, May 9th. The ſame were found true bills by the grand jury. The indictments were then traverſed, and the offending parties bound over to keep the peace, and to appear at the next aſſizes at Huntingdon.

In North Wales, a diviſion of Great Britain which has been long in

in a dormant ſtate, a vigorous ſpirit of improvement has lately begun to manifeſt itſelf in different counties, eſpecially in Carnarvon. Among the chief promoters of it may be reckoned W. A. Madock, eſq. M.P. A conciſe ſtatement of what has been done by this gentleman, in the ſhort period of ſix years, will ſhow how greatly proprietors in this part of the kingdom might improve their rents, yet better the condition of the lower claſſes of the community. The public improvements now executed in North Wales, from this gentleman's plans, are the following:—1. A new harbour at Porthdynlleyn; whence a ſafe and conſtant paſſage may be effected to Dublin, as there is, at all times, abundance of water for paſſage-boats. This great undertaking, of which Mr. Jones Parry is alſo an eminent promoter and holder of ſhares, will ſoon be completed. 2. A new road from this harbour to join the Engliſh roads, by which thirty miles will be ſaved to travellers from London to Dublin, independantly of much time, avoiding the delay and danger of croſſing the Conway and Bangor Ferries. 3. An improved line of perfectly level road from the harbour of Porthdynlleyn through the new town of Tre-Madoc to Worceſter and London, by which forty miles will be ſaved between Dublin and Bath, Cheltenham and the weſtern towns. This road leads through very beautiful and romantic ſcenery. 4. An excellent road from Pont Aberglaſlyn to Tre-Madoc. This was marked out on the ground by Mr. M.'s own hand, aſſiſted by Dr. Morris, of Morva Lodge, on the ſides of mountains ſo ſteep, that a man could ſcarcely dare to walk upright. It is now finiſhed. The improvements going forward at Tre-Madoc, are—1. A harbour on the ſouth-eaſt boundary of the eſtate, viz. Ynys-Congor. 2. A canal from this harbour to the town of Tre-Madoc. This, when finiſhed, will contain one ſtreet of a mile in length, and ſeveral croſs-ſtreets of a quarter of a mile each, beſides three ſquares. There are already built a market-place, and elegant market-houſe; a large church, two excellent inns, and upward of a hundred houſes. A weekly market is eſtabliſhed, with an annual fair, and races. The houſes are all built of grey granite, and covered with blue ſlate. The ground it ſtands on, with ſome hundreds of acres adjoining, was gained from the ſea by embanking in 1800. 4. Embanking eight years ago 1800 acres of land from the ſea; the greateſt part of which lets from thirty to forty ſhillings per acre. 5. Another embankment is begun, of ſhore-lands, contiguous, that will gain 3,500 acres of equal value, which when finiſhed, will be the nobleſt thing of the kind hitherto undertaken in Britain. An iron rail-way will be placed on the top of the embankment, which will connect the counties of Merioneth and Carnarvon, before ſeparated by this oozy inlet of the ſea. 6. Irrigating and flooding a large proportion of the lands gained from the ſea. 7. Planting ſeveral hundreds of acres of rocky ſpots and mountainous ſteeps; a work annually proceeding. So rapid has been the growth of theſe plantations, that the parts firſt planted

are

are already worth from 60*l.* to 100*l.* an acre. A large nurſery is eſtabliſhed near the town, and conſiderable tracts of mountains are every year incloſed, and covered with larch. The ſcarcity of wood in this part of Wales, and the importance of Ynys-Congor harbour, will render ſuch plantations of great value in a very few years. 9. Eſtabliſhing a complete woollen manufactory on the eſtate, and in the town an improved tan-work, in which the tormentil is uſed. 10. To theſe may be added, the building of an elegant villa, in a ſtyle, the ſimplicity of which correſponds with the nature of the ſcenery around it. The diſpoſition alſo of the extenſive grounds, the views, from and round which, for ſeveral miles, are among the moſt ſingular and romantic in Wales. Theſe public improvements are widely felt by the adjoining counties, and when the harbour and new roads are finiſhed (for which Mr. M. has obtained ſeparate acts of Parliament), the influx of wealth into this part of North Wales will totally alter and improve the condition of its inhabitants.

DIED.—In her 107th year, Dorothy Turnbull, of the Wall Knoll, in Newcaſtle. Until within three days of her death, ſhe poſſeſſed her faculties in an amazing degree, and could relate, with wonderful exactneſs, a variety of events which happened during and ſince the rebellion of 1715.

At Newcaſtle, Mrs. Jane Orean, aged 101.

At Gainſborough, Mrs. Grace Revel, aged 103.

At Bedford, Mrs. Elizabeth Tingay, 101.

At Truro, Mr. John Lance, having completed his 102d year. He had never experienced a day's ſickneſs before that which occaſioned his death. He has left a widow aged 95.

SEPTEMBER.

1ſt. A curious piece of antiquity has lately been diſcovered in the church-yard of Hemel Hempſtead. In digging a vault, the ſexton, when he had excavated the earth about four feet below the ſurface of the ground, found his ſpade ſtrike againſt ſomething ſolid, which, upon inſpection, proved to be a large wrought ſtone, the lid of a coffin, and under it was found the coffin entire, which was afterwards taken up in perfect condition; but the bones contained therein, on being expoſed to the air, crumbled to duſt. On the lid of the coffin is an inſcription, partly effaced by time, but ſtill ſufficiently legible, decidedly to prove that it contained the aſhes of the celebrated Offa, king of the Mercians, who rebuilt the abbey of St. Albans, and died in the eighth century. The coffin is about 6½ feet long, and contains a niche or reſting place for the head, and alſo a groove on each ſide for the arms, likewiſe for the legs; it is curiouſly carved, and altogether unique of its kind.

An equeſtrian figure of his majeſty, on his favourite grey charger, has been formed in chalk, on the hills of Ormington eſtate, oppoſite Weymouth bay. Although its length is 280 feet, and its height 320 feet, yet the likeneſs of the king is well preſerved, and

and the ſymmetry of the horſe complete.

Private letters lately received in town from North Uiſt, give the following melancholy account of the loſs of a wherry, which had been attended with unuſual circumſtances of diſtreſs. About three weeks ago, a wherry belonging to Mr. Macdonald, of Brabranald, manned with four men, and which had a cargo of cattle on board, ſailed from North Uiſt, for the iſland of Huſkar, which is the only iſland between the North of Scotland and America, in that direction. When the veſſel ſailed, the day was moderate and the wind fair; but when within two leagues of Huſkar, the wind became contrary, and very tempeſtuous; the conſequence was, that the veſſel foundered on a ridge of rocks, which jutted from the main iſland. Three of the hands periſhed, as did all the cattle except one cow, which, together with the fourth man, ſucceeded in ſcrambling up to the top of this rocky iſland. In this diſmal ſituation, the man along with his brute companion remained for three days without any proſpect of relief. On the fourth day the cow dropped down dead. In the interim, to preſerve exiſtence as long as poſſible, the man opened a vein in the cow, and frequently ſucked her blood. This ſource of exiſtence being cut off, he afterwards cut out the tongue of the dead animal, and mincing it down very ſmall, he ſupported exiſtence till the fifth day: on which, to his great joy, he eſpied an open fiſhing boat in the Channel, and hoiſted, with all his remaining ſtrength, his ſhirt as a ſignal of diſtreſs: the boat came and reſcued him from his perilous ſituation.

Battle between a Tiger and an Alligator; or, Wonderful Inſtance of Providential Preſervation, deſcribed in a Letter from the Captain of the Davenport Guineaman.

"Some time after my arrival at the Britiſh factory, Cape Caſta, on board the Davenport Guineaman, I was ſent for by the commodore, who was ſtationed in the Diana frigate to protect the trade of the place before-mentioned, and appointed by him to command a ſloop, employed on the ſervice of conveying ſlaves, teeth, gums, and other merchandize, from the company's factories, ſituated ſeveral hundred miles up the river Congo, down to the principal *depôt* at the Cape. The ſloop carried ſix ſwivels, and was manned with nine negroes, and two north-countrymen, named Johnſon and Campbell, the former of whom was my mate. After receiving orders relative to the duty in which I was employed, we proceeded on our voyage, and had navigated near fifty leagues up the country, when one morning the breezes died away ſuddenly, and we were compelled, by a ſtrong current running againſt us, to drop anchor within a quarter of a mile of the ſhore. In this ſituation the ſloop remained for three days, during which time the circumſtances fell out I am about to communicate; circumſtances ſo improbable in themſelves, ſo marvellous, as almoſt to border upon impoſſibility, but nevertheleſs declared by me, as a ſpectator, to be a moſt perfect reality. To reſume my narrative—the boſom of the deep appeared, as it does in theſe

parts

parts while the calm prevails, extremely tranquil, and the heat, which was intolerable, had made us ſo languid, that almoſt a general wiſh overcame us, on the approach of the evening, to bathe in the waters of the Congo; however myſelf and Johnſon were deterred from it, from the apprehenſion of ſharks, many of which we had obſerved in the progreſs of our voyage, and thoſe enormouſly large. At length Campbell alone, who had been making too free with his liquor-caſe, was obſtinately bent on going overboard, and although we uſed every means in our power to perſuade him to the contrary, he daſhed into the watery element, and had ſwam ſome diſtance from the veſſel, when we on the deck diſcovered an alligator making towards him from behind a rock that ſtood a ſhort diſtance from the ſhore. His eſcape I now conſidered impoſſible, his deſtruction inevitable, and I applied to Johnſon how we ſhould act, who, like myſelf, affirmed the impoſſibility to ſave him, and inſtantly ſeized upon a loaded carbine to ſhoot the poor fellow, before he fell into the jaws of the monſter. I did not, however, conſent to this, but waited with horror the tragedy we anticipated; yet willing to do all in my power, I ordered the boat to be hoiſted, and we fired two ſhot at the approaching alligator, but without effect, for they glided over his ſcaly covering like hail-ſtones on a tiled penthouſe, and the progreſs of the creature was by no means impeded. The report of the piece, and the noiſe of the blacks in the ſloop, made Campbell acquainted with his danger, he ſaw the creature making for him, and with all the ſtrength and ſkill he was maſter of, made for the ſhore. And now the moment arrived, in which a ſcene was exhibited beyond the power of my humble pen perfectly to deſcribe. On approaching within a very ſhort diſtance of ſome canes and ſhrubs that covered the bank, while cloſely purſued by the alligator, a fierce and ferocious tyger ſprang towards him, at the inſtant the jaws of his firſt enemy were extended to devour him. At this awful moment Campbell was preſerved. The eager tyger, by overleaping him, encountered the gripe of the amphibious monſter. A conflict enſued between them; the water was covered with the blood of the tyger, whoſe efforts to tear the ſcaly covering of the alligator were unavailing, while the latter had alſo the advantage of keeping his adverſary under water, by which the victory was preſently obtained, for the tyger's death was now effected. They both ſank to the bottom, and we ſaw no more of the alligator. Campbell was recovered, and inſtantly conveyed on board; he ſpoke not while in the boat, though his danger had perfectly ſobered him, and what is more ſingular, from that moment to the time I am writing, he has never been ſeen the leaſt intoxicated, nor has he been heard to utter a ſingle oath. If ever there was a perfectly reformed being in the univerſe, Campbell is the man."

Lancaſter Aſſizes, Sept. 3.—*Charge of Murder.*—Yeſterday the trial of Charles Angus, eſq. of Liverpool, which has been the ſubject of public intereſt and general converſation,

converſation, came on, for the murder of miſs Margaret Burns, of Liverpool. The indictment charged him with having poiſoned the deceaſed; and another count charged him with having given her poiſon to cauſe an abortion, ſhe being pregnant.

Serjeant Cockell, for the proſecution, ſtated the ſubſtance of the caſe as follows:—

The priſoner married the deceaſed's ſiſter, who died about three years ſince, and left two children, ſince which the deceaſed had lived with the priſoner as his houſekeeper and governeſs to the children. For ſome time previous to her death ſhe was ſuſpected by the neighbours and others to be pregnant. She died on the 25th of March, and for two days previous ſhe was confined, and no perſon attended her conſtantly but the priſoner; and the circumſtances of her death were of ſuch an extraordinary nature, that the coroner hearing of them, called a jury to inveſtigate them, and the reſult was a verdict of wilful murder againſt the priſoner.

Elizabeth Nixon depoſed, that ſhe lived as houſe-maid to the priſoner, at the time of the death of miſs Burns, who, ſhe ſaid, appeared in good health on the morning of the 23d of March laſt, at ſeven o'clock in the morning. At a quarter before nine o'clock ſhe ſaw her in the parlour, when ſhe appeared very unwell, and was leaning upon a chair. She vomited the whole of the day black matter, which turned to green: ſhe drank about three quarts of water-gruel in the courſe of the day; the priſoner was generally with her, and ſhe remained with the deceaſed all night; ſhe and her fellow-ſervant offered to ſit up, but they were refuſed. Previous to her going to bed, ſhe took two pillows, a counterpane, and an eaſy chair into the parlour. The next morning, the firſt thing ſhe did ſhe went into the parlour, and found the priſoner and the deceaſed, who appeared much worſe, having vomited all night. She continued very bad all day: the priſoner continued with her. At night ſhe offered to ſit up, but was again refuſed. The next morning (Friday) ſhe found the priſoner and the deceaſed in the parlour as uſual; the deceaſed appeared much worſe, her vomiting continued upon her, together with her being diſordered in her bowels. She had changed her dreſs, and had no ſtays on, and was lying on a ſofa in a fixed poſture; (this was to inſinuate that ſhe had been delivered of a child.) She gave the deceaſed ſome warm beer, agreeably to her deſire, and in a ſhort time after ſhe was ſent out by the priſoner for ſome wine; on her return ſhe went into the parlour, and obſerved an object in a corner, which frightened her ſo much, that ſhe ran back and went into the kitchen to the cook. They both went into the parlour, and the object proved to be the deceaſed, with her face and knees to the wall, and one of her legs bent under her, and ſhe a corpſe, which alarmed them very much; they did not obſerve the priſoner at firſt in the room, but diſcovered him ſitting in an arm-chair in the corner of the room, where they found him aſleep, with a cap over his face, and wrapped up in a counterpane. They had conſiderable difficulty in awaking him; and when they told him the deceaſed

deceaſed was no more, he jumped up, and exclaimed "*Good God!*" During the illneſs of the deceaſed, no medical man was ſent for, but ſhe recollected hearing the priſoner aſk her, if he ſhould ſend for a doctor; to which ſhe replied, he can do me no good. When the deceaſed was vomiting, ſhe exclaimed to the witneſs, "O Betty, what have I got on my ſtomach? I wiſh I had taken the emetic long ſince."

She was queſtioned as to her ſuſpicions of the deceaſed and the priſoner ſleeping together. She ſtated one circumſtance, that the children ſlept with the deceaſed: it was her buſineſs to make the beds, and one morning ſhe obſerved that only the children ſlept in the deceaſed's bed.

On her croſs-examination by Mr. Topping, ſhe ſaid ſhe ſaw no appearance of a child. The deceaſed was of a penurious diſpoſition, and had a great averſion to doctors or medical men.

Ann Hopkins, the cook, confirmed the above, and ſaid ſhe laid out the body of the deceaſed; ſhe had no ſtays on; ſhe had changed her dreſs from Thurſday to Friday morning: ſhe found two bandages on the body. Saw no appearance of a child.

Several females who knew her, ſtated, that they ſuſpected her to be pregnant for ſeveral months previous to her death.

The reverend Mr. Viſs, the miniſter of the pariſh, ſaid, he had known the priſoner nine years. On the death of the deceaſed ſome very ſhocking reports were circulated in Liverpool againſt the priſoner, in conſequence of which he thought it his duty to call upon him to inform him of them, that he might refute them, or bring the buſineſs to an inveſtigation. The priſoner denied that the deceaſed had been delivered of a child; he ſaid it was impoſſible, for if ſhe had he muſt have known it; and as to its being by him, he aſſigned rather an extraordinary reaſon, viz. that he had the moſt tender and affectionate regard for her; and as to her being poiſoned, that was impoſſible, for ſhe had taken nothing but what he had given her, and he was, or ought to be, a judge of the compoſition or decompoſition of medicine. The ſtrongeſt thing he had given her was caſtor oil: he had given her black emetic alſo. The term black emetic he explained by ſaying her diſcharge was black. The witneſs had conſiderable more converſation with the priſoner, during which he gave ſome inconſiſtent and contradictory account of the tranſaction; particularly his denying being out of his houſe, or the deceaſed, when the witneſs ſaw him at the Atheneum, and converſed with him. This was inveſtigated, in conſequence of its being inſinuated that he had conveyed the child away at that time. The priſoner told him that the deceaſed died the day previous (Saturday), and ſhe died on Friday.

The coroner ſent ſeveral medical gentlemen to examine and open the body, on Sunday; and, in conſequence of the verdict of the jury, the priſoner was apprehended and confined in Liverpool priſon.

Dr. Coltman was called to prove ſome converſation he had with the priſoner reſpecting the tranſaction, ſome parts of which were not conſiſtent. It was however proved, that the priſoner was much diſtreſſed

treſſed in his mind at this time, on account of his brother having loſt the uſe of his faculties.

Jeremiah Steed depoſed, that about laſt Chriſtmas he was in company with the priſoner, at the houſe of Dr. Trail, to ſupper, when, ſpeaking on the ſubject of anatomy, the priſoner ſaid he was ſkilled in it and phyſic, and inſtructed ſome young men in it.

The trial laſted till paſt three in the morning, and the jury acquitted the priſoner.

5th. Thurſday, about twelve o'clock, as ſome privates belonging to the garriſon were engaged in the act of driving home the priming of a large ſhell, by ſome accident it caught fire and exploded. One of the men had part of his right hand wholly carried away, and an amputation took place above the elbow. Three other men were torn and lacerated in ſo ſhocking a manner, that but little hopes are entertained of their recovery. The garriſon were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation and confuſion from an apprehenſion that the Royal Arſenal had exploded. Several thouſands of the inhabitants were ſeen flying in all directions, from motives of perſonal ſafety.

At Worceſter aſſizes a cauſe was tried, wherein ſir John Cottrel, bart. was plaintiff, and Mr. Harris, defendant. The cauſe laſted for twenty-three hours, and an adjournment took place. The leading circumſtances of this caſe were ſhortly theſe:—Mr. Harris was the ſteward of an elderly lady of large property, both real and perſonal. She had arrived at the advanced age of 70. He had been her ſteward for four-and-twenty years; and by the letters and correſpondence between him and Sir. J. Cottrel, Mr. Harris claimed the merit of having introduced ſir J. Cottrel into the family of his lady and her maiden ſiſter, whom ſhe ſurvived, and which acquaintance ended in her deviſing to ſir John Cottrel one of her very large eſtates, of which ſhe had the diſpoſal, but which ſir John Cottrel would have had in the event of her dying inteſtate, for he is her heir at law. This lady drew her will from a form which ſhe had from an attorney at Henley, and wrote out all in her own hand, and duly executed it. She kept it locked up without communicating the contents of it to any body. On the 8th of October, ſhe being feeble and in bed, gave directions to her waiting woman to take it out of her eſcrutoire, and to give it to Mr. Harris, with directions for him to open it, which he did, and diſcovered that there were omiſſions in it; that ſhe had not left to any one the reſidue of her eſtates, real or perſonal; and therefore he went to her, and ſoon afterwards engroſſed with his own hands a codicil as follows:

"I, Sarah Freeman, of Henley Park, in the county of Oxford, widow, having made my will the 27th of June laſt, declare this to be a codicil thereto, and deſire it to be conſidered as a part thereof. By my ſaid will, I have left ſeveral annuities to my ſervants and other perſons; and it is my will that all the ſaid annuities ſo left by my will, ſhall be charged upon and payable out of my eſtates in the counties of Worceſter and Hereford, that I have bequeathed to the reverend Denham James and Joſeph Cookes.

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I have alſo in my will omitted to mention the reſidue and remainder of my eſtates, real and perſonal, which it was and is my will to give and deviſe to my executor, Joſeph Harris, of Stanford, Worceſterſhire, after paying thereout all my debts, legacies, and funeral expences: and I accordingly give and deviſe the ſame to him and his heirs for ever.

SARAH FREEMAN.

"Signed, ſealed, and delivered, by the within-named Sarah Freeman, as a codicil to her will, in the preſence of us, this 10th day of October, 1806.—J. Taylor, M. D.; I. Coulſon, ſurgeon; Edward Maſon, ſervant to Mr. Harris."

This lady had by her will left all the reſt of her eſtates to thoſe from whoſe anceſtors ſhe had derived them; and the ſingle queſtion in the cauſe was, whether this codicil was fairly executed by her?

Mrs. White, who had been her ſervant for many years, and attended her in her laſt illneſs, gave an account of her ſtate of health. She was ill and rambling in her mind, and talked incoherently, on the 6th of October, fancying herſelf on a journey from Southampton, &c. but being brought into the window of her bed-room, there ſeeing her ſervants, poultry, cattle, &c. upon the lawn, ſhe ſuddenly recovered, and became herſelf again, and clear in her underſtanding; continued ſo the 9th, 10th, and 11th of October; but on the 12th ſhe began to ramble again yet worſe, and until the 24th, when ſhe died. Other ſervants corroborated this ſtatement, and added many particulars, by which it appeared that the codicil was fairly executed; and it appeared by the evidence of many other moſt reſpectable witneſſes, that Mr. Harris was on the footing of intimacy and affection with this lady. He was Mrs. Freeman's legatee under her will, before the codicil, and had a legacy of 500l. by it.

In ſupport of the action of ejectment brought by Sir John Cottrel, as heir at law, it was contended that this lady was not in her right mind when ſhe executed this codicil; that Mr. Harris impoſed upon her for his own advantage. The chief witneſſes in ſupport of this were doctor Taylor, the phyſician, and Mr. Coulſon, the ſurgeon, who had attended her. The ſubſtance of their teſtimony was, that although ſhe was not lunatic at the time ſhe executed this codicil, ſhe was not, in their opinion, of ſuch a ſound and diſpoſing mind as to be capable of bequeathing her eſtate; and that had they been aware this codicil paſſed away her real eſtate, they would not have atteſted it; but they thought it was only to ſupply ſome legal defect in the will, and give it vigour and effect as a legal inſtrument, &c.

The jury, after having retired for ſome time, returned a verdict for the defendant.

7th. A fatal accident happened to the ſervant of Mr. Griffiths, between Brighton and Rottingdean. He was following his maſter on horſeback, when his horſe became reſtive, and by a retrograde motion, fell with him over the margin of the cliff, to the beach, at leaſt 60 feet below. Both horſe and rider were killed on the ſpot.

At

9th. At Marlborough Street, John Palmer, a man of ruffian-like appearance, was charged with a burglary, and with cutting and maiming a man of the name of Waller, who had the care of the houſe and furniture. The following is in ſubſtance the teſtimony adduced:—Waller was placed in the houſe, No. 20, Manchester-ſtreet, by Meſſrs. Kempton and Co., auctioneers at Hertford, a lady who reſided in it having departed for the Eaſt Indies a few days ſince, and the furniture was to have been ſold to-morrow. The man in charge left the houſe at ſeven o'clock on Thurſday evening, and on his return to bed by moon-light, at eleven o'clock, he found the clothing had been diſturbed, which gave riſe to ſuſpicion that thieves had been, or were at that time in the houſe. He opened the door of an adjoining bed-room, where he perceived two men, one of whom (the priſoner) ſeized him by the collar, threw him on the bed, and with horrid imprecations told him to be ſilent, or his brains would be blown out. Waller ſeized an opportunity to make towards the window, when the priſoner ſtruck him over the head with a weighty crow-bar, which felled him to the ground: the man, however, when recovered from the ſtupefaction the blow had occaſioned, called out, Murder! and the robbers ran down ſtairs. Some perſons had caught the alarm in the ſtreet, and the priſoner was ſecured whilſt climbing over the area railing; and he obſerved to the perſon who took him, that a man was near murdered in the houſe. The other thief unfortunately eſcaped. In the houſe were found ſeveral moveables, ready packed up.

Laſt week, while excavating the extenſive reſervoir for the Colcheſter Water Works, in Balcon-lane, cloſe to the town walls, the workmen fell in with the remains of ſome ſpacious Roman baths, and earthen pipes of a peculiar conſtruction for the letting in and out of the waters, with a quantity of Roman pottery ware, ſome of which appears to have been veſſels for heating fluids, others that held wines, with ſpecimens of variouſly formed urns. What were taken up perfect are in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Dodd, the engineer; but the greater part was unfortunately mutilated by the pick-axes of the workmen.

A poor weaver, who had a wife and ſeveral ſmall children, and reſides at Bolton-le-Moor, has lately come to an eſtate of upwards of 4000l. a year. He has obtained it from a very wealthy uncle, who had not ſeen him for a great number of years. It appears that the uncle did not forget his poor relation while living; for he wrote a number of letters to the nephew in queſtion, which did not come to hand, and it is ſuſpected they were intercepted by a deſigning ſervant. The uncle, however, left a will, bequeathing the eſtate to his nephew, the poor weaver, provided he claimed it within ſix months after his death; and in caſe of his failing to claim it within that time, the eſtate to go to the ſervant, who is ſuſpected of having intercepted the letters. The will, being of a novel nature, became the ſubject of converſation; and ſo it happened, that two travellers at an inn in Bolton were converſing upon the

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ſubject at the time the poor weaver was in the houſe, and within hearing of their converſation; and he, knowing that he had a rich uncle, although he knew not where to find him, ſoon learned that the deceaſed perſon was his uncle, and had left him the eſtate; he, in conſequence, communicated the circumſtance to ſome friends, who undertook to ſee into the buſineſs, and he proved to be juſt within the time limited in the will to put in his claim.

Dreadful Cataſtrophe.— A boat-race for two ſilver cups, given by J. Templar, eſq. of Stover, near Teignmouth, which were to be ſailed for on Tueſday ſe'nnight, induced the Rev. Mr. Buller, of Saltaſh, and Mr. Baker, of Plymouth, to become candidates for the firſt prize. Their two beautiful pleaſure-boats, from ten to fifteen tons burthen, accordingly ſtarted from this harbour on Monday morning. In Mr. Buller's boat were, Mr. Joſiah Thomſon, of Plymouth; Mr. John Foſter of Saltaſh; his apprentice, and Mr. Buller's boy.—Mr. Baker's boat followed. They had proceeded as far as the Bolt Head, when they were overtaken by a moſt tremendous ſquall, accompanied with heavy rain, which laſted nearly half an hour. At this time, Mr. Buller's boat was near two miles a-head, and from the thickneſs of the ſtorm could not be diſcerned; but on its ſubſiding, being ſtill inviſible, Mr. Baker concluded ſhe had borne away for Saltcombe, as the wind continued to blow hard, with a prodigious ſwell. After keeping the ſame courſe for half an hour, Mr. Baker determined to bear away alſo, and on nearing the ſhore, ſaw ſomething like crab-pot marks, but did not particularly regard them, until a ſhriek was heard from thence, when Mr. Buller was ſeen with his head above water, ſupported by a topmaſt-ſpar, which fortunately was in the boat when ſhe went down. Every exertion was now uſed in ſaving Mr. B. who was almoſt gone, having been in that ſituation an hour and a half. On being carefully drawn on board, every means were uſed to renew that life, twice apparently gone; which was at laſt effected. During the time, Mr. Foſter's apprentice, and Mr. Buller's boy, were perceived at a little diſtance, holding by the ends of an oar; and on picking up the latter, the other, being quite exhauſted, looſed his hold and ſunk to the bottom. Every eye was now ſtrained in looking out for Mr. Thomſon and Mr. Foſter, but without ſucceſs; and after beating about for a conſiderable time, they regretfully left the melancholy ſcene, and arrived at Saltcombe. Mr. Buller, when recovered, ſaid they had ſhipped a ſea; and that Mr. Foſter was in the little boat a-ſtern, caſting off the painter, when another ſea filled her, and ſhe went down by her ſtern. Mr. B. recollects Mr. Thomſon ſwimming upright, but a little under water, for ſome time after ſhe ſunk. He has left a widow, with five children, and a numerous circle of acquaintance, to lament his loſs. Mr. Foſter was unmarried, but a reſpectable and worthy character.

The Sultan, of 74 guns, captain Griffith, lying at Port Mahon, Minorca, was ſtruck with lightning. The officers were at dinner, when, in a moment, the 13th.

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ſhip received a dreadful ſhock, as though a ball of fire had ſtruck her, and had gone quite through, making an exploſion in its paſſage as loud as the exploſion of a quantity of gun-powder. The officers, as it were involuntarily, ruſhed out of their cabins, and diſcovered that it had ſtruck the jib-boom, killed ſeven men, badly wounded three others, and, conducted by ſome of the iron work, ran along the jib-boom, tore it to pieces, ſtruck the cap of the bowſprit, ſhivered it, and then fell into the water.

Melancholy Accident.—*Gijon.*—Yeſterday arrived here his Majeſty's ſhips Coſſack and Comet, the former from Santander, the latter from Plymouth, with near a million of dollars on board, part of which are for the ſervice of Spain, and with the remainder ſhe will ſail in a day or two for Oporto. In the afternoon arrived the Swallow brig, capt. Milner, convoying eight ſail of tranſports, ſent here to receive on board 2000 Merino ſheep, preſented by the junta of this principality to his majeſty. Soon after the Swallow came to an anchor, a boat put off from her with the captain, the hon. capt. Herbert, Mr. Creed, and the agent for tranſports, and ſeven ſeamen. Juſt as they were upon the bar, a ſea broke over, filled the boat, and plunged them into the ſea; the greater part, by taking hold of the boat, ſaved themſelves, and ſupported themſelves on oars and planks till the boats, which immediately put off from the ſhore, picked them up. Unfortunately, however, they were unable to ſave captain Herbert and Mr. Creed, who ſunk before they arrived. Theſe two gentlemen came out for the purpoſe of viſiting this country; the former was ſon to the earl of Carnarvon, the latter to Mr. Creed.

IRELAND.—*Dublin.*—*Extraordinary Cataſtrophe.* 15th.—The circumſtance which we are about to relate, though of a moſt extraordinary nature, has been communicated to us from ſuch authority, that we have no doubt whatever that it is accurate in its general outline; we forbear to mention names and places, for reaſons which will be ſufficiently obvious to our readers.

A few miles from this city, in a village which conſiſts of but four or five houſes, a houſe of entertainment conſtantly afforded refreſhment for thoſe travellers who made it a reſting place. A reſpectable farmer, a very few evenings ſince, having been at the Dublin market, reſolved to return home early, and left town before dinner. Having reached this village, he put up his horſe at the inn, and ordered ſomething to eat. His meal, &c. being finiſhed, and the evening coming on, he paid his bill to the landlord from a parcel of notes, one of which he changed, and then departed on his road home. At about the diſtance of one mile, his horſe dropped a ſhoe, and as a ſmith's forge was contiguous to this part of the road, he diſmounted, and finding the door cloſed, and the ſmith gone to bed, he knocked until the farrier got up, and opened the door. The ſhoe being replaced, the traveller offered the ſmith a half-crown piece, deſiring to get the change, which he declared at that hour he could not procure. The traveller feeling that he had

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occaſioned ſome trouble in diſturbing the man, told him that he might keep the entire. The poor ſmith, affected by this unexpected generoſity, eyed him with caution, and queſtioned him which road he had come, and on being informed that he had ſtopped at the village-inn, aſked him if any money had been ſeen in his poſſeſſion in that houſe? To which the traveller replied, that he certainly had a large ſum of money in his poſſeſſion. He immediately cautioned him to turn back to Dublin, for that not two hundred yards on the road before him, at a bridge, which he deſcribed, he was certain to be ſtopped and robbed. To this, the traveller replied he was well prepared, having his yeomanry piſtols charged in his holſters. The ſmith told him that if he was reſolved to proceed, he had better examine his arms: the precaution was attended to, and upon opening the pans of the piſtols, the priming of both was not only thrown out, but water appeared to have been poured in. The traveller was reſolute, and underſtanding from the ſmith (who he had now reaſon to believe was really in the ſecret), that he ſhould be attacked by one man only, the piſtols were recharged, and he ſet forward on his journey. On his arrival at the bridge, a fellow jumped from the hedge, and ſtopping him, demanded a large ſum, which he ſaid he knew he had about him; the traveller heſitated, ſuddenly drew forth his piſtol, and ſhot the robber through the heart! It was the landlord of the inn, and whoſe ſimilar practice of plunder had been conſtant. The traveller rode back to the inn, and aſked for the maſter of the houſe, who was ſaid to be in bed, and "not to be ſeen;" but inſiſting on his being produced, the ſervant told him that he was gone out to a neighbour's houſe. The dreadful circumſtances were diſcloſed, and the ſervants of the houſe were directed to the place where his body lay. The gentleman returned in ſafety to town, and told the circumſtance to ſeveral of his friends; and this extraordinary relation is collected from a gentleman who ſaw the body of the deceaſed, on the very ſpot where he had ſo juſtly met the puniſhment due to his crimes.—*Dublin Correſpondent.*

19th. An account has been received of a very gallant action fought in the Adriatic by the Seahorſe, of 38 guns, capt. Stewart.—A Turkiſh ſquadron, conſiſting of one 50 gun ſhip, and two frigates of 44 guns each, being ſent out for the purpoſe of capturing the Seahorſe, the latter engaged them for three hours. The reſult was, that one of the forty-fours ſunk after two broadſides, the other frigate ſheered off, and the 50 gun ſhip, after 500 of her crew, (conſiſting of 700) were killed and wounded, was taken and carried into Malta. The Seahorſe was much cut up in her maſts and rigging, but had only ſix men killed and ſeven wounded.

Remarkable Occurrence. — Mr. Adam French, wine-merchant, Leith, being ſhooting upon the lands of colonel Colbrooke, in the pariſh of Crawfordjohn, and county of Lanark, his pointer dog having ſtopped ſhort, and making a remarkable noiſe, attracted his attention, and going up to the ſpot, he was aſtoniſhed to ſee a large adder in the act of ſwallowing a lark;

being half erected in the air, he fired at it, and after blowing its head entirely off, it measured no less than 35 inches in length.

Tame Trout.—In the year 1796, two small trout were put into a brook, near Chapel-le-Dale, in Yorkshire, and were not seen for two years and a half afterwards. One of them was lost in a short time, and the other has become so tame, that a gentleman who resides near the brook, and was present when it was put in, feeds it with worms or meat, which it takes even from between his thumb and finger, and a short time ago, actually bit his finger till it bled, when he had no meat for it. Early in December, it leaves the place, and is generally absent about two or three months; it was once nine months away. It might now weigh about a pound and a half, and has lately lost an eye.

20th. This morning about four, Covent-Garden theatre was discovered to be in flames; and so fierce and rapid was the fire, that no exertions could stop its course. Within less than three hours the whole of the interior was destroyed: nearly all the scenery, wardrobe, musical and dramatic libraries, and properties of all kinds, were a heap of smoking ruins. The books of accounts, deeds, and the receipts of the preceding night's performance, were fortunately preserved, through the exertions of Mr. Hughes, the treasurer. A considerable number of engines promptly attended; but there was a total want of water for some time, the main pipe having been cut off with the intention of laying down a new one, and above an hour elapsed before some of the engines could be supplied. During the time that there was no supply of water, the most essential assistance for the neighbours was derived from the pumps of the Bedford coffee-house and hotel. The engines afterwards played with the utmost effect for upwards of an hour, when the roof of the theatre fell in with a dreadful crash, and thus announced the destruction of the interior of this elegant building. The fire raged with most violence at the upper end of Bow-street; on the western side of which, the house No. 9, belonging to Mr. Paget; Nos. 10 and 11, which were attached to the theatre; No. 12, belonging to Mr. Hill; No. 13 (the Struggler's coffee-house); No. 14, belonging to Mr. Johnson, the fruiterer; and No. 15, were completely destroyed. The three latter were insured in the Hope for 2650l. Nos. 16 and 17 were seriously damaged, though not entirely consumed. Some of these houses were uninsured; and the rest only partially. Mr. Donne, who kept the Struggler's coffee-house, has lost all his property, no part of which was insured. In Hart-street the flames communicated to the houses opposite the theatre, and four caught fire at the same moment: but by the great activity of the firemen, they suffered little more damage than a severe scorching. Great apprehensions were entertained for the safety of Drury-lane theatre, as the flakes of fire were carried on by the wind with force and in great quantities in that direction. A great number of people mounted the roof, ready, in case of actual fire, to open the large cistern of water provided there. All the people in the neighbourhood were employed

employed, with their ſervants, in extinguiſhing the flakes of fire as they fell upon the roofs or in the yards. This is the whole extent of injury ſuſtained in the neighbourhood; but as to the theatre itſelf, it is totally conſumed, and on the Hart-ſtreet ſide, not even the walls are ſtanding. The Ship tavern, and part of Mr. Brandon the box-keeper's office, are all that remain at that angle. The moſt painful part of this dreadful event remains to be deſcribed. At an early ſtage of the fire, a party of firemen broke open the great door under the Piazza, Covent-garden; and, having introduced an engine belonging to the Phœnix fire-office into the paſſage, they directed it towards the galleries, where the fire appeared to burn moſt fiercely; when, dreadful to relate, the burning roof of the paſſage fell in, and buried them, with ſeveral others who had ruſhed in along with them, in the ruins. It was a conſiderable time before the rubbiſh, which now blocked up the door, could be cleared away. When it was effected, a miſerable ſpectacle preſented itſelf; the mangled bodies of dead and dying appearing through the rubbiſh, or diſcovered in each advance to remove it. At twelve, eleven dead bodies had been carried into the church-yard of St. Paul, Covent-Garden. Some were ſent to St. Bartholomew's, and others to the Middleſex hoſpital, miſerably mangled, with broken limbs and dreadful bruiſes. The inſurances on the theatre ſcarcely exceeded 60,000l., and the ſavings from the Shakſpeare premiſes amounted to 3,500l. more, which, upon the whole, is not more than one-fourth part of the ſum requiſite to replace the loſs. Beſides the uſual ſtock of ſcenery, there was an additional quantity for a new melo-drama, which was ſhortly to be brought forward. Of the originals of the muſic of Handel, Arne, and many other eminent compoſers, there are no copies; and of many other pieces of muſic, only an outline had been given. Some excellent dramatic productions, the property of the theatre, have alſo been for ever loſt. It is ſuppoſed, with ſome probability, that it was occaſioned by the wadding of the gun fired during the performance of Pizarro, having lodged in one of the ſcenes. The Bedford and Piazza coffee-houſes eſcaped the flames, owing to a wall which had been erected by the proprietors of the theatre, a ſhort time ſince, to inſulate the theatre from the back of thoſe premiſes.—Too much praiſe cannot be beſtowed on the prompt attendance and active exertions of the volunteer corps, which prevented many depredations; who were afterwards relieved by parties of the life and foot-guards.—The organ, left by Handel as a legacy to the theatre, ſtated to be worth upwards of 1000 guineas, and which played only during the Oratorios, was conſumed.—The Beef Steak Club alſo, which held its meetings at the top of the theatre (in addition to their ſtock of wines, valued at 1500l.) have to regret the loſs of the table ſervice, and dinner implements.—Mr. Ware, the leader of the band, loſt a violin of 300l. value, which he had left behind him that night for the firſt time in two years; Mr. Munden, his wardrobe, which cannot be replaced under

300l.; Miſs Bolton, her jewels; and the other performers property, in the aggregate, to a conſiderable amount.—It is almoſt too painful to deſcribe the ſituation of thoſe perſons who were dug out of the ruins alive: they were, in general, ſo dreadfully burned, as ſcarcely to be recogniſed by their neareſt relations, and their fleſh, in ſeveral inſtances, literally peeled from off the bone. The dead bodies taken from the ſame place were nearly ſhapeleſs trunks.—Another accident happened the next day by the falling of a wall in Hart-ſtreet, which killed one man and bruiſed ſeveral others. They had been warned of their danger, but diſregarded it.—An immenſe concourſe of ſpectators thronged all the avenues to the ruins on the firſt three days; and amongſt the nobility who viſited the coffee-houſes adjoining, were the Dukes of York and Cambridge, Marquis Tweedale, &c.—The coroners for London, Middleſex, and Surrey, have ſat on 19 bodies, killed at the fire: viz. twelve at Covent-garden, three at St. Bartholomew's hoſpital, two at the Middleſex hoſpital, and two at St. Thomas's. Two perſons are now in a dangerous ſtate at St. Bartholomew's, and one at the Middleſex hoſpital, amounting in all to 22. Others have been carried to their houſes; but it is not yet known exactly how many lives have been loſt. From the evidence of Wm. Addicot, one of the ſtage carpenters of the theatre, and Wm. Darley, one of the firemen belonging to the Eagle Inſurance office, and one of the jury, who had witneſſed the falling in of the cieling, by which the unfortunate men were burnt to death, it appeared, that the firemen, and others who periſhed, had been employed in endeavouring to extinguiſh the flames at the room called The Apollo, which had fallen in upon them. It alſo appeared that the ſurmiſes which had gone abroad as to the exploſions of barrels of gun-powder were entirely unfounded, there never being more gun-powder kept in the theatre than was neceſſary for the conſumption of a ſingle night.—The names of the deceaſed are as follows: Mr. T. Harris, jun. optician of Hyde-ſtreet, Bloomſbury, a ſerjeant in the Bloomſbury volunteers; Mr. R. Davis, a gentleman who had lately arrived in London, from Wales, on a viſit; ——— Muſket, Wm. Ricklefworth, George Kilby, John Seyers, James Stewart, and Samuel Steevens, firemen belonging to the Phœnix fire-office; Richard Cadger; T. Holmes; James Hunt; Wm. Jones, a printer; Jas. Evans; J. Crabb; T. Mead; T. James; Richard Ruſhton, a tailor; Mr. Hewitt, a plumber; J. Beaumont, a ſoldier belonging to the 1ſt regiment of Guards; another private in the ſame regiment was taken to the Military hoſpital, and died in three or four hours; Richard Bird, a coach-maker in the employ of Mr. Houlditch, Long Acre; James Philkins, coal-heaver, aged 20. Mr. Richards, clerk to Meſſrs. Shaw and Edwards, St. Paul's Church-yard, was ſcalded ſo much with the water from the burning materials, that he died about 12 o'clock the ſame day. The firemen and others in Bow-ſtreet were for ſome days employed in pulling down the tottering ruins of the theatre, which threatened deſtruc-

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tion to the paſſengers. On Saturday two more bodies were dug out of the ruins. A ſubſcription was opened and liberally patronized for the relief of the ſufferers. The King's theatre was, with much liberality, offered by Mr. Taylor to Mr. Harris; and the Covent Garden company, a few days after the event, performed there. The plan of a new theatre, to be completely inſulated, it is ſaid, has alſo been ſubmitted to the proprietors, and accepted.

22d. A young man of the name of Pledger, while ſhooting a ſack of wheat into Barnholm mill, near Arundel, Suſſex, was caught by the tail of his round frock, in the cogs of the mill-wheels, and being thereby drawn in with great violence between them, his head was inſtantly cruſhed to atoms, and exhibited a moſt ſhocking ſpectacle to the grinder and another man, who were ſtanding by, but unable to render any aſſiſtance to the unfortunate ſufferer, one of whoſe teeth was driven ſo hard into a cog of the wheel, that it was with great difficulty extracted.

24th. A moſt melancholy accident happened one evening this week, in the river, off Fulham. A young couple, on the point of marriage, took a ſail in a funny, which unfortunately upſet, and the two lovers were drowned. The body of the young woman, who was the daughter of a boat-builder at Fulham, was found this day; but that of her companion has been dragged for in vain. A dog, which belonged to the father of the young woman was in the boat, and ſwam to ſhore. The animal no ſooner reached his maſter's houſe, than, by his geſtures and howls, he attracted ſome of the family to the Biſhop's Stairs, off which the fatal accident happened, and where they beheld the boat in which the lovers had embarked, with its bottom upwards. The young man was the ſon of an inn-keeper at Fulham; his age was 25, his intended bride was only 17.

DIED.—4th. At Marchiſon bank, Scotland, aged 86, John Home, Eſq. author of "Douglas," and other dramatic works.

25th. Aged 50, Richard Porſon, M.A. of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Greek Profeſſor of that univerſity.

At Mardenwell, near Louth, in his 100th year, Mr. Southwell, who enjoyed good health till within a few years of his death.

At Blackpool, aged 106, Jemima Wilkinſon. She retained her ſenſes and was able to walk without aſſiſtance, till within a few hours of her death.

OCTOBER.

1ſt. A girl of the name of Sophia Weaver, about ſix or ſeven years of age, who had gone into the fields at Downſide, in the pariſh of Backwell, Somerſetſhire, to pick blackberries, was miſſed by her parents. A diligent ſearch, till 12 at night, was made after her by ſeveral of the neighbours, but without effect. In the courſe of their ſearch, they found a deep pit, covered over with brambles and long graſs, from which, many years ſince, lead ore had been

been extracted, and to which they were led by the barking of a dog belonging to the father of the child. The grass, it appeared, had recently been trampled upon; but the lateness of the evening deterred those who were in search of her from descending. In the morning, however, they returned, and two men were let down with ropes; when, to their great astonishment, the child was found in one of the lanes leading from the pit, standing upright, and free from injury, excepting the little hurt she had received in being scratched by the brambles. The preservation of the child was still more remarkable also, in her having retired into the lane, as the men in their descent rolled down several large fragments of the rock, which must otherwise have inevitably dashed her to pieces. She had remained fourteen hours in the pit, which is upwards of 100 feet deep.

2d. A melancholy accident happened recently, at North Witham wood, near Lincolnshire: a boy, eleven years old, having a dispute with his mother about gathering nuts, threw a hazel stick in his rage at a neighbour, who reprimanded him for his conduct. The stick, missing him, hit a young woman, named Lucy Hare, in the eye, and perforated her brain, which caused her almost immediate death.

4th. A young man, in the employment of Messrs. Bryan and Brandon, wholesale grocers in Newgate-street, was brought up on a charge of having feloniously embezzled a sum of 32l. 10s. 5d., received as their servant, for their account. It was stated by Mr. T. Bryan, one of the partners, that the young man at the bar had entered the service of himself and partner about the 22d of January last; that when he first came to tender them his services, he said, he had 80l. a year in his last place, that he was worth much more on account of his connection, and must have 100l. a year; but he would rather act on commission at one per cent. upon all the goods he could sell for their account out-doors, either amongst their customers or his own. They preferred giving him 100l. the first year, but said, they would think of the other part of the proposal, and would have no objection to allow him the commission in a second year, if his connection should prove as he stated. He accordingly proceeded to solicit orders, and receive money for their account, paying in from time to time the sums he received. They discovered, however, about the middle of September, that he had received the sum of 32l. 10s. 5d. from Mr. Sutton, a grocer, in East-street, Mary-le-bonne, for their account, but did not pay it in, and denied that he had received it; until upon enquiry of Mr. Sutton, they found the money had been paid, and a receipt given by the defendant, who had never accounted with them since, but acknowledged he had received the money. Mr. Bryan positively alleged, that the defendant was employed as their confidential servant, at a yearly salary. Mr. Sutton proved the payment of the money to the defendant, and indeed it was acknowledged on his behalf by his counsel, Mr. Alley. The young man being called on for his defence, denied that he was ever employed as the servant or clerk of the prosecutors.

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He had applied to be employed by them on the recommendation of a friend, who knew that he had a good connection in the grocery line, and that the profecutors being a young houſe, would want ſuch aſſiſtance toward their eſtabliſhment. When he firſt applied, and ſhowed them a liſt of his connections, they highly approved it; and he demanded one and a half per cent. commiſſion for ſelling their goods, ſaying he would diſpoſe of to the amount of 25 to 30,000l. a year. Mr. Brandon propoſed to allow him 50l., and board in the houſe, or 100l. a year out of doors. But this he declined, after a day's conſideration, ſaying he preferred commiſſion, as more independent to each. Upon which Mr. Brandon ſaid, he ſhould make a trial at a commiſſion of one per cent.; and if it ſhould not be productive in ſix months' experiment, he would ſecure to the defendant at all events, the rate of 100l. a year. To this the defendant agreed; and ſtipulated to have his accounts ſettled, and his commiſſion paid every ſix months. It appeared by the teſtimony of Mr. Bryan, that 43l. had been advanced to the defendant at the end of the firſt two months, and that they had charged to his account by his own deſire 10l. for groceries ſent, as they conjectured, to the perſon with whom he lodged. The defendant acknowledged he was wrong in not immediately accounting for the 32l. he had received; but that he had detained it in part of the commiſſion due to him, as he deſired a ſettlement at the end of ſix months, and to have the ſale account looked over for the purpoſe, but could not obtain the ſettlement. He had afterwards acknowledged the receipt of 32l. 10s. 5d. to Mr. Brandon, who he ſuppoſed had placed it to his account; but he took no receipt for it. There was a conſiderable balance in his favour, and the profecutors, inſtead of ſettling, had thought proper to bring this charge againſt him. Alderman Curtis was of opinion, that the charge of felony was not ſuſtained, as the profecutors had failed to prove the defendant to be their actual yearly ſervant, and not acting for them merely on commiſſion; for, had they proved that, the felony would have been fully ſuſtained under the ſtatute.—The defendant was of courſe diſcharged, after a very impreſſive lecture.

A daring attempt was made to commit a burglary in the counteſs of Morton's houſe in Park-ſtreet, by five notorious characters. They were, however, met by ſtratagem, the ſervant maid who had the charge of the houſe having given notice to the office at Marlborough-ſtreet, of ſeeing ſome ſuſpicious-looking perſons for ſeveral evenings reconnoitring. On this the officers went and ſecreted themſelves in the houſe; the ſervant was ſent out about eight o'clock, and ſoon after the bell was rung violently, and afterwards loud knocking at the door, which ſatisfied the thieves that nobody was in the houſe. Hereupon they broke the door open, and went to the room adjoining the cloſet where the officers had concealed themſelves, when the latter ruſhed out upon the robbers. A battle immediately enſued, and in the ſcuffle the candle was put out. One of the officers 5th.

cers had juſt time to diſcharge his blunderbuſs, and ſhot one of them in the left arm. Thus rudely attacked, the robbers attempted to make their eſcape through the back part of the houſe, by jumping off the firſt-floor leads into Park-lane; in the attempt one of them broke his leg, and was immediately ſecured. The man that had been ſhot ran down South-ſtreet, and turning down a mews where there was no thoroughfare, he was alſo taken; the other three eſcaped. As ſoon as the man that had been ſhot was brought in, he dropped down, and fainted from loſs of blood. Medical aſſiſtance was immediately procured. The above two burglars were ſo bad next morning, they could not be brought up for examination. One of them, it appears, formerly lived as groom in the earl of Morton's family.

Collins, *alias* Jaſper, one of the wounded houſe-breakers, underwent amputation of his arm on Thurſday afternoon.

7th. A gentleman arrived at the Tontine inn, Helenſburgh, from Whitby, this day. Shortly after, he left the inn, and went out in a ſmall boat, taking his dog and a fowling-piece along with him for the purpoſe of ſhooting wild duck. As the boat was found in the Gure Loch next morning, and no accounts have ſince been heard of him, it is feared that he has periſhed. The boat was obſerved the ſame night by the ſkipper of the Roſeneath packet, with a handkerchief at the top of an oar, ſuppoſed as a ſignal of diſtreſs, but to which the unfeeling packet-man paid no attention. The dog returned to the inn next day, and continued moaning moſt piteouſly. In the gentleman's portmanteau were found 200 guineas in gold, and 100 pounds in bank notes.

Mr. Brookes, the lottery-office-keeper, in Piccadilly, put an end to his exiſtence by ſhooting himſelf with a piſtol through the head, in the neceſſary. The clerk and ſeveral of his neighbours, alarmed at the report of the piſtol, ruſhed in and found him lifeleſs. He has been in a deſponding ſtate for this fortnight paſt, during which time his brother has been with him adjuſting his accounts. On Thurſday morning he ſeemed better, and went out about eleven o'clock with a friend in a hackney coach, and on his return he invited ſeveral of his neighbours' children to ſpend the evening at his houſe to celebrate his eldeſt daughter's birthday. He had been for many years clerk to St. James's-market, and has left a wife and four children. A coroner's inqueſt ſat on the body yeſterday, and brought in a verdict —Lunacy.

Copenhagen.—An article from Gottenburgh contains 8th. a remarkable trait of ſwindling, which deſerves to be made public on account of its great boldneſs and adroitneſs, and in order to put all merchants on their guard againſt a ſimilar occurrence. One of the firſt houſes in Gottenburgh received a letter from London, in which they were requeſted to inſtantly make the moſt diligent enquiries to diſcover a young Engliſhman, who had juſt fled from the houſe of arich banker, and who they knew had embarked on board a ſhip freighted for Sweden. The deſcription of the young man was given in this letter, and he

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was declared the author of a robbery to the amount of 12,000l. ſterling in bank notes. "If you ſhould find him" ſaid the letter, "as he belongs to a reſpectable family, confine yourſelf to the making him reſtore the plunder; and afterwards have the goodneſs to give him 300 guineas in gold, which will take him to the Indies, where nothing more will be heard of him."—The Swediſh merchant, to whom the letter was addreſſed, cauſed a thorough ſearch to be made on all ſides. At laſt, being one day upon the exchange, he perceived a young man whoſe figure and dreſs perfectly anſwered the deſcription. He addreſſed him, and ſeeing that he was an Engliſhman, invited him to follow him. The young man heſitated,—he reddened—even ſhed tears—in a word, before he had arrived at the merchant's houſe, he had confeſſed all. Arrived in his cloſet, he threw himſelf at his feet, begged of him not to be delivered up to juſtice, and gave up the 12,000l. which were ſtill encloſed in a portfolio, with the ſeal of the banker. The Swediſh merchant made many ſerious remonſtrances to him; but, according to his inſtructions, gave him 300 guineas, and promiſed to procure him a favourable opportunity of going to Bengal. He made haſte to inform the banker in London, that his 12,000l. was recovered; who replied, that he did not underſtand what he meant. The bank notes were all forged, but the 300 guineas given to the ſharper were good.

10th. A conſiderable quantity of ſnow has fallen during the laſt and preceding weeks, in the counties of Derby and Cumberland. There has has alſo been a ſevere froſt in Lancaſhire, where ice of a conſiderable thickneſs was ſeen.

A moſt diſtreſſing accident lately occurred at Brighton. Mr. and Mrs. Ball and Miſs C. Henwood, having returned from the fair at Steyning in a whiſky, between ſix and ſeven in the evening, were proceeding along the cliff, where ſome boys were diverting themſelves with letting off rockets, &c., by one of which the horſe was ſo alarmed that he became unmanageable, and daſhing furiouſly forward, brought himſelf in horrid contact with a brewer's dray. Stunned by the ſhock, he inſtantly dropped; the chaiſe was ſuddenly overturned, and Miſs Henwood, a fine young woman about 20 years of age, fell with ſuch violence on the kitchen-gratings of a houſe, as to fracture her ſkull above and about the temple. She was taken up in a ſtate of inſenſibility, and no hope of her recovery was entertained. Mrs. Ball was alſo ſo ſeriouſly injured, that ſhe was confined to her bed; and Mr. Ball, who is a ſurgeon of that place, received ſome material hurt.

The earl of Lonſdale has ſignified his intention of enfranchiſing his numerous copyholders throughout Cumberland and Weſtmoreland, by which meaſure he will be enabled to incloſe more than 20,000 acres of land in thoſe counties, at this time in a ſtate of commonage.

Died lately, Mr. G. W. Marſhall, clerk of the three pariſhes in the town of Thetford. Having occaſion in his ſituation of ſerjeant major of the Thetford volunteers to aſſort ſome damaged cartridges, a ſpark from a hearth-

bruſh,

brush, which had just been used in sweeping up the embers of a wood-fire, and was procured by his son for the purpose of gathering up some scattered powder, accidentally communicated with a barrel of gunpowder standing near, which exploded, and blew up him and his youngest son a considerable distance. The workshop, in which they were, instantly took fire, and from its communication with the house and adjoining buildings, at first occasioned considerable alarm, but the flames were soon subdued, from the ready assistance afforded by all classes of the inhabitants. Mr. Marshall and his boy languished until the following evening. It is not unworthy of record, that this man had for a considerable period, filled nearly thirty situations in the borough of Thetford, and his loss is much deplored there. The father was forty, and the son eleven years of age.

17th. *Fatal Effects of eating Champignons.*—This day, an inquest was held before Charles Jemmett, esq. coroner for the county of Surrey, respecting the deaths of Mary Attwood, aged 14, Eliza, aged seven, and Sarah, aged five years, daughters of William Attwood, of Mitcham, print-cutter.

Mr. Parrot, surgeon, deposed, that on Tuesday the 11th instant, he was desired to visit William Attwood, his wife, and four daughters, who were supposed to be poisoned, in consequence of their having eaten stewed champignons on the preceding day; that he visited them immediately, when he found each of them suffering under severe vomiting and purging, attended with great pain in the head and violent pain in the bowels; that he administered to them such remedies as appeared to him best calculated to get rid of the offending matter, as he knew of no method whereby vegetable poison could be decomposed; that he attended the said children till their respective deaths, which happened as follows:—Mary died at two o'clock on Friday morning, Eliza at half an hour after, and Sarah at half past four on Saturday morning; that they died violently convulsed; that on opening the body of Sarah, who seemed to suffer the most excruciating pain in the bowels, no appearance of disease existed in any part of the alimentary canal: hence he inferred that the poison acted more immediately upon the brain and nerves.

Note.—These people were intoxicated within ten minutes after having eaten their meal, and the eldest daughter observed to her father how cheerful they all were. This exhilarating effect was soon followed by stupor, and the symptoms already described.

A dog which had partaken of the same stew, died on Wednesday morning, apparently in great agonies. Mr. Attwood, his wife, and their daughter Hannah, aged eleven years, are recovering; the latter, however, ate only two spoonfuls of the stew, alleging that she did not like its flavour. It is here proper to remark, that the stew was made in an iron vessel.

From this statement of facts, it is sincerely hoped that persons will in future be cautious of purchasing what are usually termed champignons, as these fungi are indiscriminately gathered off the commons in the

the vicinity of London, and ſold at the London markets for the purpoſe of making catſup, with the addition of muſhrooms.

This evening a few minutes before eight o'clock, a remarkable meteor was ſeen. It paſſed in a north-eaſterly direction, and apparently at no great altitude; but its real altitude muſt have been immenſe, or it would not have been ſeen in ſo many remote places at the ſame inſtant. It was ſeen as far north as Aberdeen, and as far ſouth as Hull. Its apparent diameter was ſomething leſs than the moon, and in ſome places it ſeemed to have a tail, throwing off corruſcations of great brilliancy. It diffuſed a moſt vivid pale light, and was viſible in its progreſs for a few ſeconds.

The night-coach conveying the paſſengers from Ramſgate on Monday night, having ſtopped at the uſual watering houſe between Canterbury and Boughton-hill, the coachman and guard were invited to drink by ſome drunken ſailors (outſide paſſengers), the horſes in the interval proceeded with great rapidity, for nearly two miles, without their driver, which being at length diſcovered by one of the inſide paſſengers, he jumped out of the coach at the hazard of his life, and fortunately ſucceeded in ſtopping the horſes.

An occurrence of a very ſingular and intereſting nature took place at Aberdeen on Thurſday laſt:—A boy, of about four years of age, fell over the quay into the harbour, at high water; a carpenter, who was at work on board a veſſel cloſe by the place, hearing the alarm, immediately pulled out his watch, which he left upon deck, and running to the bow of the veſſel, the child being under water, he jumped overboard, and brought him up from the bottom. It is eaſier to imagine than deſcribe his feelings, when on bringing him to the ſurface, he found him to be his own ſon!

On Wedneſday morning, about two o'clock, as the watchman was going his rounds, in Bell's-buildings, Paddington New-road, he was alarmed by the report of a piſtol or gun, at a houſe in the above buildings, and he gave an alarm to the people by knocking loudly at the ſtreet-door. A ſervant opened the door, and accompanied the watchman over the houſe, which is inhabited only by a widow lady of the name of Somner and her ſervant, and a gentleman of the name of Dyſar, who occupied the firſt floor, and ſlept in the front attic. On going into that room, the unfortunate man was lying proſtrate on the floor, and bleeding very freely, he having diſcharged the contents of a piſtol at his head. The ball paſſed ſlantingly through a part of the left cheek, and in a manner that it is hoped will not prove fatal. Surgical advice was reſorted to. It is ſuppoſed that a quick ſucceſſion from opulence to embarraſſment was the cauſe of the attempt.

Carliſle goal was broken open, when the notorious Naylor, with three other priſoners, viz: White, Row, and Barnes, made their eſcape. The manner in which this undertaking was achieved, diſplayed much ingenuity and courage, and gives ſome conſiſtency to the bravado of Naylor himſelf, that no gaol in England 21ſt.

land but Lancaſter caſtle could hold him. Since his laſt return to the place of his confinement, he was loaded with above 60 pounds weight of iron, only eight pounds ſhort of that which the famous baron Trenck had to ſuſtain while confined in his dungeon at Magdeburgh; he was chained to the wall, frequently hand-cuffed, and generally ſhin-bolted and neck-bolted. Under all theſe diſheartening circumſtances, he effected his eſcape merely by means of two iron bars, which had been wrenched from the windows of the cell. With theſe implements, he, with the help of his fellow-priſoners, forced the flags from beneath the door, (each ſtone being ſunk a great depth) and proceeding forward, made a hole ſufficient to admit one perſon at a time. Having accompliſhed this, they ſcaled the iron paliſade, and the outermoſt wall of the priſon, and got clear off. The ingenuity of Naylor, as a priſon-breaker, has long been known: ſome years ago, when confined in Richmond priſon, in Yorkſhire, he removed a ſtone from under the door of his cell, which was above a ton weight, by taking away the earth from below it, when it ſunk down, leaving the iron-work that ſecured it, and gave him room to free himſelf.

This night it blew a heavy gale from the S. W. In addition to the miſchief uſually occaſioned by high winds, ſuch as blowing down chimney pots, &c. we were ſorry to obſerve that the large temporary building erected on the north end of the mound, for the purpoſe of exhibiting the panorama of the battle of Trafalgar, was blown down, and the painting totally deſtroyed. It is a curious coincidence that it fell on the anniverſary of that day on which the hero of Trafalgar ended his career of glory.

A plot, accompanied by moſt unprecedented inſtances of credulity, was on Monday developed before the magiſtrates, at the Rotation-office, in Leeds. The parties were, Mary Bateman, of Campfield, near this town, and William Perigo and his wife, of Bramley; ſhe the witch, and they the dupes. It appeared that in Auguſt, 1806, an application was made to this woman by Perigo to cure his wife of a complaint which was not ſtated on the examination, but which we ſuppoſe to be what is called amongſt people of her rank, "nervous," and amongſt their betters "the hip." Mary, with becoming modeſty, declined to undertake the cure herſelf; but ſaid, that ſhe had a friend at Scarborough, a miſs Blyth, who could "read the ſtars," and collect from them the knowledge requiſite to remove all corporeal and mental maladies, and, as a preliminary ſtep, required, that Perigo's wife ſhould ſend her flannel petticoat to miſs Blyth in order that ſhe might from that article of dreſs collect a knowledge of her diſorder. The petticoat was ſent, and a propitious anſwer returned, wherein it was required, that the medium, Mary Bateman, through which all communication betwixt the aſtrologer and the patient was to be made, ſhould have four guinea notes preſented to her, and ſhe was in return to give Perigo four other guinea notes, incloſed in a ſmall bag, into which, if either his 25th.

own curiosity, or the still stronger curiosity of his wife should induce them to look, the charm would be broken in consequence. Strange as it may appear, the wife of Perigo never looked into the enchanted bag to the day of her death. Soon after the four guineas had been given to Mary Bateman, a letter arrived from Scarbro', directing that another guinea should be paid into her hands. Similar requests were repeated and complied with, till forty guineas had been thus extorted from these infatuated people, under a promise, however, that they should, by and by, be allowed to open the bags; and these bags, they were told, would be found to contain all the money they had advanced.

About six months had now expired, and the business of fraud and delusion still went on. Miss Blyth could not, while certain planets ruled, sleep on her own bed; and in order to promote the comfort of the "wise woman," Perigo was to buy her a new bed, with all the necessary appendages, and send it to Mary Bateman, through whose hands it was to be transmitted to Scarbro'. The bed, &c., which cost eight pounds, was bought, and notes, to the amount of thirty pounds more, paid at various times into the hands of the impostor. She next demanded a set of china; this was also furnished; but she complained that the tea-canister was not sufficiently handsome to set before the genteel company kept by a lady of her distinction, and demanded a tea-caddy in its stead; which demand was also complied with.

Perigo and his wife, thus drained of all the money they had in the world, and all the sums their former good credit had enabled them to raise, and the wife's health still growing worse rather than better, they became impatient to look into the mysterious bags, and extract from them the wealth they contained. Their clamorous impatience probably became troublesome, when, as it should seem, to silence their importunity, Mrs. Bateman received, as she said, a packet from Scarborough: this packet contained a powerful charm, which was to be mixed up in a pudding, to be prepared for the purpose, and of which Perigo and his wife were to eat, but on no account to allow any person to partake with them. The husband ate sparingly; he did not like the taste; but his ill-fated wife, less scrupulous, ate freely. They both became sick almost immediately, and continued in the most deplorable situation for twenty-four hours: the wife lost the use of her limbs, and, after languishing five days, died on the 24th of May, 1807, a victim of credulity. Perigo recovered partially; but from that time to the present has never had the perfect use of his limbs. Part of the pudding was, by way of experiment, given to a cat, and it died; some fowls also picked up other parts of it, and shared the same fate. Contrary to the direction of Mary Bateman, Perigo applied to a surgeon in this town for advice, and was told by him that he had taken poison, but fortunately not in a quantity sufficiently large to occasion his death.

After the death of his wife, it is natural to suppose that the husband would have possessed sufficient fortitude to emancipate himself,

ſelf from the fangs of this wicked woman: this, however, was not the caſe; ſhe had thrown her toils over him, and though the wife might not have been, as ſhe ſuppoſed, bewitched, it is pretty evident the huſband was under ſome ſuch influence. From May, 1807, till Wedneſday laſt, the charm continued to operate, and the ſpell could not be diſſolved. At one time he went to Mancheſter by the direction of this Jezebel; at another he ſent her one of his wife's gowns; again ſhe contrived to coax or frighten him out of another gown, a petticoat, and the family Bible! And laſt of all ſhe demanded from him a buſhel of wheat, with three ſeven-ſhilling pieces incloſed. His creditors at length became impatient; and the hopes of getting any part of his property back failing, he determined to brave all danger, and look into the myſterious bags, whoſe contents he found were not worth one penny.

The bubble now burſt: and after having kept the buſineſs an entire ſecret from every ſoul living, his wife alone excepted, for upwards of two years, he laid his hopeleſs caſe before ſome of his neighbours: by their direction Mary Bateman was apprehended. When brought before the magiſtrates, ſhe in part confeſſed her delinquency, and admitted that there was no ſuch perſon as miſs Blyth in exiſtence, but that the whole was a mere phantom, conjured up to forward her vile purpoſes. The magiſtrates have committed the offender to the houſe of correction, whether to be tried for ſwindling or to be removed from there to the county goal, to take her trial for wilful murder, we are not informed.

On ſearching the houſe of this woman (who has a huſband and ſeveral children), the bed and ſome other articles, the property of Wm. Perigo, amounting in value to about ten or twelve pounds, were found, and will be reſtored to the owner.

It is worthy of obſervation, that Mary Bateman is the perſon whoſe hen laid an egg about two years ago, at the bank in this town, bearing this marvellous inſcription, "*Chriſt is coming.*"

Suicide.—A moſt ſhocking and melancholy incident occurred in the King's-bench priſon:—A young gentleman, named Alexander, a native of Berlin, who had been fifteen months a priſoner there, put an end to his exiſtence by throwing himſelf from his chamber-window in the top gallery, No. 10, a height of three ſtories. The circumſtances which led to this lamentable cataſtrophe are rather intereſting. The deceaſed was at Hamburgh about two years ſince, where he was met by a Britiſh manufacturer, one of his father's creditors, who had dealt extenſively with the houſe. By this perſon Mr. Alexander was induced to ſet out with him to London; but as ſoon as they arrived in England, Mr. Alexander was thrown into Cheſter gaol at the ſuit of his friend and fellow-traveller, upon the ground of an alleged debt, as the ſuppoſed partner with his father. Having remained there ſome time, he was removed at his own deſire by habeas corpus, about fifteen months ago, to the King's-bench. With the feelings natural to a man ſo circumſtanced in a foreign

foreign country, neglected by his friends, and deſtitute of ſupport, at length his mind became deranged. His creditors, however, perſiſted in his detention, under a perſuaſion that it would ultimately force his friends to ſettle their demand, as they conjectured there was an underſtanding between him and his father: but in this, fatally for the unhappy young man, they were deceived. Indigence and perſecution reduced his mind to imbecility, and his body almoſt to a ſkeleton: for the laſt week he had lain on the bed of ſickneſs, and refuſed to take medicine or ſuſtenance of any kind; and yeſterday morning, in a moment of phrenſy, while his attendant had quitted his room for a few ſeconds, he availed himſelf of the opportunity to precipitate himſelf from his window upon the pavement.

28th. *Old Bailey.* — William Badcock, a hackney coachman, was indicted for burglariouſly entering, in the night-time, the dwelling-houſe of Samuel Benjamin, Mary-le-bone-lane, on the 16th of September, and ſtealing thereout a quantity of wearing apparel, the property of the ſaid Benjamin. The proſecutor was a Jew ſalesman, and kept his ſhop in the lower part of the houſe, No. 64, Mary-le-bone-lane, which was partitioned off from the reſt of the houſe, and in which his ſon uſually ſlept at nights. After this ſhop was ſhut up on the night above ſtated, and padlocked on the outſide, as his ſon had not ſlept there for ſome weeks on account of illneſs, word was brought him that his ſhop was robbed, about half-paſt nine o'clock. He went there with his ſon, and found it had been broken open, and the ſhelves ſtripped of all the property. Upon inquiry, he was informed that a hackney-coach had been ſeen waiting for a conſiderable time before the ſhop, and two men were ſeen frequently paſſing between the ſhop and the coach, and putting into the latter various parcels of goods; that they then mounted the box, and drove off with the coachman. One young man, who ſuſpected ſomething wrong, followed the coach and called out to the coachman to ſtop; but inſtead of ſtopping, he drove the more furiouſly. The young man, however, came up with the coach, and obſerved that it was No. 278; and upon ſome further inquiry, it was found out that the driver was alſo the owner, and that his ſtand was in Holborn, near the Bull-and-Gate. Thither Benjamin, his ſon, and ſome others went, and waited at the Bull-and-Gate till one o'clock, when they ſaw a coach drive up; the gate of the yard was opened, and the coach drove in, and it was obſerved to be No. 278. There was one man on the box with the coachman, and both were taken into cuſtody. Upon ſearching the coach, a great-coat was found under the ſeat, which Benjamin knew to have been in his ſhop the preceding evening, and his ſon ſwore that he himſelf had been repairing it, and that it was not ready for ſale when he laſt ſaw it. The priſoner, on being interrogated that night about the conveyance of goods from Mary-le-bone-lane, denied, poſitively that his coach had been in Mary-le-bone pariſh during any part of that whole day and night, or that he knew any thing about

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the coat found in his coach. The younger Benjamin, however, ſwore, that he ſaw him that evening in Mary-le-bone-lane, leaning againſt a poſt in the ſtreet, with his coach in waiting, for a conſiderable time, before the robbery, but without having then the moſt diſtant ſuſpicion of what was intended; and that he afterwards inſtantly recollected his face (which was a very remarkable one), and his perſon, the moment he ſaw him at the Bull-and-Gate, Holborn. The other priſoner taken with him was diſcharged by the magiſtrates at Marlborough-ſtreet office. Mr. juſtice Lawrence, after recapitulating the evidence for the jury, obſerved, that if they believed the priſoner to have been privy to the intention of the parties who actually broke open the ſhop and took out the goods, and that with ſuch privity he waited to receive thoſe goods outſide in the coach, they muſt conſider him as completely guilty of the burglary and robbery as if he had broken open the ſhop, and taken out the goods with his own hands; as, in ſuch caſe, he muſt be, to all intents and purpoſes, an accomplice in the robbery.

The jury, without heſitation, found the priſoner Guilty—*Death*.

About 14 or 1500 ſmall Roman copper coins were lately diſcovered in ploughing ſome land belonging to Mr. Ward, of Timberland, near Sleaford. They are coins of Auguſtus, Tiberius, and the firſt Claudius, were found in a Roman earthen pot, which was broken by the plough, and are in fine preſervation.

29th. *Middleſex Seſſion.*—Joſeph Powell, a noted aſtrologer, who had been once before convicted, and ſuffered the ſentence of the law, for dealing in the myſtic art, was again brought before the court for judgment, under the vagrant act, as an incorrigible rogue and vagabond.

This proſecution, as well as that which followed, were carried on by the Society for the Suppreſſion of Vice, whoſe clerk, Mr. Weſtern, was the chief evidence. He ſtated, that in conſequence of one of Mr. Powell's late advertiſements to the nobility and gentry, notifying that he now vended medicines which performed the moſt miraculous cures for head-aches, tooth-aches, rheumatiſm, &c. made black and decayed teeth ſound, perfect, and pearly white, &c. concluding with a *nota bene*, that he continued to give his opinion in the wonderful art of conſulting the planetary ſyſtem, gratis;—he waited upon this wonderful prophet in Edward-ſtreet, Portman-ſquare, for the purpoſe of detecting him; and having feigned a complaint in his head, he received an infallible noſtrum in a ſmall phial. After having led to the ſubject of his art, and given the time of his nativity, the priſoner proceeded in his magic incantations. After a ſhort conſultation of the planets, he told him that he was born under the ſun, cautioned him againſt a dark man who was his enemy, and promiſed him great proſperity in the courſe of his dealings. For the medicine, but not for his opinion, he received half-a-crown. Wood, the police-officer, afterwards caught him in the act of caſting the nativity of two young ladies, and ſeized the prophet, his magic books, &c. The court ſentenced him to twelve months impriſonment

ment in the houſe of correction, and to be publicly whipped.

Elizabeth Lawrence was alſo brought up for judgment for a ſimilar offence. Her incantations, however, were confined to the myſteries of a pack of cards, upon which ſhe told fortunes at the cheap rate of one ſhilling per head. Two young damſels, who had been ſent for the purpoſe, proved her dealings in the black art; and after an able defence by Mr. Curwood, in conſequence of this being the ſecond conviction for the ſame offence, the court ſentenced her to 12 months impriſonment in the houſe of correction.

30th. A moſt dreadful ſtorm of wind and rain occurred laſt week at Moffat: the rivers in the neighbourhood came down in ſuch torrents as were never ſeen before by the oldeſt people here. Amongſt the damage occaſioned by it, we are ſorry to ſtate a diſtreſſing accident which happened to the mail-coach from Glaſgow to Carliſle, which paſſes this way, at the bridge over the river Evon, about nine miles from hence, at a place called Howcleagh, betwixt nine and ten o'clock laſt night. The coach had juſt got about half way over, when the bridge gave way in the middle of the arch, and the coach, paſſengers, horſes, &c. were inſtantly precipitated into the river, down a fall of 35 or 40 feet. There were four inſide and two outſide paſſengers. The two latter, and two of the horſes, were killed upon the ſpot; and the other paſſengers had a moſt miraculous eſcape with their lives, though, we are ſorry to ſay, they are all very conſiderably hurt. The coachman and guard were alſo much hurt; the former had his arm broken, and was otherwiſe much bruiſed, and the guard got a ſevere contuſion in the head. The other coach, from Carliſle to Glaſgow, narrowly eſcaped ſharing the ſame fate: it arrived at the bridge juſt at the time the accident happened; and, from the darkneſs of the night, and the rate the coach neceſſarily travels, muſt inevitably have gone into the river at the ſame breach in the arch, had not the cries of one of the ſufferers alarmed the coachman, and induced him to ſtop. By the exertion of the coachman and guard of the other coach, the paſſengers who ſurvived (a lady and three gentlemen), with the coachman and guard, that had fallen into the abyſs, were ſaved, and conducted to a place of ſafety, until other aſſiſtance was afforded them. Much praiſe is due to the proprietor at Moffat, for his exertion and aſſiſtance on this occaſion. Immediately on hearing of the accident, he ſet out, in the middle of the night, with ſeveral of his ſervants and ſurgical aſſiſtance, and gave every poſſible relief to the paſſengers; and by this means, we are happy to ſay, the London mail, and many valuable articles in the coach, have been ſaved. The exertions of one of the proprietor's ſervants is particularly deſerving of notice: at the riſk of his life, he went down the precipice, ſuſpended by a rope, and ſaved the life of the lady (one of the paſſengers), and recovered the mail bags, which muſt otherwiſe have been carried down the ſtream. The bodies of the two paſſengers have been found, and conveyed to Moffat; and, notwithſtanding the detention occaſioned by this calamity, the mail was

delivered in town in its regular courſe.

31ſt. The late fall of ſnow in the vicinity of Galaſhiels has been attended with very fatal effects. The ſudden thaw which followed, cauſed torrents of water to deſcend from the ſurrounding mountains, which increaſed Gala water to ſuch a degree, as not only to ſweep away the bridge, but completely to deſtroy the public road. The communication in that part of the country is in conſequence obſtructed. We are ſorry alſo to add, that an extenſive machinery, erected for the manufacturing of woollen cloth, was entirely carried away by the torrent; which has thrown a number of induſtrious people out of employment.

On Saturday laſt, a corpſe was brought from Charter Houſe-ſquare, and buried in Iſlington Church Yard, and a ſtone erected at the place with this inſcription:

In Memory of Mrs. Elizabeth Thomas, who died the 28th of October, 1808, aged 27 years.

"She had no fault ſave what travellers give the moon,
The light was bright, but died, alas! too ſoon."

Mr. Hodgſon, the coroner, received a letter, intimating very ſtrong ſuſpicions that the deceaſed had not died naturally, in conſequence of which he applied to the pariſh officers, who ordered the grave to be opened, which was done on Friday morning, and the body removed to the vault under the church, for the inſpection of the Jury, which ſat upon it in the courſe of the day, when the following appeared in evidence.

The lady died on Friday, was buried on Saturday, and the gentleman with whom ſhe lived (not being married) left town on Sunday, and embarked at Portſmouth on Monday for Spain. On examining the body, a ſilver pin about nine inches long, was found ſticking in the heart through the left ſide of the body. A medical gentleman, who had attended the deceaſed, declared that the pin was inſerted at the requeſt of the gentleman to prevent the poſſibility of being buried alive. The Jury brought in a verdict, of died by the viſitation of God.

DIED.—15th. At Weſtham, Eſſex, James Anderſon, LL.D. author of numerous works on Agriculture and Political Economy.

30th. At Roan Lanyhorne, in Cornwall, the Rev. John Whitaker, author of the Hiſtory of Manchester, and other learned works.

At Norwich, Mr. Moneyment, aged 101, and Mr. Peed, aged 102.

At Aberfeldie, Perthſhire, John Stewart, aged 111.

NOVEMBER.

1ſt. Notwithſtanding the improbability with which the following account may appear to ſome of our readers, we can aſſure them that it is a fact, as we have it from the moſt reſpectable authority.—A flock of geeſe belonging to Mr. Lloyd, of the Town-houſe at Marford, about ſeven miles from Cheſter, ſet a hare on the top of that hill on Tueſday laſt, when puſs, burſting from the cackling tribe, ran down the hill, and was purſued by the whole flock, ſome flying, ſome running with extended wings, till they overtook her, when puſs ſlily

gave

gave them the double; and returning, was so closely pursued by the irritated flock, as to be taken alive by a servant girl of Mrs. Pate's, as she was attempting the hatch in her mistress's garden, in the presence of upwards of twenty persons. Her carcase was afterwards made a present of to a wedding party in the neighbourhood. —*Chester Chronicle.*

The following trait of self-devotion is recorded of a Spanish officer, who commanded a detachment of 300 men, at Horsens, in Jutland, who were on their march to join their countrymen, conformably with the plan so admirably concerted between admiral Keats and the marquis de Romana. Having missed the road, the detachment was surrounded by a party of French, so much superior in numbers, as to leave no hope whatever, from any effort it could make, of carrying the desired object into execution. The officer, perfectly aware of the savage inhumanity of the French, and that it was not likely to be exercised sparingly on his party, halted his detachment, walked up to the officer commanding the French, and declared, that his loyalty to his sovereign, and love for his country, had induced him to take the step he was on the point of accomplishing; that he lamented having now lost every hope of being useful to his country in her present distress; assured him that his unfortunate companions were perfectly ignorant of his plan, and therefore innocent; and hoped that the word of a dying man might be taken, and would influence his conduct towards them when they had fallen, as they soon must do, into his hands. Having said this, he drew a pistol from his belt, and shot himself through the head.

Bow-street.—On Friday a charge of a very novel nature was exhibited against Miss Sarah P——, a maiden lady of considerable fortune, (for robbing her own servant,) who keeps a house in Bernard-street, Russel-square, and a number of servants. It appeared that Miss P—— suspected that some bottles of brandy had been stolen, and on Thursday, between one and two o'clock, she was going over her house in search of the brandy, particularly the servants' rooms and boxes; she called to Martha Kent, one of the servants, and asked her for the key of her box. The girl said she had it, and was very readily giving it to her mistress, but Miss P. observed, that she need not do it, as, when she was moving the box by the lid, it came open in her hand, and she was satisfied the brandy was not there. Martha Kent returned to the kitchen, but it immediately struck her, as her box was open, to ascertain if all her things were safe, and on her examining the box, she found that the lid had been broken open, and that all her clothes were safe, but that cash and notes, to the amount of sixteen guineas, had been stolen, which she saw in the box the night previous; and Mary Dixon, the cook, saw the box safe, and not broken, a short time before Miss P—— was at it. It was urged by Miss P——, the improbability of her taking the money, and that all the servants, as well as the hair-dresser, who had been at her house that morning, had access to the room where the box was. Mr. Reed, in reply, observed, that the servant had lived with her between five and six years,

consequently she had approved of her conduct, and as such her testimony was unimpeached. It was clear the box had been broken open, and she (Miss P.) was the only person found near it, and she acknowledged to have been at it; with these facts before him, it was impossible for him to discharge her; however, on the application of her attorney, she was not committed, he engaging for her appearance on a future day.

A young man of the name of Stringer, between 23 and 24 years of age, who was what is termed a *clicker*, or foreman, to a boot and shoemaker, was to have been married at nine in the morning, on Sunday last, at St. Clement's Church, to a young woman of decent connections, near St. Martin's Church. He had purchased furniture, and prepared apartments for the reception of the intended bride, in Denmark-court, in the Strand. It was found on Sunday morning that he was not punctual to his time for going to church; upon being called he answered, but was unable to open the door, and it was forced open. A surgeon (Mr. Stanton of the Strand) was sent for and attended; but all the exertion of his skill proved unavailing; the poor young man was a lifeless corpse at a quarter after ten that morning.

3d. A large whale, 45 feet long, ran ashore on the banks of the Frith, betwixt Allo and Cambus, where it was discovered by two ploughmen, who endeavoured for a long time to kill it with their knives, but without effect; the fish at the same time making great exertions to escape. At last, a surgeon pointed out the mortal part, and, by applying a spit, they effected their purpose. It is intended to get some vessel near it, to lift it to a proper spot for dissection.

Edinburgh.—This day the sitting magistrate fined two *Chairmen* for attempting to fight a duel. They were also found liable to costs, and ordered to keep the peace. One of the city officers was applied to as a second, and to procure pistols, but instead of seconding the intentions of these heroes, he committed them both to the guard-house. 8th.

By accounts from Berwick we learn one of the effects of the thunder-storm which prevailed over the south of Scotland on Wednesday morning. The thunder struck with a tremendous crash upon a valuable court of offices belonging to sir John Stewart, of Allanbank, which it materially injured. The lightning, which completely illuminated the neighbourhood, was followed, in two seconds, by a report like a cannon of the largest calibre, struck the building just under the cupola, to an extent of twelve yards, driving in most of the solid walls. It then seemed to take a circle, ran up again to the clock-room, and along the roof, to the other side of the building. There are ten holes made in the slated roof, six in the wall, three in the wall exactly as if they had been battered by cannon. The roof had much the same appearance. One of them is three feet long. Most providentially, a family sleeping in one of the rooms, escaped with the dreadful fright only. The fire made its way out at two south windows, which it broke, as well as injured the work, and broke some other windows in the

the neighbourhood by the ſhock. The gardener's houſe was filled with a ſtrong ſulphureous ſmell.

9th. A broker of the name of Oliver, in Mary-le-bone, has had a piece of extraordinary good fortune, in a purchaſe, not only of great profit to him, but of immenſe value to the arts. A ſhort time ſince, general Gwynne, who had recently purchaſed an eſtate in the vicinity of Farnham, gave inſtructions for the ſale of the decayed antique furniture, in the manſion-houſe, attached to the property. Among other things were ſeveral old pictures, lying in a heap in one of the lumber-rooms. They were bought for 5l. 12s. 6d. by a chandler at Farnham, who took the opinion reſpecting them of a coach-herald painter in the neighbourhood. This perſon ſaw they were works of a great maſter, and wrote to his father, Oliver, the broker, to ſend him 30l. For 25l. he got poſſeſſion of the paintings, and bore them off in triumph to the capital. Since their arrival they have been inſpected by the *lovers of vertu*, and by them are eſtimated at 30,000l. value. How far the latter report may be depended upon we know not; but certain it is, that ſixteen thouſand pounds have been tendered and refuſed. Theſe admirable pictures prove to be ten of the Cæſars, by Titian; they are each about ſeven feet in height. Each of the Cæſars is mounted on horſeback; the fire and ſpirit diſplayed by the animals are aſtoniſhingly great. The burning of Rome is a maſter-piece. Each picture has an hiſtorical deſcription, placed in an appropriate ſituation.

Another remarkable circumſtance reſpecting the diſcovery of a celebrated picture, the good fortune of its owner, and the honourable conduct of two *cognoſcenti*, has alſo occurred in the courſe of the paſt week:—Mr. Jennings, commonly called Chiliby Jennings, of eccentric memory, a man of large fortune, an antiquary, and a virtuoſo, paſſing through Chelſea, a few days ſince, ſaw at a broker's ſhop a picture painted in oil, of vaſt dimenſions. On inſpecting it cloſely, he aſked the man the price of it. The reply was, "Thirty-ſix ſhillings."—After taking a more minute ſurvey of the ſubject, Mr. Jennings addreſſed the vender with, "Have you a family?"—"I have a wife and four children," was the reply.—"My good man," ſaid Mr. Jennings, "take my advice; it will prove a fortune to you and your poſterity; do not ſell the picture for a leſs ſum than three thouſand pounds." Mr. Jennings left the ſhop, and meeting with tall S—ns in the park, informed him of the circumſtance. S. poſted away in a great hurry to the broker's reſidence; and after taking a ſlight ſurvey of the picture, aſked the man, with an air of indifference, what he expected for it? "Really, ſir," replied the broker, "I know not what to aſk for it, as a gentleman, not an hour ago, told me it was worth three thouſand pounds." Fifteen hundred, and, ſince, two thouſand pounds have been tendered. The ſubject is the Fabulous Pantheon, by Rubens. It is in a high ſtate of preſervation, with only a hole in a part of the back-ground, of no conſequence whatever to the picture.

11th. This evening about half paſt five, a young man entered the Queen's palace, with no ſmall

ſmall degree of confidence, and delivered to the porter in waiting a piece of parchment, which they ſoon diſcovered to be an old ſubpœna. They aſked him what he meant? He anſwered, that he ſuppoſed they could not read, or they would perceive it to be his title deed, authorizing him to govern this country; that he was king William, was appointed by divine authority to reform the biſhops, and was accordingly come to take poſſeſſion of the palace. The porters perceived he was deranged, and endeavoured to perſuade him to leave the lodge, but he poſitively and reſolutely refuſed to go. Sayers, the officer, was in conſequence ſent for. On the arrival of the officer he converſed with him, and acknowledged every thing he ſaid to be right; but told him it was neceſſary, before he had full poſſeſſion of his kingly power and the palace, that he ſhould ſee the ſecretary of ſtate, and propoſed his going to him, and he would introduce him! He, however, proved himſelf very cunning, and ſaid it was the duty of the ſecretary to wait upon him; and, beſides, he wanted ſomething to eat. He has lately loſt his wife, and it is ſuppoſed that affliction is the cauſe of his derangement. He came to town with a ſword, and was taken into cuſtody in the city, for ſome violent behaviour, and confined in the Poultry Compter for it, which place he refuſed to leave, and was turned out. Sayers took him to St. George's workhouſe, the pariſh in which he was found, as a dangerous and deranged perſon, by order of the magiſtrates.

14th. The members of the court of enquiry, convened by virtue of his majeſty's warrant, aſſembled, in the great hall of Chelſea Hoſpital, to inquire into the circumſtances that led to the convention of Cintra: preſident, gen. ſir D. Dundas; members, generals earl Moira, P. Craig, and lord Heathfield; lieutenant-generals, earl Pembroke, ſir G. Nugent, and O. Nichols. The board was conſtituted without any formality; and, after the members had taken their ſeats, heard his majeſty's warrant read by the deputy judge-advocate, and deliberated a ſhort time in private, was adjourned.

17th. The court aſſembled at half paſt ten; and the buſineſs was opened by the judge-advocate, who read the various official correſpondence between lord Caſtlereagh, ſir A. Welleſley, ſir H. Dalrymple, ſir H. Burrard, ſir C. Cotton, &c. &c. down to the diſpatches of the 21ſt September. Sir H. Dalrymple then came forward, and addreſſed the court at ſome length, in vindication of his character, which, he ſaid, had been groſsly aſperſed in the public prints, to ſerve, as it would ſeem, the cauſe of a more favoured officer. It had been aſſerted that he was the ſole author of the convention; that he had acted in oppoſition to the plan of proceedings previouſly agreed on; that he had daſhed the laurels from the brow of the victor; and that ſir A. Welleſley had proteſted againſt, or ſtrongly diſapproved of, the terms of the convention. He now pledged himſelf to that court, and to his country, that ſir H. Burrard, ſir A. Welleſley, and himſelf, were preſent with general Kellerman, when the preliminaries were diſcuſſed and ſettled, and that ſir A. Welleſley bore that promi-

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nent part in the diſcuſſion, to which the important ſituation he held in the country, the glorious victory he had lately gained, and the information, more particularly of a local nature, which he poſſeſſed, ſo well entitled him to aſſume. —Sir A. Welleſley begged to ſay a few words in anſwer to what he had juſt heard. He regretted exceedingly that any thing ſhould have appeared in any of the public prints which could be ſuppoſed to have the effect of ſerving him at the expenſe of the conduct or character of ſir H. Dalrymple; and he diſclaimed, in his own name and that of his relations and friends, any approbation or knowledge of ſuch ſtatements. He had agreed with the commander-in-chief on the principle of thoſe articles, though he had differed from him in ſome of the details: he had ſigned the preliminaries at the deſire of ſir H. Dalrymple, but not in conſequence of any command or compulſion. The judge-advocate, we underſtand, publicly expreſſed the wiſh of the court, that its proceedings ſhould not be publiſhed until its concluſion, and his majeſty's pleaſure ſhould be known whether any further proceedings of a military nature were to be inſtituted. The duke of Cumberland and a number of elegantly dreſſed females, were preſent. Sir Hew Dalrymple was accompanied by general Green, and ſir Arthur Welleſley by major Tucker. Sir Hew ſpoke with firmneſs and preciſion, and appeared in good ſpirits.

An eccleſiaſtical cauſe has been determined in Scotland, which is ſomething curious. The harveſt of laſt year being very wet, Mr. Wright, miniſter of Maybole, took the opportunity after ſermon, on a Sunday which proved dry, to recommend to his pariſhioners to take advantage of the weather to houſe their corn. His advice was followed by ſeveral; but the enſuing preſbytery thought proper to inſtitute an inquiry againſt him for breaking the ſabbath; but, on an appeal to the ſynod, they ſet aſide the proceedings of the preſbytery.

18th. A ſhark was caught by the fiſhermen at Haſtings. It was entangled in 17 of their nets, and completely broke them all; but being wounded, and nearly ſpent, they contrived to tow on ſhore this monſter of the deep. It meaſures 30 feet in length, and upwards of 20 in circumference, and it is ſuppoſed to weigh at leaſt ten ton: has four rows of teeth, and the throat is ſo large it could ſwallow a man with the greateſt eaſe. It is the largeſt of the ſpecies ever met with in any of the ſeas of Europe. Col. Bothwell has purchaſed it for his friend Mr. Hope, ſurgeon, of Sackville-ſtreet, who intends to diſſect it, and place the ſkeleton in his muſeum. A ſea-ſnake, 60 feet long, being the ſecond of the kind ever ſeen, has been driven aſhore on the eſtate of M. Laing, eſq. M. P. in one of the Orkney iſlands.

19th. At the change of the moon, and during an inviſible eclipſe of the ſun, this night, an extraordinary high tide, accompanied by a ſtrong ſouth-weſt wind, inundated the whole of the ſouthern coaſt, from Folkſtone to the Iſle of Wight. At the former place, the galling of the ſea carried off a prodigious quantity of the beach and ſand, ſo as to leave the foundation of ſeveral houſes quite

quite naked. Fears were at one time entertained that the weight of the ſea would break the banks of the royal military canal at Hythe, though ſituated a quarter of a mile from the ſhore; but fortunately, after deſtroying ſeveral ſtore-houſes, hay-ſtacks, &c. the ſea obtained a vent to the canal, and was thus prevented doing further damage.

The collector of taxes at the weſt end of the town, who decamped with ſeveral thouſand pounds, the produce of the taxes received, proves to be Mr. Launcelot Atkinſon, the collector of the property and other taxes for the pariſh of St. James's, and is deficient to the amount of upwards of 10,000l. This unfortunate man's family are very reſpectable; his father kept a cheeſemonger's ſhop for a great number of years in Jermyn-ſtreet, and he ſucceeded his father in the buſineſs, and married the daughter of Mr. Conſtable, a wealthy and eminent butcher in St. James's Market, with whom he received eight thouſand pounds as a fortune. It is ſuppoſed he was not proſperous in buſineſs, and the commiſſioners of the pariſh, out of reſpect for his family and connections, very handſomely appointed him collector of the taxes. The increaſe of taxation in the parochial collection being now very enormous, it is ſuppoſed to have produced him between three and four hundred a year. The officers, with conſiderable difficulty, traced him by different conveyances, acroſs the country to Portſmouth, Falmouth, and Penzance. At this place, a perſon calling himſelf Mr. Ward, reſided ſeveral days, and then removed to Truro, where the officers arrived on Tueſday evening ſe'nnight. They continued their inquiries, and learnt ſufficient information to ſatisfy their minds that Mr. Atkinſon was there, under the aſſumed name of Ward, and had purchaſed the leaſe of a houſe and ſome land, and was reſiding in it with Mrs. Ward and their four children. On the following morning they went to the mayor, who is an attorney, and communicated their buſineſs. He confirmed their ſuſpicions, and ſaid he had done ſome buſineſs for him; at the ſame time he expreſſed his aſtoniſhment that he had acted wrong, as he appeared to be one of the moſt correct and regular men he had ever had any tranſactions with. The officers proceeded to his houſe, and fortunately met with him at his door, going to walk in his garden; they addreſſed him in a familiar manner, and introduced his favourite topic, which they had learnt from the mayor; this anſwered their purpoſe, and, as an enticement to get him from home, told him, if he would walk to the mayor's houſe, they would ſhew him the documents; this likewiſe ſucceeded. When they got into the mayor's parlour, they told him it was then neceſſary to undeceive him, and that he was their priſoner, and explained to him their commiſſion, &c. and that he muſt give up all the money he had made off with; which he conſented to, and they returned to his houſe, when he aſked Mrs. Ward for the keys, and delivered to the officers a large pocket book containing bank-notes and bills to the amount of upwards of five thouſand pounds. They arrived in London with him on Monday night, and he has undergone

ſeveral examinations before the commiſſioners at the houſe of Mr. Rice, their clerk, in Dufours-place, Broad-ſtreet. He has remained in cuſtody, hitherto, of Pearkes, the officer.

Some workmen, who were lately employed in levelling the floor of an old houſe at the Cambus, in Clackmannanſhire, diſcovered an earthen pitcher, which, on breaking, they found filled with ſilver coins, from the ſize of a farthing to that of a crown. Thoſe of a latter ſize are foreign pieces, chiefly of the electors of Germany, dated in the 16th and 17th centuries. There are alſo many coins of queen Elizabeth, which have been much worn, and ſome of Charles II. which are as diſtinct in the impreſſion as when they came from the mint. The lateſt date hitherto obſerved upon them is 1688. The pitcher was about a gallon meaſure, and was completely filled. The workmen, on the diſcovery of the treaſure, immediately filled their pockets with as much as each could ſecure; but legal efforts are now making to compel them to refund their ſhares, in order that ſome intereſting particulars may be collected from their inveſtigation, by antiquaries.

20th. *Brighton.*— The chaſm formed in the Cliff, between the Creſcent and the New Steyne, has attracted numberleſs viſitants to that quarter, both yeſterday and to-day. The place has really a ghaſtly and terrific appearance, and the owners of the buildings thereabout are beginning to be very ſeriouſly alarmed. They appear now to be convinced that their new groynes do not project far enough into the ſea, though, at the ſame time, they ſeem diſinclined to ſubmit to farther expences in rendering them more uſeful, or by the timely erection of additional jetties upon a larger ſcale, to obtain the ſecurity they deſire. Procraſtination, it has been juſtly obſerved, is the thief of time, and this thief now menaces to rob the town of property to the amount of many thouſands of pounds. The miraculous eſcape which Meſſrs. Chatfield, Kirby (not Chapman, as by miſtake previouſly mentioned,) and others had, when the fall of that part of the cliff above alluded to, took place on Friday morning, is ſtill the current topic of converſation. The gentlemen in queſtion were leaning againſt the fence, the margin of the cliff projected many feet beyond it, when they felt the ground ſhake beneath them, and immediately after diſcovered a crack in the road, ten or twelve feet to the north of them, and which extended to a conſiderable diſtance both to the right and left. They needed not telling of their danger, they ſaw it with horror, and, at the inſtant, happily avoided it. Scarcely had they croſſed the ſevered part of the road, than down it fell with a tremendous craſh, the water and mud raiſed thereby aſcending, it is ſuppoſed, at leaſt a hundred feet above their heads, and with which they were nearly overwhelmed. Two dogs that were fighting near the ſpot, went over the cliff and periſhed. There is, at this time, a tremendous crack in the cliff, nearly oppoſite Rock Buildings. This projectment is expected to fall every hour; it is impoſſible that it can long remain. The wall at the baſe of the cliff, oppoſite the Royal Circus, the ſummit of which formed a kind

a kind of terrace, is completely gone, and nothing but a ſufficient jetty timely run out there, can ultimately preſerve the houſes from the mercileſs encroachments of Neptune. Not a veſtige remains of the heavy pump that belonged to the original baths, but, fortunately, the groyne to which it was attached, remains ſecure, and preſerves the property about that part. The weather, yeſterday, moderated, or the injuries ſuſtained here muſt have been greatly increaſed; and to-day, though damp, the wind has been completely huſhed. Sea weeds, as far as the eye can reach, cover the beach both to the eaſt and weſt; the ſpectacle the ſcene altogether preſents is at once grand and terrible, and it is regarded with thoſe feelings of awe that would be very difficult to deſcribe. All the world of faſhion at preſent here have been reviewing the ruins from their carriages to-day, and the rides, conſequently, as the various equipages returned, were generally reſorted to, and which diſplayed very animated appearances.

23d. Captain Freemantle and captain Bayntun, who were deputed to ſee the monument erected on Portſdown Hill, to the memory of lord Nelſon, properly executed, inſpected it laſt week, and are ſatisfied that the wiſhes of the fleet have been complied with. They have given directions for the following inſcription to be put on it:

"Conſecrated to the memory of lord viſcount Nelſon, by the zealous attachment of all thoſe who fought at Trafalgar, to perpetuate his triumph, and their regret. 1805."

And on the oppoſite ſide the following;

"The Britiſh fleet conſiſted of 27 ſhips of the line; of France and Spain there were 33, 19 of which were taken or deſtroyed."

A ſhort time ago, Mr. T. Warwick, of Warwick, ſhot a partridge with *three wings:* the third wing (which grew out of the *breaſt*) was in every reſpect as perfect as the other two, but ſomewhat ſhorter. Mr. Warwick has this very remarkable bird preſerved.

The earl of Berkeley had lately the following very perilous adventure:—Walking in the deer park with his ſon, a child, his lordſhip was attacked by an American deer, whoſe horns he immediately ſeized with both arms, and kept faſt hold thereof when thrown down and trampled on by the furious animal. In this ſituation, he deſired the child not to be afraid, but to take from his (the father's) pocket, a large knife, and therewith to ſtab the deer, and to cut his throat, if poſſible. The ſon, worthy of ſuch an intrepid ſire, obeyed his father's order; but had not ſtrength enough to ſever the wind-pipe, and completely cut the deer's throat. He did, however, by frequent ſtabs, occaſion the creature to loſe much blood, and to run away. Lord Berkeley was quite exhauſted; but, we are happy to add, has recovered from the injury received.

26th. Mr. Beſt obtained a rule for a writ of *Habeas Corpus*, to bring up the body of a young woman who had been committed by the magiſtrates of Ayleſbury, to the houſe of correction of Ayleſbury, for the ſpace of twelve months.

months, ſhe having refuſed to diſcover the name of the father of her baſtard female child. It appeared upon the affidavits in ſupport of the rule, that the baſtard was never chargeable on the pariſh, the parties having the means of ſupporting it. The pariſh conſtable repeatedly called upon her to diſcover the name of the father, and ſhe was at laſt brought before the magiſtrates, but ſhe ſtill perſiſted in her refuſal. She was attended by two perſons of opulence, who were ready to indemnify the pariſh from being charged with the baſtard, and who had actually prepared the draft of a bail bond for that purpoſe. Notwithſtanding, the magiſtrates made out her commitment as a vagrant, for twelve months impriſonment, or until ſhe ſhould diſcover the name of the father of the child.—The court, conceiving that the magiſtrates had no power to make ſuch a proviſo, granted the rule.

29th. An action was tried to determine whether the ſword-bearer to the lord mayor had a right, by virtue of his office, to demand from the ſheriffs three bottles of wine per day during the Old Bailey ſeſſions. It was proved that ſuch a cuſtom had been recognized for the laſt twenty years, with few or no exceptions.—Mr. Garrow, for the defendant (the ſheriff) did not deny that ſuch a courteſy or cuſtom had prevailed; but the ſword-bearer, who was the lord mayor's officer, had no legal right to enforce that cuſtom. The ſword-bearer had a table found for him, and, not content with that, he wiſhed to ſweep away three bottles of wine per day for home conſumption. The ſword-bearer was no officer of the ſheriff's, and his attendance on the lord mayor and ſheriffs was amply provided for in the table found him, and the gallery he was permitted to let out to the public—a practice in his mind extremely diſgraceful, and one he hoped to ſee diſcontinued. There were no other courts where the public were compelled to pay for their admittance.—As to the table it was furniſhed with every thing requiſite, and he remembered a ſtory told of the late ſir William Staines when ſheriff, that would prove that fact. Sir William Staines excuſed himſelf at the lord mayor's table, and took his ſeat at the head of the ſword-bearer's, where he was ſo ſumptuouſly entertained with cuſtards, jellies, blancmange, and turtle, that he reſolved to put the table œconomy under reſtraint, and ordered that nothing but good roaſt and boiled ſhould be ſerved up in future, obſerving, that he had a numerous family, (the priſoners in the reſpective gaols) and they would be benefited by the remains of good ſirloins and rounds of beef. They preferred the ſubſtantial to the decorative. The jury, under the direction of lord Ellenborough, found a verdict for the defendant.

Died.—At Birmingham, Mr. John Ireland, author of "Illuſtrations of Hogarth," and other works.

DECEMBER.

3d. A perſon being lately engaged in digging near the entrenchment which ſurrounds the caſtle of Bourn, Lincolnſhire, diſcovered a ſmall urn, containing upwards of 60 Roman coins. One of them is an aureus

aureus of Nero, the others are denarii and seſtertii of Conſtantine, Auguſtus, and Maximian.

8th. *Edinburgh.*—On Tueſday laſt, the court of Seſſion determined a caſe of a very intereſting nature. Mr. Donald M'Arthur, the paſtor of a diſſenting congregation at Port Bannatyne, in the iſland of Bute, brought an action againſt John Campbell, eſq. of Southall, upon the ground that the latter gentleman, on the 20th of October, 1805, while Mr. M'Arthur was celebrating divine ſervice in the midſt of his congregation, had violently ſeized upon his perſon, forced him on board a veſſel bound for Greenock, and having landed him a few miles from that place, had, after confining him in a ſmall inn during the night, marched him along the road as a common felon, and delivered him to captain Tatham, the regulating officer for that quarter, as a fit perſon to ſerve in his majeſty's navy. That officer accordingly (as the purſuer further ſtated) ſent him immediately on board the Tourterelle frigate, which ſpeedily conveyed him out of the juriſdiction of the Scottiſh courts. After being detained for five weeks on board different ſhips of war, and ſuffering, as he alleged, every ſpecies of indignity and hardſhip, Mr. M'Arthur was diſcharged by expreſs order of the lords of the admiralty, and furniſhed with a certificate, that he was never again to be impreſſed into his majeſty's ſervice. The ſummons concluded againſt Mr. Campbell for 2000l. damages, with expences.

Mr. Campbell, in his pleadings before the lord ordinary, denied ſeveral of the moſt aggravating circumſtances of the caſe. In particular, he alleged that the purſuer was in the practice of preaching immoral and ſeditious doctrines, that he was a fit object of the impreſs, having been formerly employed in the herring fiſhery, and being conſequently a ſeafaring man, and that, under theſe circumſtances, acting *bona fide* as a juſtice of peace, he conceived himſelf fully entitled to deliver him to captain Tatham. The lord ordinary (lord Meadowbank) pronounced an interlocutor of conſiderable length, finding, for the reaſons therein ſtated, the whole proceedings ſcandalous and unjuſtifiable; repelling the defences, whether founded on the purſuer's having once been a ſeafaring man, or on the religious doctrines he is ſaid to have taught, or on the ſeditious ſpeeches which it is ſtated that it was rumoured he uttered; and further finding the purſuer entitled to 105l. ſterling, as a *ſolatium* for the wrong he ſuffered; together with the indemnification of the expences incurred by him, perſonally or otherwiſe, in obtaining his deliverance, and expences of proceſs.

Mr. Campbell preſented a petition againſt this judgment to the whole court, to which anſwers were given by Mr. M'Arthur, and the cauſe was upon theſe pleadings adviſed on Tueſday by the judges of the ſecond diviſion, who delivered their opinions on the point. The ſentence of the lord ordinary was affirmed with expences.

The King v. *Alexander Davidſon.*—This was an information filed by the attorney-general againſt the defendant, charging him with fraud, in his character of agent to the barrack-maſter-general, in furniſhing

niſhing ſupplies for that department of the public ſervice. The information, in ſpecifying the preciſe nature of the fraud, ſets forth, that the defendant, by an agreement entered into with general Delancy, in the year 1795, ſtipulated to purchaſe ſtores for the barrack department, and to ſee them packed and forwarded to their place of deſtination; he being allowed for his agency two and a half per cent. upon the charges and expences ſo incurred; that he continued to act in the character of agent, conſiſtent with the terms ſtipulated in the agreement, till the year 1798, when, inſtead of purchaſing the ſupplies from the merchants, as he had been accuſtomed to do, he furniſhed them from his own ſtores, aſſuming to himſelf the double character of ſeller as well as buyer; and having cauſed fictitious bills of parcels to be made out in the names of two of his clerks (Watſon and Allen), and taken from them receipts, as if they had been dealt with on their own account. Theſe accounts were returned to the barrack office, and the commiſſion charged and allowed upon the tranſactions, the ſame as if the defendant had actually been the purchaſer on the part of government, and not the ſeller. By theſe fabricated bills and receipts, the barrack-maſter-general was deceived, and the government defrauded, and the defendant obtained a commiſſion which he was not entitled to under his agreement, in addition to his profits on the ſupplies furniſhed.

The attorney-general having ſtated the caſe, brought evidence to prove the ſame; and it appeared, that the contract was fairly abided by, from 1795 to 1798, but that the fraud ſtated in the information was carried on from 1798 until 1802, when the practice was diſcontinued, in conſequence of ſome inveſtigation into the accounts of the barrack department, and ultimately brought to light by the military commiſſion inſtituted by the houſe of commons. The particular inſtance of fraud imputed, amounted to about 1500l. being the commiſſion charged on 15,000l.

Mr. Dallas, for the defendant, ſaid, that ſuch a ſum could not be an inducement to a man in ſuch an extenſive buſineſs, and high line in ſociety, to forfeit all that could be dear to him, and that he was employed by general Delancy, without any previous acquaintance, but entirely from his knowledge in buſineſs, and great mercantile concerns. — Mr. Dallas ſaid, he would admit, by that agreement, he was employed merely as an agent, at a ſtipulated commiſſion; and that he was bound to deliver in bills of parcels from the parties he dealt with, as vouchers for the purchaſes he made on the barrack accounts; and he would aſk, if it was likely, after four years of honourable conduct, diligent and faithful in the diſcharge of his duty, and accurate and punctual in his accounts, he ſhould all at once deviate from that line of propriety, and be guilty of a fraudulent breach in the execution of his contract? — The defence, however, on which he reſted was, that between the years 1795 and 1798, general Delancy found conſiderable difficulty to obtain ſupplies from the merchants, and knowing, that, by the firſt agreement, Mr. Davidſon was prohibited from furniſhing ſupplies from

from his own ſtores, entered into a freſh agreement with him, and to benefit the public ſervice, agreed that that ſtipulation ſhould be done away, and that he ſhould be allowed to furniſh the ſupplies himſelf. The circumſtance of the defendant's bills being made out in the name of his two clerks, in this caſe, evinced no fraud, but was done merely for the ſafety of formality, as it would have been irregular for the ſame perſon to appear both as buyer and ſeller in the ſame document. The commiſſion was charged inadvertently, and when the defendant diſcovered the error, he had endeavoured to get back the accounts from the office, to correct them, but it was too late, the accounts having been paſſed.

General Delancy was then called, who admitted that he agreed to the defendant's furniſhing the ſupplies from his own ſtores, but not to his charging commiſſion upon them. Had he done ſo, he ſhould have conſidered himſelf as guilty of a flagrant breach of his duty to the public. He never knew the commiſſion was charged, though he had no doubt Mr. Davidſon might have laid the caſe on that head before the barrack board, that would have called for his conſideration.

Lord Moira, ſir Evan Nepean, ſir Andrew Snape Hammond, ſir William Rule, the hon. Welleſley Pole, and Meſſrs. Lee, Hunter, Cowley, Smart, Davidſon, Jordaine, Black, Gilpin, Long, and Huſkiſſon, were then examined as to character, and all deſcribed the defendant as a man of ſtrict probity and honour, and that they believed him to be incapable of committing a deliberate fraud.

The attorney-general made an able reply, inſiſting that the defence had contributed to ſubſtantiate the fraud. The inaccuracies the defendant wiſhed to correct, were not relative to the commiſſion, they reſpected other errors in his accounts.

Lord Ellenborough ſummed up with great accuracy and preciſion; he obſerved with ſtrong emphaſis upon the fabricating of the bills of parcels and the receipts, and ſaid it ſeldom happened that deceit was neceſſary to produce an honourable or honeſt purpoſe.

The jury, after conſulting for ſome time, found the defendant—*Guilty*.

Subſcription to aſſiſt the Spaniards.—A numerous and reſ- 9th. pectable meeting of the merchants and traders of London, was on Friday held at the City of London tavern, for the purpoſe of inſtituting a ſubſcription in aid of the patriotic armies in Spain.

The lord mayor was called to the chair; who, on taking it, obſerved, that the cauſe for which they had met together, was of ſo glorious and meritorious a nature, and ſpoke ſo powerfully itſelf to the hearts of all preſent, that little or nothing was left for him to ſay, further than to expreſs the pride he felt in preſiding over ſo highly reſpectable a meeting, and the intereſt which, he was perſuaded, every true Engliſhman took in its ſucceſs.

This motion having been ſeconded, Mr. Rowcroft thought it neceſſary to inform the meeting of ſome circumſtances which had occurred relative to it. Thoſe who had propoſed to call it, had, in the firſt place, conſidered the popular feeling

feeling which prevails ſo ſtrongly in favour of Spain, and which would, he truſted, be made manifeſt by the meaſure which was now recommended. They had alſo aſcertained that government would ſee with pleaſure ſuch a manifeſtation of the public mind reſpecting the Spaniſh cauſe, and that ſuch a meaſure would be very pleaſing to the Spaniſh deputy in this country, admiral Apodaca, who would thankfully receive, and ſpeedily tranſmit to his own country, whatever ſums ſhould be ſubſcribed for its uſe. Due notice was then given of the meeting, which had drawn the attention of miniſters, who were anxious that every appearance ſhould be avoided which would ſeem like a reflection caſt upon them, for omitting any exertion that it was in their power to make in aid of the Spaniſh cauſe. This feeling had induced Mr. Perceval, the chancellor of the exchequer, to write a letter to the lord mayor (which had been received only a few hours), explanatory of the aids which government had already furniſhed, or were now furniſhing. He then read the letter, which was to the following effect:

"My Lord;—Underſtanding that a meeting is to be convened under the ſanction of your lordſhip, for the purpoſe of promoting a ſubſcription for the purchaſe of ſhoes, clothes, and other neceſſaries for the Spaniſh army, I feel it neceſſary to furniſh you with the fulleſt information of what has been already done, and what is now doing by government for thoſe objects. I hope I ſhall not be ſo far miſunderſtood, as to be ſuppoſed deſirous of repreſſing any proof which the city of London may be diſpoſed to give, of that ſentiment which is felt ſo generally in this country; but I feel apprehenſive, that unleſs great caution be uſed, ſome injury might be done to that cauſe which it is the object of this meeting to promote. I therefore think it neceſſary to inform you, that as to the purchaſe of ſhoes, which is ſtated as the firſt object of the ſubſcription, government have taken every means of procuring an abundant ſupply. From the orders they had given, not only in England, but in Ireland and Scotland, they expect to be furniſhed with 40 or 50,000 pair a month for Britiſh and Spaniſh armies. If the zeal of individuals were to go farther, there would be a great danger that it would create a competition, which would raiſe the price, and be otherwiſe injurious. The ſame obſervation would alſo apply to a ſubſcription for the purpoſe of buying uniforms or clothing. With regard to arms, ammunition, and field equipage, it is unneceſſary for me to make any remark, as I underſtand that ſuch articles are not within the contemplation of thoſe gentlemen who are about to promote the ſubſcription in view. The money, however, which, may be ſubſcribed might be applied to the purchaſe of other articles, which could not interfere with thoſe on which government are occupied, and which would have the advantage of manifeſting unequivocally to Spain, that beſides the government of this country, ſhe has with her the ſtrong wiſh and general feeling of the people."

A committee was appointed; and ſeveral liſts of ſubſcriptions were read by different members of the committee.

The thanks of the meeting were voted to the lord mayor.

Scotch Law.—Court of Seſſion.—About four years ago, the ſheep paſturing on the grounds in the neighbourhood of the city of Edinburgh, were much infeſted by dogs in the night time, and on many occaſions great numbers of them were worried and deſtroyed. No diſcovery could be obtained of theſe nightly depredators; and as the miſchief ſtill continued, the procurator fiſcal of the county, at the inſtance of ſome of the proprietors, offered rewards, firſt of 25 guineas, and afterwards of 50 guineas, to any perſon who ſhould be the means of "obtaining a diſcovery in the premiſes," which rewards were offered by advertiſements, publiſhed repeatedly for many months in the Edinburgh papers, and were to be paid by the procurator fiſcal on conviction.

It happened that a poor waſherwoman at Stockbridge, who had been ſitting up all night, paying the laſt duties of humanity to one of her fellow-creatures, going to the door of her houſe early in the morning of the 17th of April, 1803, diſcovered a dog worrying ſheep in a field belonging to a gentleman at Stockbridge. The deſtructive animal had already killed ſix ſheep, and was chaſing the remainder of the flock, when the poor woman, whoſe name is Charlotte Wilſon, frightened him away. The dog was traced to his houſe: the owner of the dog was cited before the ſheriff of the county, and the dog being fully convicted of the offence, was *executed*.

It was ſome months before the final ſentence was pronounced upon the dog, owing to a litigation which the maſter of it maintained with the gentleman whoſe ſheep had been worried; but as ſoon as the conviction took place, Mrs. Wilſon applied to the procurator fiſcal for the promiſed reward, which was refuſed, chiefly on the ground that the information given by her was not in the terms of the advertiſement. She applied by petition to the ſheriff of the county, who found her entitled to the reward of fifty guineas. The procurator fiſcal brought the ſheriff's judgment under review of the ſupreme court, where the litigation has been maintained for upwards of three years; and at laſt, the conteſt was finiſhed by two conſecutive judgments of the whole lords, ordaining the procurator fiſcal to pay to Mrs. Wilſon the reward of 50 guineas; and he was alſo found liable in all expences of ſuit.

11th. About eight o'clock, as Mr. Wm. White, a reſpectable farmer of Hoo, near Upnor, in Kent, was ſitting in his parlour reading, a ſhot was fired through the window, which inſtantly killed him. The alarm was given, immediate ſearch was made after the perpetrator, but without effect. A gun, recently diſcharged, was found in a ditch, about forty roods from the houſe, near the Medway; from which it is preſumed the villain eſcaped by water. The deceaſed was a widower, and bore an excellent character: he has left a family of eleven children to lament his loſs. The moſt deliberate aim muſt have been taken by the perpetrator, as he had placed a hurdle before the window to reſt the gun on. The elder branches of the family were ſitting near the unfortunate man, and

and his eldeſt daughter had juſt riſen to reach ſomething from an adjoining cupboard when the ſhot was fired, which entered the back part of his head, and came out under his right eye. The gun is an old muſket barrel faſtened to the ſtock by a nail in the breach, hammered down double in the wood; the lock will not ſtand at whole cock, but was faſtened back by a piece of twine, which is ſuppoſed to have been cut at the time of firing, as it appeared in that ſtate when found.

15th. A diſturbance took place in Edward-ſtreet, Belfaſt, in the courſe of which, one man was ſhot through the head, and another ſeverely wounded. A coroner's inqueſt was held on the body, when it appeared that the houſe, which was of ill-repute, was kept by one Margaret Ruſk, between whom and ſome viſitors a quarrel having happened, ſhe deſired one Foley, a ſoldier, to follow and fire on them. Ruſk and Foley were both committed for trial.

A motion was made laſt week in the Court of Chancery, Dublin, for an attachment againſt an attorney, who had publiſhed in the newſpapers the proceedings of that court in reverſing a former decree; but the application was refuſed by lord Manners, who patriotically obſerved, that he wiſhed every decree he had made, or ſhould make, was in every newſpaper in the kingdom, as the publicity given to law proceedings not only prevented unjuſt ſentences, but alſo anſwered many other ſalutary purpoſes.

16th. *Plymouth.* — Yeſterday, the Parthian, 18, capt. Balderſton, was ordered to Corunna with diſpatches, and while talking to the purſer on the quarter-deck, one of the maſter's mates came behind him, and ſhot him with a piſtol between the ſhoulders through the ſpinal marrow. Capt. B. exclaimed, "Oh, Lord! I am killed," fell on the deck, and expired inſtantly. The villain was inſtantly ſecured in irons by the ſhip's company, who were with difficulty reſtrained from tearing him to pieces, ſo much was capt. B. beloved by his ſhip's company. This morning, the body of capt. B. was placed in a ſhell, and brought aſhore to the Royal Hoſpital for the purpoſe of a coroner's inqueſt. Minute-guns were fired from the Parthian while the boat was carrying the body on ſhore. She ſailed directly for her ſtation. Capt. B. was about 22 years of age, a gentlemanly and good officer, and is much lamented. The murderer was found guilty, and executed on the 25th.

A melancholy event occurred on Thurſday at Pimlico, accompanied with very extraordinary circumſtances. Mr. Man, a hair-dreſſer, who reſided in Ranelagh-ſtreet, had, in conſequence of a domeſtic misfortune, ſuffered mental derangement; but being by medical aid recovered, he ſome time ſince reſumed his occupation. That morning he attended, as uſual, to dreſs and ſhave ſeveral gentlemen in his neighbourhood, by whom he was much eſteemed. He had in all dreſſed and ſhaved nine of his cuſtomers, the laſt of whom was Mr. Palmer, of Drury-lane theatre. Immediately upon his leaving Mr. Palmer, he returned home, without attending to any of his other employers, and cut his

throat with one of his razors. The wound was so deep and extensive, that he died in a few moments. The gentlemen with whom he had been, all observed something very singular in his conduct, and there is no doubt that, during the whole of the morning, he was labouring under the terrible malady which induced him to put a period to his existence. Each of the nine has reason, therefore, to be thankful that the fatal razor was not applied to his neck before the unfortunate maniac raised it against his own.

22d. A horrid murder was committed this night by one Taylor, the son of Mrs. Roy, who keeps the Bell public house, in Stall-street, Bath. Having a dispute while gambling with two mail coachmen, he ran up stairs, fetched pistols, and shot John Dyer dead on the spot, and the other, W. Guyon, was shot through the jaws, and lies hopeless of recovery. The wretch is in custody.

A few days since, the following shocking circumstance occurred in Sandgate, in Newcastle:—A young woman, sleeping with an infant child, awoke early in the morning, and missed the child out of the bed. On searching the room, she found that it had fallen from the bed into a tub of water, which had been left near it, and was drowned. The shrieks of the young woman, on discovering this melancholy event, alarmed the neighbours, who, instead of endeavouring to quiet her perturbed mind, began to charge her with carelessness, &c. This, added to the anticipated reflections of the mother, who was then at Shields, operated so strongly on the young woman's feelings, that she rushed out of the house, and in a fit of phrenzy, precipitated herself into the river, where she was drowned before any assistance could be afforded.

25th. A woman of the name of Ward, in Princes-street, Lambeth, was three weeks ago seized with a lethargy, of so decided a character, that every attempt to rouse her proved ineffectual: for sixteen days she remained in a state of total insensibility, and without any food whatever; for the greater part of the time her eyes were open, but they were not affected by objects passed before them, and she died in slight convulsions.

Droits of the Crown and Admiralty.

It appears that the whole of the money paid into the registry of the high court of admiralty from the year 1794, to March 1808, amounts to

	£.	s.	d.
As droits of the admiralty - -	475,325	11	10
As droits of the crown	1,588,484	10	2
A mixed account of both, out of which nothing has been paid to captors - -	1,051,094	19	2
Making the sum total of all the money paid amount to -	3,114,905	1	2
Sum total of all the money drawn by the royal warrant and otherwise -	2,539,837	19	7
And the balance now remaining, is, as above stated, something more than half a million, viz. -	575,067	1	7

The Danish prizes are not included in this return.

Return of the regular army on the 1st July 1807, and 1st February 1808:—

Number

Number of battalions	278	277
Effective rank and file	182,876	204,815
Average ſtrength of each battalion -	658	740
Artillery - -	24,017	24,781

Return of volunteers, up to the 1ſt December laſt.

Cavalry -	25,023
Infantry -	261,821
Artillery -	9,825
Total	296,669
Effective militia on the 1ſt Feb. 1808.	77,164

Amount of bank of England notes of five pounds each, and upwards, including bank poſt bills payable ſeven days after ſight:

1807. May 1ſt -	£.	13,413,700
Auguſt 1ſt -		13,525,740
Nov. 1ſt -		12,726,520
1808. Feb. 1ſt -		13,557,590

Amount of bank notes of two pounds and one pound each.

1807. May 1ſt -	£.	4,122,700
Auguſt 1ſt -		4,222,660
Nov. 1ſt -		4,203,080
1808. Feb. 1ſt -		4,215,510

DIED.—5th. W. Hawes, M.D. an eminent and benevolent phyſician, and founder of the Humane Society.

8th. In the Workhouſe at Hull, aged 103, Alice Potts.

23rd. At Cradlie, aged 100, Mary Oakley.

24th. At Mitcham, aged 104, Thomas Clee.

30th. Near Rotheram, aged 101, Mrs. Addy.

At Bengeworth, aged 101, Mrs. Clarke. Her ſiſter died, in her 99th year, a few months ago.

BIRTHS for the year 1808.

Jan. 2. Lady G. Stewart, a ſon.
4. The Lady of Sir John Pigot, bart. a ſon.
5. The Lady of the Right Hon. Robert Dundas, a daughter.
Jan. 9. Lady Elizabeth Norman, a ſon.
18. Lady Charles Fitzroy, a daughter.
20. The Counteſs of Aboyne, a ſon.
21. The Lady of Sir. W. Pole, bart. a ſon and heir.
Feb. 1. Lady Moſley, of a daughter.
4. Counteſs Moira, a ſon and heir.
6. Hon. Mrs. Fitzroy, a ſon.
12. Lady Stanley, a ſon.
16. Lady Blacket, a ſon.
23. Viſcounteſs Morpeth, a ſon.
28. The Lady of Sir John Hope, a ſon.
March 1. Lady Bagot, a daughter.
3. The Lady of the Hon. George Villiers, a ſon.
6. Lady Smith, a daughter.
8. Lady Jemima Johnſton Hope, a ſon.
28. The Counteſs of Aberdeen, a daughter.
April 2. Lady Sinclair, a ſon.
4. Counteſs of Jerſey, a ſon and heir.
12. The Lady of the Hon. Montgomerie Stewart, a ſon.
17. Counteſs Talbot, a daughter.
25. Lady Stanley, a ſon.
The Lady of William Cavendiſh, eſq. M.P. a ſon and heir.
May 18. Counteſs Grey, a ſon.
20. The Lady of Sir William Walter Yeo, a ſon.

May 21. The Lady of the Hon. Richard Ryder, a ſon.

June 3. In Hertford-ſtreet, Mayfair, the Right Hon. Lady Rous, a daughter.

In Montague-ſtreet, Ruſſel-ſquare, the Lady of Sir Henry Fitzherbert, bart. of a ſon and heir.

The Counteſs of Abingdon, a ſon.

28. The Lady of Lord William Beauclerc, a ſon.

July 3. The Lady of Sir Frederic Eden, a ſon.

4. The Counteſs of Caithneſs, a ſon.

18. Lady Lambert, a ſon.

22. The Lady of the Hon. and Rev. F. Powys, a ſon.

31. Viſcounteſs Marſham, a ſon and heir.

Aug. 6. The Ducheſs of Newcaſtle, a ſon.

10. The Lady of the Hon. Colonel King, a ſon.

20. Viſcounteſs Anſon, two ſons.

The Lady of Sir Robert Meade Wilmot, a ſon.

21. The Counteſs of Briſtol, a ſon.

24. Lady Petre, a daughter.

25. The Lady of Lord Francis Spencer, a daughter.

28. The Lady of H. Thornton, eſq. M. P. a daughter.

Sept. 1. The Lady of Colonel Anſon, M. P. a ſon.

2. Lady Kenyon, a daughter.

11. Lady Henry Stuart, a ſon.

25. Lady William Leviſon Gower, a daughter.

Oct. 4. Lady Kinnaird, a daughter.

5. The Lady of Sir H. Luſhington, a ſon.

9. The Lady of the Hon. E. Stewart, a ſon.

12. Viſcounteſs Hinchinbroke, a daughter.

23. Ducheſs of Bedford, a ſon.

31. Viſcounteſs Duncan, a a daughter.

Nov. 9. Counteſs of Banbury, a daughter.

20. The Lady of Sir William Johnſton, bart. a daughter.

24. The Lady of Benjamin Hobhouſe, eſq. M. P. a daughter.

28. Viſcounteſs Pollington, a daughter.

Dec. 7. Lady Mulgrave, a ſon.

12. The Lady of Sir Hector M'Kenzie, bart. a ſon.

15. The Lady of Sir James Lake, bart. a ſon.

17. Lady Strong, a ſon.

21. Lady Anne Aſhley Cowper, a ſon.

26. The Hon. Mrs. Winn, a ſon.

MARRIAGES for the Year 1808.

Jan. 6. The Emperor of Auſtria, to the Princeſs Maria Beatrix.

9. A. R. Sutherland, eſq. M. P. to Miſs Mills.

10. By ſpecial licenſe, the Right

Right Hon. Lord Keith, to Miſs Thrale, eldeſt daughter of the late Henry T. eſq.

Jan. 10. George Shee, eſq. eldeſt ſon of Sir George Shee, bart. to Jane, the eldeſt daughter of William Young, eſq. of Harley-ſtreet, Cavendiſh-ſquare.

Feb. 2. William Sturges Bourne, eſq. M. P. to Miſs Anne Bowles.

13. Charles Cockeril, eſq. to the Hon. Harriet Ruſhout.

March 30. Lord Henry Petty, to Lady Sufan Strangeways.

April 6. Admiral Edw. O'Brien, to Mrs. Bradby.

7. Sir Thomas Dyke Ackland to Miſs Hoare.

10. General Campbell, to Mrs. Knox.

11. H. J. Shepherd, eſq. to Lady Mary Primroſe.

18. Davies Giddy, eſq. M. P. to Miſs M. A. Gilbert.

25. C. W. Taylor, eſq. M.P. to Miſs Charlotte Thomſon.

May 3. Sir Nelſon Ryecroft, to Miſs Margaret Mandeville.

4. The Right Hon. Reginald Pole Carew, to the Hon. Lady Caroline Lyttleton.

14. Sir Thomas Duckworth, K. B. to Miſs S. C. Buller.

20. Lord Viſcount Primroſe, to Harriet, ſecond daughter of the Hon. Bartholomew Bouverie.

May 23. The Hon. E. S. Cowper, M. P. to Miſs Catherine Philips.

28. Captain Murray, to Lady Elizabeth, youngeſt daughter of the Duke of Athol.

June 1. The Hon. John George Dalrymple, to Miſs Manners, daughter of Lady Louiſa Manners, and ſiſter to the Ducheſs of St. Albans.

18. Edward Hartopp, jun. eſq. to Anna Eleonora, eldeſt daughter of Sir Bouchier Wray, bart.

23. Lord Arthur Somerſet, to Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter of the late Viſcount Falmouth.

29. George Harris, eſq. to Chriſtabell, only daughter of Admiral Chambers.

July 7. Lord Louth, to the eldeſt daughter of Lord Dunſany.

25. At the Earl of Beverley's houſe, Portman-ſquare, Mortimer Drummond, eſq. to Lady Emily Percy, youngeſt daughter of the above nobleman.

Aug. 4. Sir Mordaunt Martin, bart. to Mrs. North.

8. At Harrington Houſe, the Marquis of Taviſtock, eldeſt ſon of the Duke of Bedford, to Lady Anna Maria Stanhope, eldeſt daughter

daughter of the Earl of Harrington.

Aug. 8. At St. George's, Hanover Square, Sir Charles Meyrick Burrel, bart. to the Hon. Miſs Windham, eldeſt daughter of the Earl of Egremont.

14. —— Forreſt, eſq. of Binfield, Berks, to Miſs Lowther, eldeſt daughter of Colonel Lowther, M. P. for Weſtmoreland.

15. Sir John Gore, to the eldeſt daughter of Admiral Montague, Commander in Chief at Portſmouth.

25. Sir William George Parker, bart. to Miſs Still.

Sept. 21. Lord Charles Bentinck, to Miſs Seymour.

Oct. 3. William A'Court, eſq. to Maria, ſecond daughter of Lady Bridget Bouverie.

14. Hon. Robert Curzon, to Miſs Biſhopp.

Nov. 8. The Hon. Fitzroy Stanhope, to Miſs Caroline Wyndham.

22. Lord George Beresford, to Miſs Harriet Schultz.

Sir George Bowyer, bart. to Miſs Douglas.

24. Launcelot Rollaſton, eſq. to the only daughter of Sir George Chetwynde.

Dec. 26. The Prince de Conde, to the Princeſs Dowager de Monaco.

PROMOTIONS for the Year 1808.

Queen's Palace, Jan. 6. His Grace William Duke of Mancheſter, ſworn captain-general and governor in chief of the iſland of Jamaica.

Foreign Office, Jan. 7. Francis Hill, eſq. appointed his Majeſty's ſecretary of legation to the court of His Royal Highneſs the Prince Regent of Portugal.

Downing Street, Jan. 8. William Anne Villettes, eſq. lieutenant-general of his Majeſty's forces, appointed lieutenant-governor of the iſland of Jamaica, and commander of the forces, with the local rank of general in the iſland of Jamaica.

Downing Street, Jan 16. Sir George Prevoſt, bart. appointed lieutenant-governor of the province of Nova Scotia, *vice* Sir John Wentworth, bart.; and to be commander of the forces, with the local rank of lieutenant-general in Nova Scotia only.

Whitehall, Jan. 16. Rev. William Leigh, L.L.B. recommended, by letter, to the chapter of the cathedral church of Hereford, to be choſen dean of the ſaid cathedral church, *vice* rev. Dr. Nathan Wetherell, deceaſed.—Rev. Samuel Birch, M.A. fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge (ſon of alderman B.) preſented to the united rectories of St. Mary, Woolnoth, and St. Mary, Woolchurch Haw, in the city of London, *vice* rev. John Newton, deceaſed.—Rev. William Long, LL.B. preſented to the rectory of Pulham St. Mary with the chapel of St. Mary Magdalen thereunto annexed, in the county of Norfolk, *vice* rev. Thomas

mas Bowen, deceaſed.—Rev. Michael Stirling, preſented to the church and pariſh of Cargill, in the county of Perth, and preſbytery of Dunkeld, *vice* Mr. J. P. Bannerman, deceaſed.

Carlton-houſe, Jan. 18. Rev. Frederick William Blomberg, M.A. chaplain in ordinary to the prince of Wales, appointed clerk of the cloſet to his royal highness, *vice* rev. Dr. Lockman, deceaſed.

Whitehall, Jan. 19. Rev. Chas. Digby, M. A. appointed a prebendary of the Free Chapel of St. George, in the caſtle of Windſor, *vice* rev. Dr. John Lockman, deceaſed.—Rev. Edward Chriſtopher Dowdeſwell, D. D. appointed a canon of the cathedral church of Chriſt, in the univerſity of Oxford, *vice* right rev. Edward Venables, late biſhop of Carliſle, tranſlated to the archiepiſcopal ſee of York.

Queen's Palace, Jan. 20. His grace Edward Venables, lord archbiſhop of York, ſworn of his majeſty's privy council.

Whitehall, Jan. 26. Rev. Samuel Goodenough, LL. D. dean of Rocheſter, recommended by *congé d'elire*, to be elected biſhop of Carliſle, *vice* right rev. Dr. Edward Venables Vernon, tranſlated to the archiepiſcopal ſee of York.—Rev. Walker King, D.D. appointed a prebendary of the collegiate church of St. Peter, Weſtminſter, *vice* rev. Dr. Nathan Wetherell, deceaſed.

Whitehall, Jan. 30. Rev. Edward Otter, M. A. preſented to the canonry or prebend of Ulliskelfe, in York cathedral, *vice* Drummond, deceaſed.—Rev. Michael Marlow, D. D. appointed a canon or prebend of Canterbury cathedral, *vice* King, reſigned.

Queen's Palace, Feb. 24. Robert Barnford, of Upton, Eſq. appointed ſheriff of the county of Cheſter, *vice* Charles Trelawny Brereton, of Shotwick Park, Eſq.; Marmaduke Middleton Middleton, of Lear, Eſq. to be ſheriff of the county of Derby; William Cary, of Cannock, Eſq. to be ſheriff of the county of Stafford; John Fullarton, of Barton on the Heath, Eſq. to be ſheriff of the county of Warwick; John Nathaniel Miers, of Cadoxtone juxta Neath, Eſq. to be ſheriff of the county of Glamorgan, *vice* the hon. William Booth Grey, of Duffrin; Rees Williams, of Gwainclawth, Eſq. to be ſheriff of the county of Brecon; and John Jones, of Penrhoſe Brodwen, Eſq. to be ſheriff of the county of Angleſey, *vice* Edward Jones, of Cromleck, Eſq.

War-office, Feb. 27. General William viſcount Howe, K. B. governor of Berwick, appointed governor of Plymouth, *vice* Lord Lake, deceaſed; and lieut.-gen. Banaſtre Tarleton, to be governor of Berwick, *vice* lord Howe.

Queen's Palace, March 2. Hon. William Aſheton Harbord, ſworn lieutenant of the county of Norfolk, and city of Norwich, and county of the ſame, *vice* marquis Townſhend, deceaſed. — Francis Lloyd, of Domgay, Eſq. appointed ſheriff of the county of Montgomery, *vice* Robert Knight, of Gwernygoe, Eſq.

War-office, March 8. Colonel William Dickſon, of the 42d foot, appointed lieutenant-governor of Cork, *vice* general Leland, deceaſed.

Queen's Palace, March 9. Right hon.

hon. Richard earl of Mount-Edgcumbe, ſworn one of his majeſty's moſt hon. privy council.

Whitehall, March 15. Reverend William Beaumont Buſby, D. D. appointed dean of the cathedral church of Rocheſter, *vice* rev. Dr. Samuel Goodenough, promoted to the biſhopric of Carliſle.

Queen's Palace, March 16. Right hon. George earl of Aberdeen, inveſted with the enſigns of the order of the Thiſtle.—Right hon. Percy viſcount Strangford, created a knight of the Bath, and ſworn of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council.—Right hon. Edward earl of Digby, ſworn lord lieutenant of the county of Dorſet, and the town of Poole, and county of the ſaid town, *vice* the earl of Dorcheſter, deceaſed. — William Egerton, of Tatton Park, Eſq. appointed ſheriff of the county of Cheſter, *vice* Robert Bampton, of Upton, eſq.

Whitehall, March 19. Hon. and rev. Henry Ryder, M. A. appointed a prebendary of the Free Chapel of St. George, in the Caſtle of Windſor, *vice* Buſby, reſigned.—Rev. William Cooper, B. D. preſented to the rectory of Wadingham, St. Mary's, and St. Peter's, with the chapel of Smiterby, county Lincoln, *vice* Barker, deceaſed.

Whitehall, March 22. Brigadier-general Charles Shipley, of the corps of royal engineers, knighted.

Whitehall, March 29. Rev. Joſeph Goodall, D. D. appointed a prebendary of his majeſty's Free Chapel of St. George, in the Caſtle of Windſor, *vice* Du Val, deceaſed.—Francis lord Napier, appointed his majeſty's high commiſſioner to the general aſſembly of the church of Scotland.

Whitehall, April 5. Rev. Frederick Blomberg, M. A. appointed a prebendary of the Collegiate Church of St. Peter, Weſtminſter, *vice* Smith, deceaſed.

Carlton-houſe, April 20. Right hon. Richard Brinſley Sheridan, appointed (by the prince of Wales) receiver-general of the duchy of Cornwall, *vice* lord Lake, deceaſed.—(Mr. Sheridan has appointed Charles Carpenter, Eſq. of Moditonham, his deputy.)

Foreign-office, April 23. James Gambier, Eſq. appointed his majeſty's conſul-general in the Portugueſe dominions in South America. —*Queen's Palace, April* 27. James Gambier, Eſq. knighted.

Admiralty-office, April 28. Admirals of the white, Charles Buckner, Eſq. and Alan lord Gardner, to be admirals of the red.—Admirals of the blue, from Robert Man, Eſq. to Alexander Græme, Eſq. to be admirals of the white.—Vice-admirals of the red, from John Brown, Eſq. to ſir Charles Cotton, bart. to be admirals of the blue.—Vice-admirals of the white, from James Hawkins Whitſhed, Eſq. to Peter Aplin, Eſq. to be vice-admirals of the red.—Vice-admirals of the blue, from George Bowen, Eſq. to Edward Thornborough, Eſq. to be vice-admirals of the white.—Rear-admirals of the red, from Thomas Drury, Eſq. to Richard Boger, Eſq. to be vice-admirals of the blue.—Rear-admirals of the white, from Jonathan Faulknor, Eſq. to William Effington, Eſq. to be rear-admirals of the red.—Rear-admirals of the blue, from John M'Dougall, Eſq. to ſir Edmund Nagle, knt. to be

rear-

rear-admirals of the red.—Rear-admirals of the blue, from John Wells, Esq. to Herbert Sawyer, Esq. to be rear-admirals of the white.—Captains, from Robert Devereux Fancourt, Esq. to Thomas Bertie, Esq. to be rear-admirals of the blue.—Charles Boyles, Esq. sir Thomas Williams, knt. William Hargood, Esq. and Robert Moorsom, Esq. to be colonels of his majesty's royal marine forces, *vice* Edward Buller, Esq. the hon. Robert Stopford, Wm. Lechmere, Esq. and T. Foley, Esq. appointed flag-officers of his majesty's fleet.

War-office, May 6. Lieutenant-general his royal highness Ernest Augustus Duke of Cumberland, K. G. to be general in the army, by commission dated April 25.—Lieutenant-general his royal highness Adolphus Frederick, duke of Cambridge, K. G. to be general in the army, by commission dated April 25.—Lieutenant-general his royal highness William Frederick duke of Gloucester, K. G. to be general in the army, by commission dated April 25.—Lieutenant-generals, from Edward Fanning to sir James Pulteney, bart. to be generals in the army.—Major-generals, from the hon. Robert Taylor to Ferdinand baron Hompesch, to be lieutenant-generals in the army.—Colonels, from William Carr Beresford, of the 88th foot, to the hon. William Stewart, of the 95th foot, to be major-generals in the army.—Lieutenant-colonels, from Thomas Barrow, of the 5th West-India regiment, to Francis John Wilder, of the 35th foot, to be colonels in the army.—Lieutenant-colonels, hon. George de Grey, of the 1st dragoons, and Samuel Hawker, of the 14th light dragoons, to be aides-de-camp to the king.—Majors, from George Herbert Adams, of the 66th foot, to Richard Collins, of the 83d foot, to be lieutenant-colonels in the army.—Captains, from Edmund Coghlan, of the 8th Garrison battalion, to William Collis, of the 27th foot, to be majors in the army.

Whitehall, May 7. Right hon. Henry baron Mulgrave, vice-admiral sir Richard Bickerton, bart. William Johnstone Hope, and Robert Ward, Esqrs. the right hon. Henry John Viscount Palmerston, James Buller, Esq. and rear-admiral William Domett, appointed commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral of the united kingdom, &c. &c.

War-Office, May 10. Lieutenant-general Robert Morse, of the royal engineers, to be general in the army.—Major-general William Congreve, of the royal artillery, to be lieutenant-general in the army.—Colonels, from John Evelegh to Edward Stevens, to be major-generals in the army.—Lieutenant-colonels, from Theophilus Lewis to David Collins, to be colonel in the army.—Majors, from Robert Stewart to Alexander Brice, to be lieutenant-colonels in the army.—Captains, from William Henry Boys to John Long, to be majors in the army.

Queen's Palace, May 11. Mr. justice John Bayley, knighted on his appointment as one of the judges of the court of king's bench.

Queen's Palace, May 25. Right hon. John Jeffreys, earl Camden, K. G. lord president of the privy council,

council, ſworn lord-lieutenant of the county of Kent, and of the city of Canterbury.

Downing-ſtreet, May 27. Brigadier-general James Montgomerie, appointed governor and commander in chief in and over the iſland of Dominica in America.

Whitehall, June 14. Right rev. Dr. Folliot Herbert Walker Cornewall, biſhop of Hereford, recommended, by *congé d'elire*, to be elected biſhop of Worceſter, *vice* Dr. Hurd, deceaſed.

Treaſury, June 25. C. T. Maling, Eſq. appointed a commiſſioner of the exciſe, *vice* Lowndes, deceaſed.

Carlton-houſe, June 28. Benjamin Tucker, Eſq. appointed (by the prince of Wales) ſurveyor-general of his royal highneſs's duchy of Cornwall.

Lord Chamberlain's-office, July 8. Mr. F. Carbery, of Conduit-ſtreet, appointed plumaſier to his majeſty, *vice* Mrs. Townſhend, of Ludgate-hill, reſigned.

Whitehall, July 9. Thomas Erſkine, earl of Kellie, permitted to accept and wear the enſigns of a knight commander of the royal order of Vaſa, conferred on him by the king of Sweden.

Whitehall, July 16. Right rev. John Luxmore, biſhop of Briſtol, tranſlated, by *congé d'elire*, to the ſee of Hereford, *vice* Cornwall, deceaſed.—Dr. Andrew Grant, appointed firſt miniſter of the Canongate church, county of Edinburgh, *vice* Walker, deceaſed.

War-office, Aug. 6. General ſir W. Medows, K. B. appointed governor of Hull, *vice* the earl of Clanricarde, deceaſed; and general E. E. Gwyn, to be lieutenant governor of the Iſle of Wight, *vice* Medows.

Whitehall, Aug. 16. Rev. Hugh Roſs, preſented to the church and pariſh of Fearn, in the preſbytery of Brechlin and county of Roſs, *vice* Simeon, deceaſed.

Whitehall, Aug. 20. George Ferguſon, Eſq. of Hermand, appointed one of the lords of juſticiary in that part of the united kingdom called Scotland, *vice* ſir William Nairn, bart. of Dunſinnan, reſigned.

Whitehall, Aug. 23. Rev. William Lord Manſell, D. D. recommended, by *congé d'elire*, to be elected biſhop of Briſtol, *vice* Dr. Luxmore, tranſlated to Hereford.

Whitehall, Aug. 27. Rev. John Plumtree, D. D. appointed dean of Glouceſter cathedral, *vice* Dr. Luxmore, reſigned.

Whitehall, Aug. 30. Rev. John Banks Jenkinſon, M. A. appointed a prebendary of Worceſter cathedral, *vice* Plumtree.

War-office, Sept. 3. Colonel J. Robertſon, on half pay of 92d foot, appointed deputy-governor of Fort George, *vice* Steward, deceaſed.

Whitehall, Sept. 6. Robert Blair, Eſq. dean of the faculty of advocates, appointed preſident of the college of juſtice in Scotland.—Hay Campbell, LL.D. of Succoth, county of Dumbarton, late preſident of the college of juſtice in Scotland, created a baronet of the united kingdom.

Whitehall, Sept. 13. Right rev. Thomas Dampier, biſhop of Rocheſter, tranſlated, by *congé d'elire*, to the ſee of Ely, *vice* Dr. James Yorke, deceaſed.

Whitehall, Sept. 24. The king has

has been pleaſed to grant the dignity of a baronet of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland to the following gentlemen, and the reſpective heirs male of their bodies lawfully begotten, viz. Edward Buller, of Trauant park, county of Cornwall, Eſq. rear-admiral of the blue; Mark Wood, of Gatton, county of Surry, Eſq.; Henry Conyngham Montgomery, of the Hall, county of Donegal, Eſq.; Thomas Jones, of Stanley-hall, county of Salop, Eſq.; James Graham, of Kirkſtall, county of York, and of Edmond caſtle, county of Cumberland, Eſq.; Sitwell Sitwell, of Reniſhaw, county of Derby, Eſq.; Andrew Corbet, of Moreton-Corbet, county of Salop, and of Linſlede, county of Buckingham, Eſq.; William Coles Medlycott, of Venhouſe, near Milborne Port, county of Somerſet, Eſq.; Charles Hoar Harland, of Sutton-hall, county of York, Eſq.; John Perring, of Membland, county of Devon, Eſq. and alderman of London; George Pigott, of Knapton, in the Queen's county, Eſq.; and George Ouſeley, of Claremont, county of Hereford, Eſq.

Admiralty-office, Sept. 30. His majeſty has been pleaſed, by his order in council of the 28th inſtant, to confer upon the maſters of his royal navy the rank of lieutenants, according to the following regulations, viz. that they ſhall take rank in the ſhips of which they ſhall be warranted maſters, immediately after the junior lieutenants of ſuch ſhips; and that they ſhall have precedence in rank of ſurgeons of the navy.

Foreign office, Oct. 8. Right hon. John Hookham Frere, appointed his majeſty's envoy extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary to his catholic majeſty Ferdinand the VIIth; and to reſide in that character at the ſeat of the central or ſupreme junta in Spain.

Downing-ſtreet, Oct. 8. Lieutenant-general George Beckwith, appointed governor and commander in chief of the iſland of Barbadoes; ſir Charles Briſbane, knt. captain in the royal navy, to be governor and commander in chief of the iſland of St. Vincent; Hugh Elliot, Eſq. appointed captain-general and governor of the Leeward Iſlands; and William Wooley, Eſq. to be lieutenant-governor of Berbice.

Whitehall, Oct. 15. Rear-admiral Richard Goodwin Keats, nominated one of the knights-companions of the moſt honourable order of the Bath.

Carlton-houſe, Oct. 21. Lieutenant-colonel Bloomfield, of the royal regiment of artillery, appointed (by the prince of Wales) gentleman-attendant on his royal highneſs, *vice* lord Lake deceaſed.

Foreign-office, Nov. 2. Anthony Merry, Eſq. appointed his Majeſty's envoy-extraordinary and miniſter-plenipotentiary to the court of Sweden; and Auguſtus John Foſter, Eſq. to be his Majeſty's miniſter of legation at that court.

War-office, Nov. 12. General the hon. Chapple Norton, appointed governor of Charlemont; and major-general Francis Hugonin, to be colonel of the 4th regiment of dragoons; both *vice* the earl of Dorcheſter, dec.

Queen's Palace, Nov. 16. Sir Charles Briſbane, Knt. captain in the

the royal navy, ſworn captain-general and governor in chief of the iſlands of St. Vincent, Bequia, and ſuch other of the iſlands commonly called the Grenadines, as lie to the northward of Cariacou, in America.

Queen's Palace, Nov. 23. Right hon. George Coventry, commonly called lord viſcount Deerhurſt, ſworn lord-lieutenant of the county of Worceſter, and of the city of Worceſter, and county of the ſame, *vice* his father, the earl of Coventry, reſigned.

Whitehall, Nov. 26. Hon. William Harcourt, appointed gentleman and maſter of his Majeſty's robes, *vice* lord Selſey, dec.

Downing-ſtreet, Nov. 29. Hon. Francis Nathaniel Burton, appointed lieutenant-governor of Lower Canada, in America.

Whitehall, Dec. 3. Rev. Walker King, D.D. recommended by *congé d'elire*, to be elected biſhop of Rocheſter, *vice* Dr. Thomas Dampier, tranſlated to the ſee of Ely.

Downing-ſtreet, Dec. 13. Henry Bentinck, Eſq. appointed governor and commander in chief of the ſettlements of Demarara and Eſſequibo.—Charles Bentinck, Eſq. to be governor and commander in chief of the ſettlement of Surinam, *vice* Hughes, dec.

Foreign-office, Dec. 16. Right hon. William Pitt lord Amherſt, appointed his Majeſty's envoy-extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary at the court of his Sicilian majeſty, *vice* Drummond recalled.

Downing-ſtreet, Dec. 20. Lieut. general Sir John Stuart, K. B. appointed (by a commiſſion dated Feb. 11) commander of his Majeſty's forces in the Mediterranean, the garriſon of Gibraltar excepted.

DEATHS for the Year 1808.

January 3. In Lower Brook-ſtreet, John Leland, Eſq. M.P. for the borough of Stamford, in Lincolnſhire, a general in the army, colonel of the 64th regiment of foot, and lieutenant-governor of Cork. He was bred in the army, and came into parliament in the year 1796. His promotions were, colonel, November 17, 1780; major-general, September 28, 1787; lieutenant-general, April 29, 1802; and colonel of the 64th regiment, June 26, 1790.

8. Lord Alexander Gordon.

13. The Hon. Margaret Stuart Wortley Mackenzie.

15. Hon. Charles Lewis Mordaunt.

16. At Warne's Hotel, Conduit-ſtreet, Hanover-ſquare, in the 20th year of his age, Horatio, Lord Viſcount Trafalgar, only ſon of Earl Nelſon, and nephew of the immortal admiral Lord Nelſon. By his death the national honours and eſtate of Nelſon will, on the deceaſe of the preſent Earl, paſs from the male to the female line through Mrs. Bolton, the gallant conqueror's ſiſter, who has three ſons and as many daughters, and whoſe ſon Thomas is the next in remainder. His Lordſhip died on the 16th of January; and on the 25th of the ſame month, his remains were interred in St. Paul's Cathedral.

29. At his houſe in town, the Right

Right Hon. Henry Viſcount Lord Gage, of the kingdom of Ireland, who ſucceeded to the family title on the death of his uncle in 1791, when the Engliſh barony of Gage became extinct. He married, in 1789, miſs Skinner, daughter of the late general, by whom he had ſeveral children. The title and eſtate devolve on the eldeſt ſon, Henry, juſt come of age.

February 1. At his Lordſhip's houſe, in Lower Brook-ſtreet, Groſvenor-ſquare, the Right Hon. Charlotte Maria, Counteſs of Euſton, wife of the Earl of Euſton, eldeſt ſon of the Duke of Grafton. Her Ladyſhip was the ſecond daughter of James, ſecond Earl Waldegrave, by Maria, ſecond daughter of the late Sir Edward Walpole, K. B. and afterwards Ducheſs of Glouceſter. She was born October 11, 1761, and married the Earl of Euſton, November 16, 1784, by whom ſhe had iſſue, ſix ſons and four daughters, ſeveral of whom ſurvive her. Lady Euſton was an example of every thing amiable in woman, and the death of her mother the Ducheſs of Glouceſter, a few months ago, is ſaid to have affected her health conſiderably.

10. The Marquis of Thomond, by a fall from his horſe in Groſvenor-ſquare.

20. Gerard Lord Lake.

In Lower Groſvenor-ſtreet, aged 85, the Right Hon. James Peachey, Baron Selſey, of Selſey, in Suſſex, a Baronet, and F. R. S. He was born March 8, 1723, and married, Auguſt 19, 1747, Lady Georgiana Carolina, eldeſt daughter of Henry, firſt Earl of Deloraine. He ſucceeded his brother, the late Sir John Peachey, Bart. in the baronetcy, July 3, 1765, and was elected in two parliaments, repreſentative for Seaford, in Suſſex. In 1751 he was appointed groom of the bed-chamber to his preſent Majeſty when Prince of Wales, and, in 1792, ſucceeded the Earl of Cardigan in the office of maſter of the robes to the King, which his Lordſhip held at the time of his deceaſe. His Majeſty was pleaſed to raiſe him to the peerage on the 13th of Auguſt, 1794, by the title of Baron Selſey, of Selſey, in Suſſex. He is ſucceeded in his title and eſtates by his eldeſt ſon John, now Lord Selſey, born March 16, 1749, who is married to Heſter Elizabeth, daughter of George Jennings, Eſq. of Newſell, Herts, by whom he has three ſons and two daughters.

In his 50th year, the Right Hon. George Evelyn Boſcawen, Viſcount Falmouth, captain of the band of gentleman penſioners: his Lordſhip was a ſon of the brave admiral Boſcawen, ſucceeded his uncle in February 1782; married Miſs Crewe, only daughter of John Crewe, Eſq. who died in 1793, leaving two ſons and two daughters; the eldeſt ſon, Edward, now Viſcount Falmouth, will be 21 years old in May next.

At his houſe in Airſhire, the Earl of Craufurd and Lindſey.

March 1. At the houſe of his grandfather, the Duke of Buccleugh, in Whitehall, in the 11th year of his age, Lord Scott, ſon of the Earl of Dalkeith. This promiſing young nobleman ſickened with the meaſles at Eton ſchool, of which diſeaſe he died.

5. The

5. The lady of Sir Henry Martin.

At Elie Houſe, Fifeſhire, Sir Philip Anſtruther, Bart.; he is ſucceeded in his title and eſtates by the Right Hon. Sir John Anſtruther, Bart, late chief juſtice of Bengal.

6. In Park-lane, George Damer, Earl of Dorcheſter, Viſcount and Baron Milton, of Milton-abbey, in Dorſetſhire, alſo Baron Milton, of Shrone-hill, in Ireland, lord-lieutenant of Dorſetſhire, aged 62. His Lordſhip was never married; his only ſiſter, lady Caroline Damer, always reſided with him.—His diſorder was the gout, with which he had been afflicted many years. This nobleman was a great favourite with their Majeſties, who always honoured him with a viſit during their reſidence at Weymouth. He is ſuppoſed to have died rich, and is ſucceeded in his titles and eſtates by his only brother, the Hon. Lionel Damer, now Earl of Dorcheſter.

10. At Clifton, the Counteſs-dowager of Fingal. She was the only daughter and heireſs of William Woolaſcot, Eſq. of Woolverton, Berkſhire, and mother to the Earl of Fingal and Lady Tereſa Deaſe. Her Ladyſhip was one of the mildeſt, gentleſt, and moſt amiable of her ſex.

17. Sophia-Anne, the Lady of Sir Wm. Pole.

At her cottage, in the Iſle of Wight, Lady Bridget Tollemache, ſiſter to the Earl of Dyſart.

19. In Portman-ſquare, at her ſon's houſe, Jane, Counteſs-dowager of Dundonald. She was the mother of twelve ſons and daughters, and among her deſcendants, ſhe has an admiral and five captains in his Majeſty's navy.

Lady Morgan.

26. At Bath, Sir Nigel Bowyer Greſly, Bart. of Drakelow, in the county of Derby; whoſe title with the eſtates devolved upon his eldeſt ſon Roger, ſo named from his anceſtor Roger de Toeni, ſtandard-bearer of Normandy, at the time of William the Conqueror, who was deſcended from Malahulclus, uncle to the famous Rollo, Duke of Normandy.

30. At a very advanced age, Sir Henry Grey, Bart. elder brother to the late Earl Grey, and uncle to the preſent, who is his heir. He never was married; and by his death, Earl Grey comes in poſſeſſion of eſtates to the amount of 37.000*l.* per annum, beſides a fortune for each of his younger children.

31. At Newcaſtle, in his 85th year, Robert Roddam, Eſq. ſenior admiral of the red, brother to the late Edward Roddam, of Roddam, in the county of Northumberland, Eſq. and third ſon of Edward Roddam, of Roddam and Little Houghton, Eſq. by Jane, daughter of Robert Shelly, Eſq. merchant, of Newcaſtle-upon-Tyne.

April 4. Lady Charlotte Murray.

7. Peter Rainier, admiral of the blue.

11. Dowager Counteſs Moira. This lady was uncommonly gifted! great powers of memory, great quickneſs of intellect, and a peculiar eaſy, yet ſplendid elocution, with which ſhe adorned whatever ſubject ſhe touched upon, whether the mere paſſing events of the day, the various topics of literature or

thoſe

thoſe uſeful arts by which the community is benefited, and the reſources of a nation enlarged. Her acquaintance with ſuch branches of knowledge was by no means limited or ſuperficial; on the contrary, ſome learned ſocieties have borne reſpectful teſtimony to her acquirements in this particular, and the real utility which flowed from the productions of her active and diſcerning genius. She was married to the late Earl of Moira in February, 1752; and reſided in Dublin, or the north of Ireland (with the exception of one year's abſence in France), for more than half a century! for the long period of fifty-ſix years. Let thoſe who remember what Moira houſe was in the earlier days of that period, when ſhe led, and reflected a grace upon every beneficial faſhion; when ſhe cultivated the fine arts; when ſhe rendered her houſe the favourite ſpot where every perſon of genius or talents in Dublin, or who viſited Dublin, loved moſt to reſort to; let ſuch perſons ſay, whether Moira houſe, and its illuſtrious Lady, as well as its truly noble and beneficent Lord, deſerve not every panegyric which gratitude can beſtow. She was the laſt in a direct line of the great name of Haſtings —the laſt!! a word when ſo applied, every liberal nature will dwell upon with melancholy ſenſations, even to enthuſiaſm—ſuch are perhaps the univerſal feelings of mankind in favour of exalted birth, which a vain-glorious philoſophy never can eradicate, that when a race of nobility, diſtinguiſhed by the length of years during which they wore their honours uninterrupted, is finally terminated, the extinction of ſuch a family is regarded, not without a generous ſympathy; but when the tomb cloſes on a noble matron, the repreſentative of a great houſe, with whoſe hiſtory the beſt, and perhaps moſt inſpiring images of our earlieſt days are aſſociated, and herſelf not inferior to any in that hiſtory, it is ſcarcely poſſible, even for a ſtranger, not to hang over ſuch a tomb, without every emotion of ſorrow, of regret, and of veneration. Such ſentiments may ill accord with a frivolous, and in ſome reſpects, a ſelfiſh age. Be it ſo—yet this age, even under the influence of a more than iron war, and much bigotry, has not loſt "all its original brightneſs," but retains much of its good old virtues undiminiſhed. It poſſeſſes domeſtic charity at leaſt; and thoſe who know how to appreciate charity, will learn to venerate the memory of the Counteſs of Moira, for in truth ſhe may be ſaid to have been charity itſelf. She had a ſtrong reſemblance, in many reſpects, to her anceſtors: a lofty ſpirit, magnificence of diſpoſition, untired hoſpitality—altogether, ſhe was a lady of other times; and when ſhe mingled with ſociety more than her increaſed infirmities would of late years allow, few perſons ever beheld her without ſomething of more heroic days paſſing in indiſtinct, yet ſplendid array, before the imagination. In the reception of perſons of the firſt diſtinction at her houſe, there was an air, a dignity, which will hardly be equalled, and never can be ſurpaſſed. But the noble manner, the impoſing ceremonial of life, leave but ſlight veſtiges for remembrance, compared to thoſe intrinſic and

and domeſtic virtues which give to the female ſex their trueſt ornament. In all the private relations of life, ſhe was, to the utmoſt, valuable! Her maternal duties ſhe fulfilled with the enlightened ſpirit, and more, perhaps, than the ſenſibility of a Cornelia. They could only be equalled by the unceaſing aſſiduities, the ſoothing tenderneſs, the ſweet and pious and filial regards which accompanied her to her laſt hour—but ſorrow is ſacred, and the writer forbears. He can only add, that this imperfect tribute is the product of a haſty, an anxious moment, the effuſion of gratitude, reſting indeed upon the baſis of truth, but no exact delineation of Lady Moira's character. The ſtyle is warm, for it flows from the heart; and who that knew her, could write of Lady Moira in a ſtyle which was inert and grovelling? Ireland will long have cauſe to regret her—ſhe cultivated its beſt intereſts—to the gentry, ſhe diſplayed an example of attachment to the country, which they might have well imitated—to the peaſantry of all deſcriptions, ſhe was a guardian friend—to every illiberal, party-diſtinction, whether ariſing from a falſe zeal for the ſtate or religion, ſhe was an unprejudiced, enlightened, opponent. From the contemplation of ſuch a character it is indeed not eaſy to withdraw. She ſurvived her huſband nearly fifteen years. She was daughter to Theophilus, and ſiſter to Francis, late Earls of Huntingdon. Her mother was the Lady Selina Shirley, daughter of Earl Ferrers.

20. The dowager Lady Frankland.

May 1. Allan, ſecond ſon of the Earl of Galloway.

3. John Brown, Eſq. admiral of the blue.

5. The Right Hon. and Rev. Charles Aynſley.

11. Lady Tyrawley.

15. Alicia, lady of Sir Iſaac Heard.

23. In his 24th year Viſcount Royſton, eldeſt ſon of the Earl of Hardwicke, and M.P. for Ryegate. This young nobleman left Ireland about two years ſince, and was on his return in the ſhip Agatha of Lubec, when the veſſel was wrecked in a ſtorm not far from Memel, and his Lordſhip was among the unfortunate ſufferers who periſhed. Never was a more promiſing young nobleman given to his country's hopes, or more untimely ſnatched away. At an age when moſt are content to ſtudy the ancient authors, with a view only to attain the language in which they wrote, his Lordſhip was ſo thoroughly maſter of their contents, that he tranſlated the moſt obſcure of them with aſtoniſhing perſpicuity and ſpirit. It was from a deſire of adding to the ſtore of ancient and modern learning which he poſſeſſed, the advantages that reſult from perſonal obſervation and travels, that his Lordſhip quitted the ſplendour of an affluent home, and encountered the dangers under which he finally periſhed. His title devolves to his brother Lord Charles.

In Gloceſter-place, Mrs. Eliza. beth Cocks, ſiſter to the late, and aunt to the preſent Lord Somers, aged 79.

At Whitehall, the Hon. Anne Smith, daughter of Lord Carrington.

Lady

Lady Peyton, mother of Sir Henry P. Bart.

June 28. At Hartlebury-caſtle, aged 88, the Right Rev. Richard Hurd, D.D. Biſhop of Worceſter. This learned and truly venerable prelate was born at Congreve, a village in Staffordſhire, where his father was a reſpectable farmer. Being deſigned for the church, he was educated under the care of the Rev. William Budworth, maſter of the grammar-ſchool in Brewood, of whom he makes a grateful mention in the dedication of his Horace. Having attained a ſound claſſical knowledge, he was ſent to Cambridge, where he was admitted of Emanuel college, of which he afterwards became fellow; and was preſented by that ſociety to the living of Thurcaſton in Lincolnſhire. In this retirement he devoted himſelf to the duties of his ſituation, and the cultivation of letters. Here he prepared his edition of Horace, which he judiciouſly dedicated to Biſhop Warburton, then conſidered the coloſſus of literature, and the firſt critic of his day. Few perſons had a keener eye to diſcern the merits of men than Warburton; and though no one, perhaps, had a more haughty mind, or even treated his adverſaries with ſuch coarſe ſeverity, yet certainly he was deſtitute of envy, and dreaded not the depreciation of his own fame, in conſequence of the riſing reputation of others. He allured Mr. Hurd from his beloved ſecluſion, and brought him forward to the world, almoſt againſt his own inclination. He made him Archdeacon of Glouceſter, and by way of acquiring popularity for him in the metropolis, aſſociated him with himſelf in the ſituation of preacher at the chapel in Lincoln's-inn. The object of the biſhop was ſoon obtained. Hurd's diſcourſes procured general admiration; and the preacher attracted the notice and friendſhip of the Earl of Mansfield; through whoſe intereſt he obtained the diſtinguiſhed office of preceptor to the Prince of Wales and Duke of York; a ſituation for which no man in the kingdom was better calculated, and the duties of which he performed with great credit. Preferment was now certain, nor was it long withheld. In 1775 he was made Biſhop of Litchfield and Coventry; in 1781 he was appointed clerk of the cloſet to the King; and on the 30th of June, of the ſame year, he was confirmed in the ſee of Worceſter. On the death of Dr. Cornwallis, archbiſhop of Canterbury, in 1783, that dignity was offered to biſhop Hurd; but he had obtained a ſituation more congenial to his wiſhes, and therefore he declined it. Since his tranſlation to Worceſter, his lordſhip almoſt ſecluded himſelf from the buſy world, reſiding chiefly at Hartlebury caſtle, the epiſcopal palace of his dioceſe. This ancient and noble pile he enriched by a large and ineſtimable library, containing the greater part of the books that had belonged to Mr. Pope and biſhop Warburton, which he has bequeathed for the uſe of his ſucceſſors. Dr. Hurd has ſhewn his critical powers and taſte to the greateſt advantage, in his edition of Horace's "Epiſtolæ ad Piſones," &c. with an Engliſh commentary and notes; and alſo in his edition of Cowley's works. The firſt appeared in 1759, and the latter in 1772. But the work which procured him the greateſt reputation,

was his "Moral and Political Dialogues, with Letters on Chivalry and Romance," 3 vols. 8vo. 1765. Some of the pieces had appeared before, without a name, and their ſucceſs probably led the ingenious author to publiſh a complete and enlarged edition. Theſe dialogues evince a profound knowledge of the Engliſh hiſtory and conſtitution, and breathe a warm attachment to the cauſe of liberty. It is ſaid that the king, one day pointing to theſe dialogues, obſerved, "Theſe made Hurd a biſhop. I never ſaw him till he came to kiſs hands." As a theological writer, his principal productions are two volumes of excellent ſermons, preached before the ſociety of Lincoln's-inn; and another of Diſcourſes on the Prophecies, at the lecture founded by Biſhop Warburton at the ſame place. In theſe compoſitions we obſerve deep thinking, cloſe logical reaſoning, fervent piety, and chaſte and elegant language. As a diſputant, Dr. Hurd appeared to great advantage, in a pamphlet intitled, "Remarks on Mr. Hume's Eſſay on the Natural Hiſtory of Religion." This anonymous performance irritated the philoſopher conſiderably, and he expreſſed his reſentment in terms that ſhewed how much he had been hurt by the caſtigation. The attachment manifeſted by Dr. Hurd to Biſhop Warburton, often brought upon him very illiberal cenſures. About the time of his firſt connection with that great prelate, he printed an "Eſſay on the Delicacy of Friendſhip," in which Dr. Jortin and Dr. Leland of Dublin were treated rather roughly, for their want of due reſpect to the author's patron. When we recollect the motives which produced this eſſay, we ſee no reaſon to blame Dr. Hurd; his zeal for his friend was commendable, though it perhaps carried him rather beyond the line of prudence. When reflection operated on his mind, he accordingly ſaw reaſon to diſapprove of his haſtineſs, and, much to his honour, took great pains to ſuppreſs the obnoxious pamphlet. It would have been, perhaps, better if the book had been ſuffered to ſink into that oblivion which the author wiſhed; as unfortunately, on his Lordſhip's publiſhing a large and magnificent edition of his friend's works in 1788, one of the greateſt ſcholars of this age, too officiouſly, perhaps, and too much in that very ſpirit which he wanted to expoſe, reprinted the Eſſay, with ſome other "Tracts by Warburton and a Warburtonian."—When Biſhop Hurd's edition of Warburton's works appeared, the world was greatly diſappointed at not finding the long expected life of that celebrated character. This afforded freſh ground for cenſure, which was by no means ſpared. In conſequence of this complaint, he printed a prefatory diſcourſe, by way of introduction to the work, containing a brief but elegant memoir of the author. The merit of the deceaſed prelate as a writer has been variouſly eſtimated, and literary men have gone into oppoſite extremes. It muſt be acknowledged that his veneration for the author of the Divine Legation ſeduced him into exceſſive panegyric, both of the work itſelf and the author, and cauſed him to depreciate the merits and the labours of all who differed from him in their opinions. With much ingenuity

huity in criticiſm, there will be diſcovered ſome unneceſſary refinement, and, in this inſtance, the character of the two prelates will deſcend to poſterity as perfectly congenial. As an author, he certainly poſſeſſed acute diſcernment, ſound judgment, and general erudition; but he was alſo eminently diſtinguiſhed by an elegance of manners, for which he was not leſs indebted to nature than to his connection with the court.

July 7. In Charlotte-ſtreet, Berkeley-ſquare, the Right Hon. Lady Anne Wombwell, wife of Sir George Wombwell, and ſecond daughter of the late Earl of Fauconberg.

14. Anne, the Lady of Sir Frederic Eden.

27. John Thomas de Burgh, thirteenth Earl of Clanricard.

31. The dowager Lady Dunbar.

At Brighton, the Right Hon. Henrietta Laura Pulteney, counteſs of Bath, Viſcounteſs Pulteney, and Baroneſs of Haydon, in her own right. Her ladyſhip was married in 1794 to Sir James Murray, now Sir James Pulteney, by whom ſhe had no iſſue. She has left to Sir James Pulteney the income, for his life, of all her perſonal property, amounting to near ſix hundred thouſand pounds. After his deceaſe, this immenſe property is bequeathed to her couſin, who was the wife of the Rev. Mr. Markham, ſon to the late Archbiſhop of York. That lady, the daughter of Sir Richard Sutton, was divorced ſome years ago from her huſband, and has lived, during ſeveral years, principally under Lady Bath's protection. The fortune is to deſcend to her children by Mr. Markham. Sir John Johnſton, the Earl of Darlington, and Sir Richard Sutton, all inherit very conſiderable eſtates. Her Ladyſhip's remains were interred in the weſt cloiſters of Weſtminſter-abbey.

Auguſt 1. At his father's houſe, in Lower Groſvenor-ſtreet, Lieutenant-General Churchill, who ſignalized himſelf in ſo many engagements in Flanders, and in St. Domingo, where he had a chief command for many years.

Lady Diana Beauclerc, ſiſter of the Duke of Marlborough, and of the Counteſs dowager of Pembroke. Her Ladyſhip was firſt couſin to Aubrey, fifth Duke of St. Albans, father of the preſent Duke, and of Lord William, the preſent High Sheriff for the county of Lincoln. She was firſt married in 1757, to Frederick St. John, Lord Viſcount Bolingbroke, from whom ſhe was divorced in 1768, and married ſecondly, in 1768, the Hon. Topham Beauclerc (ſon of Lord Sydney Beauclerc, and grandſon of the firſt Duke of St. Albans), well known by his intimacy with Dr. Johnſon, Edmund Burke, and other men of learning and genius of his time. He died in March 1780.

10. Matthew Richard Onſlow, Eſq. eldeſt ſon of admiral Sir Richard O. Bart.

14. In Devonſhire-place, the Lady of Sir Charles Rouſe Boughton, Bart.

19. James Comming, Eſq. admiral of the white.

26. At his ſeat, Northampton-court, Glouceſterſhire, the Hon. and Right Rev. James Yorke, L. L. D. Lord Biſhop of Ely, governor of Addenbrook's hoſpital, and viſitor of Jeſus, St. John's, and Peter's, colleges, Cambridge. His Lordſhip was uncle to the Earl of Hardwicke, and was in his 78th

year. He was the youngeſt and only ſurviving ſon of the Chancellor, who has been named the Great Lord Hardwicke. He was ſucceſſively appointed to the deanery of Lincoln, and the biſhoprics of St. David's, Glouceſter, and Ely, the laſt of which he held twenty-ſeven years. His Lordſhip was affectionately loyal to his Sovereign, politely attentive to his equals, and kindly intereſted for the welfare of his inferiors. It is almoſt unneceſſary to mention, among ſo many inſtances of his diſintereſted ſenſe of duty, that the maſterſhip of Jeſus College, Cambridge, was offered to the late Dr. Paley without ſolicitation; and that during his ſuperintendance, by example and exhortation, to the clergy of the dioceſe, eſpecially with reſpect to reſidence, the Iſle of Ely had much improved in morals, in ſocial order, and in general felicity. His Lordſhip has left a widow, whoſe affliction will doubtleſs be mitigated by the recollection of his having been an affectionate companion during a long courſe of years, employed in the exerciſe of uſeful virtue and charitable picty; alſo numerous relatives and deſcendants, by whom he will ever be regretted, and a memory worthy of the dignified ſituation in which he was placed. He lived to his lateſt hour with the conſolation and the tranquillity of a patriarch. He ſucceeded to the ſee of St. David's in 1774, was tranſlated to Glouceſter in 1779, and in 1781 to that of Ely, on the death of Dr. Keene.

24. At Gosford, aged 85, th Right Hon. Francis Charteris Wemyſs, Earl of Wemyſs.

At Worthing, Lady William Ruſſell.

29. In Glouceſter-place, Catherine, 2d daughter of Lieut.-General Lord Forbes, aged eight years and five months.

Sept. 12. At Richmond, Mrs. Denn, widow of the late James Denn, Eſq. and mother to the Right Hon. Lady Beauchamp.

13. Lady Anne Rich, of Beaumont-ſtreet, Devonſhire-place, widow of Admiral Sir Thomas Rich, Bart.

At her ſeat, at Lee in Kent, Gertrude Brand, Baroneſs Dacre, relict of Thomas Brand, Eſq. of the Hoo, in Hertfordſhire, who died in February, 1794. Her Ladyſhip ſucceeded her brother, the Hon. Charles Trevor Roper, the late Lord Dacre, in July, 1794; and is now ſucceeded by her eldeſt ſon, the Hon. Thomas Brand, M. P. for Hertfordſhire. No wife more ſincerely regretted the loſs of an affectionate huſband than her Ladyſhip. When at Lee, ſhe, every evening, unattended, viſited his tomb, and ſhed tears to his memory. Her life was a continued ſcene of benevolence and charity; and her memory will long be cheriſhed by the widow and the orphan. She was in her 58th year.

At her houſe, in James-ſtreet, Weſtminſter, in the 45th year of her age, the Hon. Miſs Treſuſis, ſiſter to the late and aunt to the preſent Lord Clinton. Of her taſte and genius the public have ſeen a ſpecimen, in ſome pieces of poetry juſt publiſhed.

At Hagley, Worceſterſhire, William Henry Lord Lyttelton, Baron of Frankley, in the county of Worceſter, alſo Baron Weſcote of Belamare, in the county of Longford, Ireland, and an Engliſh Baronet. His Lordſhip was the youngeſt ſon of Sir Thomas Lyttelton, Bart. and

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was born in January 1725. Soon after he came of age, he was elected member of parliament for the borough of Bewdley. In 1755 he was appointed governor of South Carolina, and afterwards of Jamaica; and in 1766 envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the court of Lisbon. On his return to England, he was again elected member for Bewdley, and in 1766 created a peer of Ireland, and soon afterwards constituted one of the commissioners of the treasury. In 1794, the English peerage of Lyttelton of Frankley, extinct by the decease of his nephew, to the greater part of whose estates he had succeeded, was revived in his favour. His lordship married in June 1761, Mary, daughter and co-heiress of James Macartney, Esq. in Ireland. By this lady, who died in 1765, he had a daughter, Hester, married to Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Bart. and two sons, George Fulke and Charles Adam, deceased. His Lordship married secondly, in 1774, Caroline daughter of John Bristow, Esq. by whom he has had several children, of whom only two have survived him, viz. Caroline Anne, married to the Right. Hon. R. P. Carew; and William Henry, one of the representatives for the county of Worcester. His Lordship is succeeded in his honours and estates by his eldest son, George Fulke, now Lord Lyttelton.

16. Peter Isaac Thelluson, Baron Rendlesham.

In Park-street, the Dowager Lady Middleton, 77. She was daughter and co-heiress of George Cartwright, Esq. of Offington, in Nottinghamshire, and has left four children, Lord Middleton and three daughters: the Countess of Scarborough, the Hon. Mrs. Langley, and the Hon. Mrs. Biddulph.

Oct. 8. In the rules of the King's Bench, Captain E. A. Caulfield, late of the 1st Guards, whose appearance on the stage, and the crim. con. action, brought against him by Captain Chambers, are subjects of general notoriety. For the damages given in that action, he had been confined several years. Captain C. was nearly related to the Earl of Charlemont; and, by his mother's side, grandson to James Lord Ruthven; he was also nearly connected with the Duke of Argyle, Lord Bute, Lord Elphinstone, and several other ancient families.

Nov. 3. Isabella, Countess of Errol.

10. At his seat in Berkshire, the right honourable Guy Carleton, lord Dorchester, knight of the bath, a general in the army, colonel of the 4th or Queen's own Dragoons, governor of Fort Charlemont in Ireland, and governor-general and commander in chief in Canada. This veteran soldier was one of the oldest officers in the British army. He was descended from an ancient family residing many ages at Carleton, in Cumberland, whence the survivors removed into Ireland: of the family, three brothers, who espoused the royal cause in the 17th century, lost their lives at the battle of Marston-Moor. A fourth, who survived the Restoration, was rewarded for his loyalty with the bishopric of Bristol. From this prelate his lordship was directly descended. He was born in the year 1722, and at an early period entered into the Guards, in which corps he continued until the year 1748, when he

was

was promoted to be lieutenant-colonel of the 72d regiment. Upon the breaking out of the ſeven years war, his profeſſional knowledge was put to an honourable teſt. In 1758 he embarked with general Amherſt for the ſiege of Louisburgh, where his active exertions obtained him conſiderable reputation. In the next year he was at the ſiege of Quebec, under the immortal Wolfe; where his important ſervices did not eſcape the notice of his ſuperiors. He was ſingled out as a proper officer, to be detached with an adequate force, to ſecure a poſt on the weſtern point of the Iſle d'Orleans, a ſervice which he effectually performed. Some time after he was again detached to diſlodge the French from Point-au-Tremble, 20 miles diſtant from Quebec, where he was equally ſucceſsful. The next ſervice in which colonel Carleton was engaged, was at the ſiege of Belleiſle, where he acted in the capacity of brigadier-general, having been honoured with that rank on the ſpot on which he received his firſt wound from the enemy. The public diſpatches of general Hodgſon, who commanded on this expedition, ſpoke in terms highly flattering of the conduct of the brigadier. In February, 1762, he was promoted to the rank of colonel in the army, and ſoon afterwards he embarked for the ſiege of the Havannah. In this arduous enterprize our hero had his full ſhare of honourable toil. On the 10th of June he was detached from the camp into the woods between Coximar and the Moro, with a body of light infantry and grenadiers, who inveſted the Moro Caſtle; on the 11th, he carried the Spaniſh redoubt upon Moro Hill, eſtabliſhing a poſt there; but again he had the misfortune to receive a wound. Many officers, however, thought themſelves fully compenſated for theſe accidents, and for their inceſſant fatigues, by the ample ſums of prize-money they ſhared after their conqueſt. The peace which took place after the end of this campaign interrupted the career of this aſpiring ſoldier, and he remained ſeveral years without any opportunity of exerting his military talents. He was not, however, altogether idle; when the late general Murray was recalled from Quebec, he was appointed lieutenant-governor of that province; and when it was determined that the general ſhould not return, he was promoted to the government in his room; and he continued in this ſtation for many years. In 1772 he was advanced to the rank of major-general in the army, and appointed colonel of the 47th regiment of foot. In addition to theſe favours conferred on him by his ſovereign, he had the happineſs to receive the hand of lady Mary Howard, ſiſter to the late earl of Effingham.—When the conteſt between Great Britain and the American colonies began to wear a ſerious aſpect, the miniſtry called on general Carleton for his advice; and it is ſuppoſed that it was upon his ſuggeſtions they brought forward the celebrated Quebec bill. During the agitation of this meaſure in the Houſe of Commons, the general was examined at the bar, and his evidence ſatisfying both ſides of the Houſe of the expediency of the meaſure, it tended of courſe to accelerate its adoption. After the paſſing of the Quebec bill, he immediately repaired

paired to his government, and had a difficult taſk to perform. He had few troops in the province, and one of the firſt attempts made by the Americans was, with a powerful army, to gain poſſeſſion of it. They had ſurpriſed Ticonderago and Crown Point. General Carleton formed a plan for the recovery of theſe poſts; but for want of Britiſh troops, and the cordial co-operation of the Canadians, his deſign failed. The general had alſo the mortification to be defeated in the field, and it was not without great difficulty and addreſs that he eſcaped in a whale boat into the town of Quebec. Here his energy of mind became conſpicuous; being almoſt deſtitute of regular troops, he trained the inhabitants to arms, and ſoon put the place in ſuch a poſture of defence as to defeat general Montgomery in his attempt to ſtorm it, although that brave officer led the forlorn hope in perſon. In the firſt diſcharge of a well-directed fire from the Britiſh battery, that intrepid American fell, with a conſiderable number of his men. The aſſailants, thus deprived of their gallant leader, pauſed, but did not retreat, and they ſuſtained a galling fire for half an hour longer from cannon and muſquetry, before they finally withdrew from the attack. Quebec was thus preſerved till the arrival of reinforcements from England. As ſoon as he had received theſe, he drove the enemy from his province, and prepared to take revenge for his previous diſappointments. For this purpoſe he endeavoured to engage the Indians in the Engliſh intereſt; but, from the well-known humanity of his diſpoſition, we have reaſon to conclude, he never approved of the ſhocking enormities which they perpetrated when not under his perſonal obſervation. He advanced with a powerful army towards the lakes; to obtain the complete command of which, it became neceſſary to equip ſome armed veſſels, which had been conſtructed in England; but this work took up ſo much time, that the ſeaſon was far advanced before they were completed. When this was done, he immediately attacked the American flotilla on Lake Champlain, under the command of general Arnold, and totally defeated it; but the lateneſs of the ſeaſon obliged him to abandon further operations, and to return into Canada for winter quarters.—It was expected that general Carleton would have been employed in the enſuing campaign, but it is believed he declined ſo hazardous a ſervice, with the ſmall number of troops that were allowed. The fate of general Burgoyne under that foreſeen diſadvantage, juſtified general Carleton's refuſal. On Burgoyne's arrival to ſuperſede him, general Carleton evinced no cenſurable jealouſy; on the contrary, he exerted himſelf to the utmoſt, to enable his ſucceſſor to take the field to advantage. He then reſigned his government to general Halaimand, and returned to England, where his merit, in ſo ably and effectually defending Quebec, procured him a red ribbon. In 1781 he was appointed to ſucceed Sir Henry Clinton as commander in chief in America, and on his arrival at New York, he began and completed many excellent reforms. He broke up the band of American loyaliſts, whoſe conduct had given umbrage to the well-diſpoſed. He checked the profuſe and uſeleſs expenditure

penditure of money in ſeveral departments, and reſtrained the rapacity of the commiſſaries; he had the credit alſo of having done every thing in his power to ſoften the rigours of war, and to conciliate the minds of the Americans. In this ſituation he continued until peace was eſtabliſhed between the two countries, when, after an interview with general Waſhington, he evacuated New York, and returned to England. During his reſidence in London before his laſt appointment, he acted as one of the commiſſioners of public accounts. He retained the command of the 47th regiment of foot until 1790, when he was promoted to that of the 15th dragoons, which he held at the time of his death. It having been reſolved to put the Britiſh poſſeſſions in North America under the direction of a governor-general, ſir Guy Carleton, now created lord Dorcheſter, was appointed to that powerful and important office, having under his authority all the northern ſettlements, except Newfoundland. In this ſituation and government he remained ſeveral years, ſtill acquiring freſh reputation. Since his return to England, his lordſhip has led a very retired life, chiefly reſiding in the country. He is ſucceeded in his title and eſtate by his eldeſt ſon Thomas, a general in the army, lieutenant-governor of New Brunſwick, and colonel *en ſecond* of the 60th foot.

11. At Bath, ſir Henry Paulet St. John Mildmay, bart. M. P. for the county of Hants, aged 43. He was the ſon of the late ſir Henry Paulet, who was created a baronet in 1772, and whom he ſucceeded in 1784. The addition of Mildmay was made in conſequence of his marriage to a Hampſhire heireſs of that name, who ſurvives him, and by whom he has left fifteen children. Sir Henry firſt came into parliament for Weſtbury, in Wiltſhire, in 1796, and was elected for the city of Wincheſter in 1802. At the general election in 1806, he was almoſt unanimouſly called forward by a very large meeting, held at Chicheſter, to join Mr. Chute, in oppoſition to the other candidates, Mr. Thiſtlethwaite and the hon Wm. Herbert. In this conteſt, after an arduous ſtruggle, he was unſucceſsful; but, as he energetically expreſſed himſelf in his addreſs at the cloſe of the election, "defeated but not diſmayed, and when the hour of honourable ſtruggle ſhall again arrive, I ſhall be found at my poſt." This pledge he redeemed at the enſuing conteſt, in the following year, when he and his colleague, Mr. Chute, were both returned by a very large majority, after one day's poll. We need offer no other panegyric than what is contained in the addreſs of one of the gentlemen who now offered himſelf as a candidate to ſucceed him, and who declares, that "though he had been oppoſed to him in political differences, he ever reſpected his talents and his virtues." Sir Henry certainly injured a naturally tender conſtitution by his great exertions at both theſe conteſts, and his unwearied application to the laborious duties of a conſtant attendance in parliament. The conduct of ſir Henry, as a member of the legiſlative body, has been diſtinguiſhed for manly independence. In 1796, he voted for a cenſure on Mr. Pitt and his colleagues, for the particular meaſure

of

of voting ſubſidies without the knowledge of parliament; but in 1802, when that ſtateſman was out of office, he oppoſed thoſe who wiſhed to criminate his conduct, and boldly aſſerted his belief, "that to William Pitt, England was indebted for the preſervation of her laws and religion, and the king for the crown which he then wore." He concluded with moving an amendment, containing a vote of thanks to the ex-miniſter, for his pre-eminent ſervices to the country, which was carried by a majority of 159.—In 1803, ſir Henry made ſome remarks on the delay of the commiſſioners of the navy, in reſpect to their reports, and adduced the caſe of Mr. Taylor, a block-maker and contractor, who had been diſcharged, as one of great hardſhip to an individual. In 1803, he alſo objected to ſome of the proviſions in the new income tax bill. In 1804, he voted with ſir John Wrotteſley, on the motion of the latter, for an enquiry into the conduct of the government during the inſurrection in Dublin; in favour of Mr. Pitt's propoſition relative to the ſtate of our naval force, and of Mr. Fox's motion for a retroſpective inquiry into the proviſions for our national defence. When lord Melville's conduct came under the review of the houſe, he was one of thoſe who voted for referring it to the deciſion of a ſelect committee; and afterwards ſat in the committee of twenty-one, appointed to examine the tenth report of the naval commiſſioners. In the ſame year ſir Henry appeared in the character of an author, in the re-publication, in ſeven octavo volumes, of The Light of Nature Purſued, by Abraham Tucker, eſq. which he reviſed and corrected, with the addition of ſome account of the author.—Sir Henry generally reſided at Dagmersfield Park, near Odiham, Hampſhire, and commanded the Dagmersfield Volunteers. His hoſpitality was open and liberal, like his manners; and his humanity was evinced by his viſits to the various jails of the metropolis, in company with the benevolent Nield, and his munificent donations to the poor. The complaint that proved fatal was a diſeaſe of the liver, with which he had been long afflicted, and which he endured with manly firmneſs and patient reſignation. He is ſucceeded in his titles and eſtates, computed at the annual value of 25,000l. by his eldeſt ſon Henry, 22 years of age.

28. Sir Richard Hill.

29. Thomas Panton, Eſq. brother to the late Ducheſs of Ancaſter.

Admiral Sir Thomas Paſley, Bart.

Dec. 5. Anna Maria, Baroneſs Foreſter, whoſe title devolved on the Hon. J. Grimſton, M. P. eldeſt ſon of Lord Grimſton.

4. Hon. Henrietta Sophia Phipps, eldeſt daughter of Lord Mulgrave.

Henry Arundel, eighth Lord Arundel of Wardour, and a Count of the holy Roman Empire.

22. The Dowager Lady Shelly.

30. Alan Lord Gardner, admiral of the white.

James Bucknal Grimſton, Lord Verulam, Viſcount Grimſton.

SHERIFFS *appointed by his Majeſty in Council for the year* 1808.

Bedfordſhire, Richard Orlebar, of Puddington, Eſq.

Berk-

Berkſhire, Wm. Congreve of Aldermaſton, Eſq.

Bucks, Rich. Dayrell, of Silingſtone, Eſq.

Cambridge and *Huntingdon*, Sir H. Peyton, of Emneth, Bart.

Cheſhire, C. Trelawney Brereton, of Shotwich Park, Eſq.

Cumberland, Thomas Irvine, of Juſtice Town, Eſq.

Derbyſhire, poſtponed.

Devonſhire, Sir H. Carew, of Haccombe, Bart.

Dorſetſhire, Nicholas Charles Daniel, of Upway, Eſq.

Eſſex, John Coggan, of Wanſtead, Eſq.

Glouceſterſhire, Sir Thos. Crawley Bowey, of Flaxley-abbey, Bart.

Herefordſhire, Samuel Peploe, of Garnſtone, Eſq.

Hertfordſhire, James Smith, of Aſhlyn's Hill, Eſq.

Kent, Charles Milner, of Preſton Park, Eſq.

Leiceſterſhire, G. Finch Simpſon, of Launde Abbey, Eſq.

Lincolnſhire, the Hon. W. Beauclerk, of Radbourne.

Monmouthſhire, Wm. Morgan, of Hamhilad, Eſq.

Norfolk, J. Thornton Mott, of Barmingham, Eſq.

Northamptonſhire, G. Fleet Evans, of Saxton, Eſq.

Northumberland, Cuthbert Ellifon, of Broomhouſe, Eſq.

Nottinghamſhire, J. Manners Sutton, of Kelham, Eſq.

Oxfordſhire, The Hon. T. Parker, of Enſham Hall.

Rutlandſhire, Thos. Bryan, of Stoke, Eſq.

Shropſhire, Ralph B. Wyld Browne, of Coyghley, Eſq.

Somerſetſhire, C. Hemeys Tynte, of Haleſwell, Eſq.

Staffordſhire, poſtponed.

Southampton, George Hanbury Michell, of Titchfield Lodge, Eſq.

Suffolk, J. Vernon, of Nacton, Eſq.

Surrey, James Mangles, of Woodbridge, Eſq.

Suſſex, W. Stanford, of Reſton, Eſq.

Warwickſhire, poſtponed.

Wiltſhire, J. Holton, of Grittleton, Eſq.

Worceſterſhire, Sir J. Packington, of Weſtwood, Eſq.

Yorkſhire, Wm. Joſeph Denniſon, of Ayton, Eſq.

SOUTH WALES.

Brecon, poſtponed.

Cardigan, Morgan Jones, of Panthyrlis, Eſq.

Caermarthen, Morgan Price Lloyd, of Glanſevin, Eſq.

Glamorgan, Hon. Wm. Booth Grey, of Duffryn.

Pembroke, John Henſlergh Allen, of Carſelty, Eſq.

Radnor, Thos. Thomas, of Ponkerrig, Eſq.

NORTH WALES.

Angleſea, Edward Jones, of Cromlech, Eſq.

Carnarvonſhire, Robert Thomas Carreg, of Carreg, Eſq.

Denbighſhire, R. Henry Kenrick, of Nanlewydd, Eſq.

Flintſhire, T. Lloyd, of Trebierdd, Eſq.

Merioneth, Lewis Price Edwards, of Tolgarth, Eſq.

Montgomeryſhire, R. Knight, of Gwernygoe, Eſq.

APPENDIX TO THE CHRONICLE.

ADMIRALTY-OFFICE, *Jan.* 16.

Copies of Letters tranſmitted by Vice Admiral Douglas.

Ariadne, Jan. 7, *Huntly Foot, W.S.W.* 11 *leagues.*

"SIR,

"I HAVE the honour to acquaint you that this morning, being off Huntly Cliff about four leagues, I obſerved one of his majeſty's brigs to the ſouthward; at ten A.M. ſhe bore up and made ſail to the eaſtward, and we perceived her to be in purſuit of a lugger. We immediately joined in the chaſe, keeping the wind of the enemy, and at one P.M. having cloſed within gun-ſhot, we had the pleaſure to ſee the lugger ſurrender to his majeſty's brig Ringdove, which was nearer to the chaſe than the Ariadne, and had fired ſeveral ſhot at her. She is a French lugger letter of marque (Le Trente et Quarante) commanded by monſieur Fanqueux, carrying 16 guns, 6 and 9-pounders, 14 of which were mounted, with a complement of 66 men, 65 on board; has been 16 days from Dunkirk, and had not made any capture. She is one of the largeſt luggers out of France, and a very fine veſſel, only three months off the ſtocks, well found, and I think fit for his majeſty's ſervice. I have ſent her to Yarmouth.

A. FARQUHAR."

Ariadne, June 8, *Huntly Foot, W.N.W.* 6 *leagues.*

"SIR,

"I beg to inform you, that, after the capture of Le Trente et Quarante, we ſtood during the night to Flambro' Head; and at day-light this morning another lugger was diſcovered in the W.N.W. to which we immediately gave chaſe: having, at the ſame time, made the ſignal No. 3, to the Ringdove, which was in company. Soon after eight we obſerved the lugger was chaſed by two brigs, one of which proved to be his majeſty's brig Sappho, and the other belonging to the exciſe, called the Royal George, commanded by Mr. Curry, and to whom the lugger ſurrendered at about a quarter before ten A.M.; and I have ſatisfaction in adding that credit is due to Mr. Curry for the capture, although, from the ſituation of his majeſty's veſſels, her eſcape was impoſſible. The prize is a French lugger L'Egle, commanded by monſieur Olivier, 16 guns mounted, 3 and 4-pounders, and a complement of 56 men; left Dunkirk 9 days ago, has made one capture, the brig Gabriel, of Yarmouth (in ballaſt), which ſhe took laſt night off Scarborough, and ſcuttled her. I ſaw her ſtill above water this morning, and ordered the Ringdove to examine her;

her; and captain Andrews has ſince reported to me, that the Gabriel was ſinking ſo faſt as to make it impoſſible to ſave her; the maſter and crew were found on board L'Egle lugger, which I have ordered to Yarmouth with the other prize, and purpoſe ſeeing them in ſafety to that port.

A. FARQUHAR."

Downing-ſtreet, Jan. 20.

Extract of a Diſpatch from Major-General Beresford to Viſcount Caſtlereagh, dated Madeira, Funchal, December 29.

"I have the ſatisfaction to communicate to your lordſhip the ſurrender of the iſland of Madeira, on the 24th inſt. to his majeſty's arms.—We had, previouſly to the ſhips coming to anchor, ſent to the governor to ſurrender the iſland to his Britannic majeſty, offering the terms we were authorized; which were acceded to. The troops were immediately landed; and before dark were in poſſeſſion of all the forts, and had the 3d and 11th regiments encamped with their field-pieces, a little to the weſt of the town. In regard to unanimity and co-operation, it is ſufficient to ſay, it was ſir Samuel Hood, I had to act with; and the object, the ſervice of his country. His ardent zeal communicated to all the ſame ſentiments; and the utmoſt unanimity prevailed.—I have the fulleſt reaſon to be ſatisfied with the zeal and ardour of all the officers and troops under my orders.—I have the honour to encloſe the articles of capitulation which have been agreed upon.—Captain Murphy of the 38th regiment, brigadier-major to the forces, will be the bearer, and can communicate any further particulars your lordſhip may be deſirous of knowing; and I humbly recommend him to his majeſty's moſt gracious conſideration.

TERMS OF CAPITULATION.

Art. I. That on the ſigning of the preſent treaty, the iſland of Madeira and its dependencies ſhall be delivered up to the commanders of his Britannic majeſty's forces, and to be held and enjoyed by his ſaid majeſty, with all the rights and privileges, and juriſdictions, which heretofore belonged to the crown of Portugal.—II. That it is agreed that the ſaid iſland ſhall be evacuated and re-delivered to the prince regent of Portugal, or to his heirs and ſucceſſors, when the free ingreſs and egreſs to the ports of Portugal and its colonies ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed as heretofore; and when the ſovereignty of Portugal ſhall be emancipated from the controul or influence of France.—III. For the preſent the arms and ammunition of all kinds to be delivered and placed under the poſſeſſion of the Britiſh.—IV. Public property ſhall be reſpected, and re-delivered at the ſame time, and under the ſame circumſtances, with the iſland. His Britannic majeſty, during the period his troops ſhall occupy the iſland, reſerving the uſe of all ſuch property, and the revenues of the iſland, to be applied to the maintenance of its religious, civil, and military eſtabliſhments. For the above purpoſe all the public property, of whatever deſcription, to be formally delivered up, and received by the commiſſaries reſpectively appointed for that object.—V. All private property on the iſland

iſland of Madeira, belonging to the prince regent of Portugal, to be reſpected.—VI. The free exerciſe of all religious worſhip to be maintained and protected as at preſent eſtabliſhed.—VII. The inhabitants to remain in the enjoyment of the civil conſtitution, and of their laws, as at preſent eſtabliſhed and adminiſtered.

Done at the palace of St. Lorenzo, Funchal, Madeira, Dec. 26, 1807.

PEDRO FACUNDES BACELAR D'ANTAS E MENERES, Governor and Captain General.

SAMUEL HOOD, Rear-Admiral, K.B.

W. C. BERESFORD, Major-General.

Sir S. HOOD, in a letter to the ſecretary of the admiralty, announces the ſurrender of the iſland, and ſpeaks in terms of warm commendation of the officers and men of the ſquadron (which conſiſted of the Centaur, York, Captain, Intrepid, Africaine, Shannon, Alceſte, and Succeſs), particularly lieut. Henderſon, bearer of the diſpatch; and obſerves, "from the cordial good underſtanding that has ſubſiſted between us, as well as between the whole of the army and navy, had there been a reſiſtance, every thing we could have deſired was to be expected from both ſervices."

Downing-ſtreet, Feb. 8.

Captain Berkeley arrived yeſterday morning at the office of Viſcount Caſtlereagh, with the following diſpatch:

Santa Cruz, Dec. 27.

"MY LORD,

"Being in a ſtate of preparation and readineſs to move a ſufficient force againſt the Daniſh iſlands in theſe ſeas, in conſequence of your lordſhip's diſpatch of the 5th of September, no time was loſt (after the arrival of his majeſty's final commands, ſignified to me by lord Hawkeſbury's letter of November the 3d, in your lordſhip's abſence, by the Fawn ſloop of war, which arrived early on Tueſday morning the 15th inſt. at Barbadoes) in embarking the troops at Barbadoes on board the men of war appointed to receive them by rear-admiral ſir Alexander Cochrane, who immediately diſpatched others to the iſlands to leeward to take on board ſuch as were under orders in each of them, with directions to proceed to the general rendezvous, the whole of which, except 100 rank and file of the 90th regiment from St. Vincent's, joined the admiral before or ſoon after our arrival off the iſland of St. Thomas on the 21ſt inſt. It was then thought proper to ſend a ſummons to governor Von Scholten, in charge of brigadier-general Shipley and captain Fahie commanding his majeſty's ſhip Ethalion, to ſurrender the iſlands St. Thomas, St. John, and their dependencies, to his Britannic majeſty; which he did the next day on terms agreed upon between him and major-general Maitland and captain Pickmore of his majeſty's ſhip Ramillies, which were afterwards approved of and ratified by rear-admiral the hon. ſir A. Cochrane and myſelf; a copy of which I have the honour to encloſe, and hope they will meet with his majeſty's approbation. On the 23d, in the evening, after leaving a garriſon of 300 men of the 70th regiment, with an officer and detachment of the royal artillery,

lery, at St. Thomas's, under the command of brigadier-general Maclean, whom I have alſo directed to aſſume the civil government of the ſame until his majeſty's pleaſure is ſignified thereon, we proceeded to Santa Cruz, the admiral having previouſly ſent his majeſty's ſhip Ethalion, with brigadier-general Shipley and captain Fahie, to ſummon that iſland; who returned the next morning, the 24th, with a letter from the governor, offering to ſurrender it to his majeſty, provided we would allow three Daniſh officers to view on board the ſhips the number of troops brought againſt it; which we permitted, that his excellency's military honour might not thereby be reflected on. Theſe officers having made their report to their governor, returned early the next morning, the 25th, to the flag-ſhip, with a meſſage, that the governor was willing to treat for the ſurrender of the iſland; when major-general Maitland and captain Pickmore were again ſent on ſhore to ſettle the terms of capitulation, a copy of which I alſo tranſmit; which being approved of by the admiral and myſelf, troops were landed, and the forts and batteries taken poſſeſſion of in the name of his majeſty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, a royal ſalute being fired, on the Britiſh colours being hoiſted. I ſhould be ungrateful in the extreme did I not ſtate to your lordſhip the great and many obligations I conceive myſelf, the officers and ſoldiers, to be under to rear-admiral the hon. ſir A. Cochrane, the captains and officers of the royal navy, who have univerſally afforded us every comfortable accommodation in their power, and I am ſure much to their own inconvenience. I am convinced that, had it been neceſſary to have called for the exertion of the ſea and land forces employed upon this expedition, that they would have added another laurel to the many acquired by Britiſh valour and diſcipline. Copies of the two letters of ſummons, with the anſwers of the reſpective governors, are herewith tranſmitted, together with a return of ordnance, and ordnance ſtores, taken poſſeſſion of, both at St. Thomas's and Santa Cruz. This diſpatch will be preſented to your lordſhip by captain Berkeley of the 16th infantry, an intelligent officer, who will anſwer any queſtion you may be pleaſed to aſk him; and I beg leave to recommend him to your lordſhip's notice.—Capt. Berkeley is my firſt aide-de-camp.

HENRY BOWER,
General and commander
of the forces.

The ordnance taken at St. Thomas's conſiſted of 94 iron guns of various calibre, and five one-pound field-pieces, with about 80 barrels of gunpowder, and other ſtores in proportion. At St. Croix there were 98 pieces of iron ordnance of different ſizes and nine-braſs guns, with twenty rounds of ammunition for each gun, in the ſeveral batteries.

The veſſels found at St. Thomas's compriſed 40 Daniſh ſchooners, from 10 to 120 tons, in ballaſt; one ſhip of 250 tons, and a ſchooner of 97, with ſhip ſtores; one ſchooner pierced for 8 guns, five ditto for 10, three ditto for 12, two for 14, and one for 16 guns, all in ballaſt, and being from 78 to 116 tons each. There were alſo three American

American veſſels, eight Engliſh, three Hamburghers, and one Swediſh brig. At St. Croix there were 21 ſchooners and ſloops all in ballaſt.

Admiralty-office, April 9.

Letter tranſmitted by adm. Vaſhon, at Leith.

Ringdove Sloop,
Leith-roads, April 2.

Sir,

In purſuance of the information I received at Balta Sound, mentioned in my letter to you, dated the 29th ult. a copy of which is incloſed, reſpecting two privateers being ſeen off Shetland in poſſeſſion of a ſloop, ſuppoſed to be the Hope of Leith, I inſtantly weighed and ſtood under all ſail for Bergen. On the following day, at half-paſt three p. m. being in latitude 60 deg. 50 min. N. and longitude 3 deg. 30 min. E. Bergen bearing eaſt, diſtance 13 leagues, and blowing heavy gales from the north by eaſt, I have the ſatisfaction to acquaint you, that we ſaw a ſail ſteering towards us. On nearing her I made the private ſignals, ſuppoſing her to be one of our own cruizers; ſhe immediately hoiſted Daniſh colours, and endeavoured to effect her eſcape. I wore, and ſoon cloſed with her to leeward; and although I repeatedly ordered him to ſhorten ſail, and heave-to, he, truſting to ſuperior ſailing, obſtinately refuſed, which obliged me to fire a few ſhot at her, the laſt of which, unfortunately, killed one and wounded two; ſhe then ſurrendered; but in conſequence of the heavy ſea, I could not get the priſoners on board till the following morning. She proves to be the Forden Shieold, pierced for 14 guns, and mounting 10; ſhe had on board 62 men, and was four hours from Bergen; ſhe is copper-bottomed, well found, ſails remarkably faſt, and is four years old; ſhe has been in commiſſion four months, and, in that time, made five captures, and would probably have proved a great peſt to our trade had ſhe not been taken.

GEO. PEAKE,
Acting commander.

Downing-ſtreet, April 11.

The following Diſpatches were yeſterday received by viſc. Caſtlereagh, from major gen. Sherbrooke commanding his majeſty's troops in Sicily.

Meſſina, Feb. 8.

My lord,

As an opportunity offers of writing to England by a private ſhip, which runs without convoy, I profit of the conveyance to inform your lordſhip that his Sicilian majeſty's garriſon of Reggio ſurrendered to the French on the 3d inſt. Gen. Regnier's operations in Calabria will now, conſequently, be directed againſt Scylla alone; which place has been inveſted for nearly ſix weeks. He has been ſo fortunate as to poſſeſs himſelf of four Sicilian gun-boats, each carrying a 24-pounder, which he has landed. Our greateſt efforts have, for a length of time paſt, been made to prevent his bringing battering cannon into this part of Calabria; but fortune, by throwing thoſe into his hands, has rendered our endeavours nugatory. As in my former letters I have given your lordſhip my opinion of what

what the probable fate of Scylla muſt be, when the enemy can bring guns of heavy metal into batteries againſt it at breaching diſtance, it is needleſs for me now to ſay more on the ſubject. I am extremely ſorry to inform your lordſhip, that in endeavouring to recover the Sicilian gun-boats which fell into the enemy's hands, on the evening of the 30th ult. the Delight ſloop of war moſt unfortunately got on ſhore on the Calabrian coaſt. It being found impoſſible to get her off, ſhe was next day burnt, to prevent her being of further uſe to the enemy. It is with the moſt heartfelt concern I add, that on this melancholy occaſion capt. Handfield (with ſeveral of his ſhip's company) was killed; and that capt. Seccombe, of the Glatton (who was at the time on board the Delight) was dangerously wounded and, with the remainder, made priſoners. Capt. Seccombe was permitted the next day to come over to Meſſina on his parole, but on the 3d inſt. he died of his wounds.

J. C. SHERBROOKE, maj.-gen.

Meſſina, Feb. 23.

My lord,

I have the honour to ſtate, for your lordſhip's information, that I have found it expedient, and, to the beſt of my judgment, for the good of his majeſty's ſervice to withdraw the Britiſh troops from the caſtle of Scylla, which was evacuated accordingly by my order on the 17th inſt; the place was immediately entered by the French troops, and it is now in their poſſeſſion. I beg leave alſo to lay before your lordſhip the enclоſed report made to me by lieutenant-colonel Robertſon, late commandant of Scylla, as it contains a detailed account of the events as they occurred, from the 31ſt December laſt (the day on which the enemy came before the place) until the time of its evacuation; which meaſure, I am led to hope, will not only appear to your lordſhip to have been abſolutely neceſſary under the exiſting circumſtances, but that our troops were not withdrawn until no other means remained of preventing the brave garriſon falling into the enemy's hands. I likewiſe tranſmit a return of the killed and wounded of the detachments forming the Britiſh garriſon of Scylla during the ſiege. Having already, on a former occaſion, had the honour of ſubmitting my opinion, that the caſtle of Scylla would be no longer tenable whenever the enemy ſhould ſucceed in bringing battering guns againſt it, the fall of this place will excite no ſurpriſe in your lordſhip's mind, when you perceive the very formidable force with which it was attacked, and the very ample means with which the enemy was provided to poſſeſs himſelf of it. Much reliance has been heretofore placed upon the aſſiſtance which might be afforded by the gun and mortar-boats, in the defence of Scylla, and of the annoyance they might give the enemy in carrying on his approaches; but, unfortunately, the weather from the 11th to the 17th was ſo ſtormy, that it was quite impoſſible for them to be employed with any hopes of advantage. On the morning of the 15th inſt. lieut. col. Robertſon having informed me by telegraph that the parapet of the work was deſtroyed, and that all his

his guns were either dismounted or disabled, I felt very anxious indeed to withdraw the troops, but a continuance of the gale rendered this impracticable till the 17th; when, during a temporary lull, (every necessary arrangement having been previously made,) the transports' boats, protected by the men of war's launches, ran over from the Faros, and succeeded in bringing away the whole of the garrison, who effected their retreat by the sea staircase to the boats, when they were exposed to a most tremendous galling fire of grape and musketry from the enemy, till such time as they could pull out of the reach of it. I am happy to add, that the loss of the troops in this exposed situation was only four killed and five wounded; and that of the seamen, one killed and ten wounded. Capt. Otway, of the navy, who commands the ships of war stationed here, entrusted the execution of this very dangerous piece of service to capt. Trollope, of the Electra. More judgment, coolness, and intrepidity were never displayed on any occasion; and I feel myself particularly indebted to captain Trollope, and to the officers and seamen serving under him, to whose gallant exertions I owe the preservation of the garrison. The gallantry and good conduct of the officers and men employed in the defence of Scylla Castle, merit my highest approbation. More could not be expected from any men than these have performed. Lieutenant-colonel Robertson, who commanded, I beg leave to recommend in the strongest terms to your lordship's notice and protection. The ability, zeal, and gallantry, displayed by him in the defence of this little fortress, deserve my warmest praise and commendation. When your lordship comes to consider what the numbers of the enemy were before Scylla, with a strong supporting army at hand, from which he could draw reinforcements at pleasure, I trust it will appear to your lordship that prudence would not have warranted my making a diversion in favour of Scylla, by risking a landing on the Calabrian shore. The only remaining effort therefore that I could make, was to prevent the brave garrison falling into the enemy's hands; and this, with the co-operation and assistance of the naval force under capt. Otway, has been happily effected in open day, under the enemy's fire, with much less loss than might reasonably have been expected.

J. C. SHERBROOKE, major-gen.

Messina Feb. 8.

Sir,

In obedience to your orders I have the honour to report the particulars of what occurred since the first appearance of the enemy before Scylla. After being invested by general Regnier's army during seven weeks, and battered for six day by fourteen pieces of heavy ordnance, the little castle of Scylla has fallen into his hands. But I have the heartfelt satisfaction to add, that not one of the gallant garrison placed under my orders has become his prisoner. In the latter end of December, the arrival of troops and ordnance stores at Seminara left me no room to doubt the enemy's intention of besieging Scylla; and parties of the peasantry were accordingly sent out to render the passes of Solano impracticable,

and to create obſtacles to his advance, by cuts acroſs the various paths which lead from the heights of Melia down to Scylla. This work, as well as the levelling of fences, &c., proceeded rapidly and effectually under the direction of captain Nicholas, aſſiſtant-quarter-maſter-general; when, upon the 31ſt of December, the advanced workmen and the out-poſts of the maſſe were driven in by three French battalions and a detachment of cavalry, under general Millet, which took poſt upon the heights above us; and on the following day Regnier brought up two more battalions, and ſpreading his out-poſts to Favezzina, Bagnara, &c., completed the inveſtment of the town. At this time the garriſon of the caſtle conſiſted of about two hundred Britiſh, and from four to five hundred maſſe occupied the town. The enemy's troops were now inceſſantly employed in forming the roads neceſſary for bringing his heavy ordnance from Seminara, while we laboured to render the approach to Scylla difficult, and harraſſed the French by conſtant attacks on his out-poſts with parties of the maſſe, and occaſionally with boats. In ſome of theſe partial actions the enemy ſuffered ſeverely, particularly in a night attack at Bagnara, where the voltigeurs of the 23d light infantry were cut to pieces. Owing to theſe checks, the French were retarded until the 6th of February, when they deſcended the heights in force, and came within a diſtant range of our guns; and from this day they honoured our little caſtle with all the detailed precautions of a regular ſiege, in covering his approaches and communications. The ſkirmiſhes between the enemy and the maſſe became very ſerious; the latter diſplayed great gallantry; and enjoying the ſupport of the caſtle guns, obliged the French to purchaſe their advance with heavy loſs; but, on the 9th, were obliged to yield to the numbers of the enemy, who aſſailed the town on all ſides; our guns, however, covered their retreat; and I had the ſatisfaction of ſending off theſe brave peaſants to Meſſina, without leaving a man in the enemy's hands. The force which general Regnier had brought to beſiege Scylla, conſiſted of a body of cavalry, the 23d light infantry, the 1ſt, 62d, and 101ſt of the line, in all about 6000 men; with five 24-pounders, five eighteens, and four mortars, beſides field-pieces. On the morning of the 11th he opened his batteries, directing his efforts to the deſtruction of our upper works and the diſabling of our guns; while under cover of this fire, he laboured to eſtabliſh two breaching batteries, at three or four hundred yards diſtance. It was not, however, till the 14th that our parapet and guns was rendered totally uſeleſs; nor till then did the ſlaughter abate to which their parties employed on the breaching batteries were expoſed from our grape and ſhells. From this time our defence was confined to muſketry, as our guns lay buried under the ruins of the parapet, and the cloſe fire from five 24-pounders became inceſſant. In the mean time we diſcovered him attempting to mine the right baſtion, upon which he continued at work for three nights, but I apprehend without the expected ſucceſs. In the night of the 15th, the French

puſhed

puſhed round the foot of the rock, with the intention of deſtroying the ſtaircaſe, but we happily diſcovered them, and beat them off with the ſlaughter to which their deſperate ſituation expoſed them. The fire from the breaching batteries had been variouſly directed until the evening of the 16th, when they bent their undivided fury againſt the left baſtion, with ſuch ſucceſs that the breach would probably have been practicable by the following evening. It was under theſe circumſtances that I received your orders to evacuate the caſtle, and have the great ſatisfaction of reporting, that we accompliſhed this yeſterday morning, in full view of the enemy, and without leaving one individual behind. The approach of the boats from Faros gave the French full intimation of our deſign, but the tempeſtuous ſtate of the weather obliged us to ſeize the ſhort opportunity of an hour's lull. Every battery poured its utmoſt fire upon the caſtle, and ſubſequently upon the boats, while infantry, with field-pieces, tried the breach on either ſide. The garriſon was drawn off in ſucceſſion, and the embarkation effected with the greateſt order, notwithſtanding the tremendous fire of grape, ſhells, &c. Our loſs in the operation was ſmall—and before we were a muſket-ſhot diſtance the French were in the fort. The maſterly arrangement of the tranſport boats and men of-war launches upon this occaſion, does high honour to captain Trollope of his majeſty's ſhip Electra, who perſonally ſuperintended this ſervice; and the conduct of the officers and men under him was marked with all the coolneſs and dexterity of Britiſh ſeamen. I regret to add, that one of them was killed in the operation, and ten wounded, ſome of them dangerouſly. The uniform good conduct of the garriſon which I have had the good fortune to command demands my warmeſt gratitude; and their intrepid ſpirit during the ſiege is hardly more commendable than the zeal with which they went through the heavy fatigues that preceded it. The detachment of the royal artillery was highly conſpicuous; the excellence of their gunnery was proved by the ſevere loſſes with the enemy has ſuſtained; and I cannot too ſtrongly expreſs my ſenſe of the ſkill and indefatigable zeal which lieutenant Dunn has diſplayed throughout the ſiege. I feel highly indebted to the exertions of captain Cruikſhanks of the 62d, Jordan of the 27th, and Pringle of the 21ſt, as well as to the officers and men under them. From lieutenant Dickons, of the engineers, I received every aſſiſtance; and my adjutant, lieutenant Hadfield, of the 35th, has been throughout indefatigably zealous. I cannot conclude, ſir, without expreſſing my particular thanks to captain Nicholas, aſſiſtant-quarter-maſter general, whoſe abilities and activity rendered him eminently uſeful. And I have the ſatisfaction of reflecting, that the ſupport I have received from all ranks has enabled me to ſell Scylla dear; and that general Regnier has obtained poſſeſſion of this little heap of ruins with the loſs of ſeveral hundreds of his beſt troops. A return of our killed and wounded is annexed. We have loſt ſome gallant men; but conſidering the

weight of the enemy's fire, the number is by no means great.

G. D. ROBERTSON,
Lieut.-col. commandant Scylla caſtle.

To major-gen. Sherbrooke.

Admiralty-office, April 19.

Letter from captain Parker to vice-admiral Ruſſell.

Stately, off Zealands Odde, March 25.

Sir,

It is with much ſatisfaction I have the honour to acquaint you with the capture and deſtruction of the Daniſh ſhip of the line Prince Chriſtian Frederick, of 74 guns. Proceeding towards the Great Belt, in company with his majeſty's ſhip Naſſau, at two *p. m.* on the 22d inſt. we obſerved a ſtrange ſail; and the ſignal being made to chaſe at four *p. m.*, Greenall on the coaſt of Jutland bearing N. W. by N. diſtant 10 miles, we diſcovered that it was an enemy; and at 5 *p. m.* aſcertained the chaſe to be a Daniſh ſhip of the line. I now ſaw that it was evidently the intention of the enemy to run his ſhip on ſhore; and as the night was approaching, he might hope that, in our purſuit of him in the dark, we would have the ſame fate. This, I have ſince been aſſured, was his deſign. At 45 minutes paſt ſeven *p. m.* captain Campbell, in the Naſſau, got up with the enemy, and commenced the action, and in a few minutes after the Stately cloſed; a running fight was now maintained for a conſiderable time, the enemy fighting with great obſtinacy, until we ſucceeded in getting very near and gave ſome cloſe broadſides, on which he ſtruck about half paſt nine *p. m.* At this moment the ſhips were within two cables' length of the ſhore of Zealand; and before my firſt-lieutenant, who took poſſeſſion of the Daniſh ſhip, could cut away her anchor, ſhe grounded. Fortunately this ſhip and the Naſſau brought up near to her. During the remaining part of the night we were employed in taking out the priſoners; and at day-light of the 23d it was found impoſſible to get the captured ſhip afloat, the wind blowing ſtrong on the ſhore; and that therefore the only courſe I could follow was to deſtroy her. The neceſſity for doing this, and for placing our own ſhips out of danger, ſoon became apparent, as the Danes were preparing their artillery on the coaſt; and as our ſhips were at anchor only two cables' length from the beach, they would have done us great injury. After removing the priſoners and wounded, in doing which we experienced much difficulty from the wind blowing ſtrong and a good deal of ſea running, the enemy's ſhip was ſet on fire in the evening of the 23d, and in a ſhort time blew up. I am happy to ſay our loſs has been ſmall. It is trifling indeed when compared with the enemy, where the ſlaughter was great, he having 55 killed and 88 wounded. We have, however, received conſiderable damage in our maſts and rigging. The Prince Chriſtian Frederick was a very fine ſhip, copper-bolted, commanded by captain Jayſon, with a complement of 620 men, and had 576 on-board. I feel much indebted to captain Campbell for his zeal and ability in the commencement and during the action, and to the officers, ſhip's company, and royal marines

marines of his ſhip. My warmeſt gratitude and praiſe is due to the officers and ſeamen, and the officers and privates of royal marines of this ſhip, for their brave and gallant conduct during the action, diſplaying the cool intrepidity of Britiſh ſeamen. The ſame ſpirit animated both ſhips. I beg leave to recommend in the ſtrongeſt manner to the patronage of my lords commiſſioners of the admiralty, Mr. David Sloan, my firſt-lieutenant, to whom I am greatly indebted, not only for his brave and ſpirited conduct in the action, but alſo for his unwearied exertion in removing the priſoners and wounded from the Daniſh ſhip and ſetting her on fire. He poſſeſſes, in an eminent degree, every quality requiſite to form the officer and ſeaman. Herewith you will receive a return of the killed and wounded.

Yours, &c. GEO. PARKER.

A Letter from Rear-admiral Purvis to Lord Collingwood, and by him tranſmitted, incloſes the following Letter.

H. M. ſhip Alceſte, in-ſhore off Cadiz, April 4.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you, that when at anchor to-day with his majeſty's ſhip Mercury, and Graſshopper brig, Saint Sebaſtian's lighthouſe S. E. diſtance three miles, wind W. S. W., a large convoy of the enemy was diſcovered coming cloſe along ſhore from the northward, under the protection of about 20 gun-boats and a numerous train of flying artillery on the beach. At 3 *p. m.* I made ſignal to weigh and attack the convoy, and ſtood directly in for the body of them, then off the town of Rota: at four, the enemy's ſhot, and ſhells from the gun-boats, and batteries going far over us, his majeſty's ſhips opened their fire, which was kept up with great vivacity until half paſt ſix, when we had taken ſeven of the convoy, and drove a great many others on ſhore on the ſurf; compelled the gun-boats to retreat, which they did very reluctantly, and not until two of them were deſtroyed; and actually ſilenced the batteries at Rota, which latter ſervice was performed by the extraordinary gallantry and good conduct of captain Searle, in the Graſshopper, who kept in upon the ſhoal to the ſouthward of the town ſo near as to drive the enemy from the guns with grape from his 32-pound carronades, and at the ſame time kept in check a diviſion of gun-boats that had come out from Cadiz to aſſiſt the others engaged by the Alceſte and Mercury. It was a general cry in both ſhips, "Only look how nobly the brig behaves!" The ſituation of our little ſquadron was rather a critical one, tacking every 15 minutes cloſe to the edge of the ſhoal, with the wind in, and frequently engaged both ſides. In the heat of the action, the firſt-lieutenant, Allen Stewart, volunteered to board the convoy, if I would give him boats. I was ſo ſtruck with the gallantry of the offer that I could not refrain from granting them, although attended with great riſk. He went, accompanied with lieutenant Pipon and lieutenant Hawky of the royal marines, who moſt handſomely volunteered to go, as their party were chiefly employed working the ſhip;

ſhip; Mr. Arſcott and Mr. Day, maſter's-mates; Meſſrs. Parker, Adair, Crooker, M'Caul, and M'Lean, midſhipmen; they were ſoon followed by the Mercury's boats, under the command of the firſt-lieutenant, W. O. Pell, accompanied by lieutenant Gordon and lieutenant Whylock; Mr. Duncain, and Mr. M. R. Cummings, maſter's mates. The boats, led by lieutenant Stewart, puſhed on in the moſt gallant manner, boarded and brought out ſeven tartans from under the very muzzles of the enemy's guns, and from under the protection of the barges and pinnaces of the combined fleet, which had by that time joined the gunboats. I was greatly indebted to lieutenants Aickman and Jervoiſe, (who both wiſhed to go in the boats,) for the ſpirited and well-directed fire they kept up on the main deck; alſo to Mr. Weſtlake, the maſter, for his great attention to the ſteering and working the ſhip: and I have much pleaſure in adding, that the other officers, ſeamen, and marines, behaved with the utmoſt bravery and coolneſs. Captains Gordon and Searle (whoſe gallantry and excellent conduct it might be preſumption in an officer of my ſtanding in the ſervice to comment upon) alſo report upon the great bravery and coolneſs of their reſpective officers, ſeamen, and marines. It is with much pleaſure I have to add, the frigates have received no material damage; the Mercury, an anchor ſhot away, her ſails and rigging cut, though not much; our ſails and rigging in the ſame way; but the Graſſhopper, I am ſorry to ſay, is a great deal damaged in the hull, the main-topmaſts ſhot through, ſhrouds, ſails and running rigging cut almoſt to pieces; ſhe had one man mortally wounded, the gunner and two others wounded, but not ſeverely. The captured veſſels are all loaded on government account for the arſenal at Cadiz; and I am happy to ſay, there is a very conſiderable quantity of valuable ſhip timber. The zeſt of this little ſervice was greatly heightened by being performed in the mouth of Cadiz harbour, and in the teeth of eleven ſail of the line.

Yours, &c.
MURRAY MAXWELL.

Admiralty-office.

Letter tranſmitted by Rear-admiral the Hon. Sir A. Cochrane, K. B. Commander in Chief at the Leeward Iſlands.

Cerebus, off Marie Galante, March 3.

Sir,

I beg to acquaint you of the ſurrender of the iſland of Marie Galante to his majeſty's arms.—Finding the iſland afforded a ſhelter for the enemy's privateers with their captured veſſels, and that it interfered conſiderably with the blockade of Guadaloupe, I conſidered it expedient to attack it; whereupon I gave captain Pigott the command of about 200 ſeamen and marines from the Cerberus, Circe, and Camilla; and on the 2d inſt. we weighed from Petit Terre, and a little after day-light effected a landing about two miles from the town with little oppoſition; and ſoon after the iſland ſurrendered at diſcretion, and the commandant, with the national military force, are priſoners of war.—I find it a very valuable iſland, in the

the higheſt ſtate of cultivation, and large quantity of colonial produce in the ſtores. I have diſembarked the marines, and garriſoned the place, and ſhall remain with the force under my orders for your further directions.—I herewith incloſe captain Pigott's letter to me on the occaſion, (wherein I am happy to obſerve the high terms in which he ſpeaks of captain Bowen, and the officers and men under his command,) together with a liſt of the arms and military ſtores taken on the iſland. W. SELBY.

Deſeada was captured on the 30th of March, by the ſame officer.

Admiralty Office, May 28.

Letter tranſmitted by Rear-admiral Purvis.

Redwing at Sea, May 7.

Sir,

This morning at day-light, Cape Trafalgar bearing W. N. W. about ſix miles, an enemy's convoy was diſcovered coming down along ſhore. The winds being very light and variable, I was not enabled to cloſe with them before ſeven o'clock; at that time, being within point-blank ſhot, the armed veſſels handed their ſails, and, forming a cloſe line, ſwept towards us, indicating an intention to board. The juſt confidence I place in the officers and men that I have the honour to command, induced me to meet the enemy upon his own terms; and I endeavoured to cloſe, to decide the buſineſs as quick as poſſible, in order to ſecure the merchantmen.——Upon arriving within muſket-ſhot, a quick and well-directed fire was opened, our guns doing great execution. At nine o'clock, the enemy, completely panic-ſtruck and beaten, puſhed their veſſels into a heavy ſurf, ſacrificing all their wounded. I inſtantly ſent a boat to try to ſave as many as I could, as it was diſtreſſing to ſee their ſituation, but our men were unable to reſcue one of them. The merchant veſſels, ſeeing the fate of their convoy, attempted to diſperſe; ſome we ſunk, others ran into the ſurf, and in a ſhort time diſappeared; the reſt were captured, excepting three (two of which were armed) that it was not in my power to come up with, owing to our crippled ſtate, having two 24-pounders ſhot through the foremaſt, one through the mainmaſt, and one through the gammoning of the bowſprit, that likewiſe cut the knee of the head aſunder. The ſteady and cool conduct of the officers and men throughout deſerves my warmeſt praiſe: and had the enemy poſſeſſed reſolution enough to have boarded, I could not doubt of the reſult, though oppoſed to ſuch ſuperior numbers. My firſt-lieutenant, Ferguſon, on this as well as on many other occaſions, was a good aſſiſtant to me. Nothing can exceed his cool determined conduct, which I have ſo often witneſſed. Lieutenant Webſter likewiſe executed his duty entirely to my ſatisfaction, as well as Mr. Davis, maſter, and Mr. Horniman, purſer, who were both wounded; the latter, I fear, will loſe an eye. It is with the moſt heartfelt gratification I acquaint you that our loſs in men is ſmall, as herewith annexed. I am now on my way to Gibraltar, as our maſts muſt be taken out; but I ſhall loſe no time

in

in refitting, and resuming my station. T. Usher.

Killed and wounded in the boats. Killed J. Carter, seamen; wounded, E. Jacobson, seamen severely, (who was also wounded on board the sloop); Mr. Davis, master, slightly; Mr. Horniman, purser, severely.

List of the convoy. The Diligent of two 24-pounders and two 8-pounders, and 60 men, sunk; the Boreas of two 24-pounders and two 8-pounders, and 60 men, sunk; No. 3, of two 24-pounders and one 36-pounder, and 36 men, sunk; No. 6, of one 24-pounder and 40 men, sunk; No. 107, of two 6-pounders and 35 men, escaped; a Mistico, of four 6-pounders and 20 men, taken; a felucca, of four 3-pounders and 20 men, escaped. —Merchantmen: 7 captured, 4 sunk, and 1 escaped.

Downing-street, July 9.

A Dispatch, together with Inclosures, has been received from Major-general Spencer.

Atlas off Cadiz, June 12.

My lord,

The French squadron, consisting of five sail of the line and a frigate, having placed themselves in a defensive position, in the channel leading to the Caraccas, and out of the reach of the works of Cadiz, and having refused to listen to any terms, I have great satisfaction in reporting that the Spanish gun and mortar-boats, and the batteries erected for this purpose on the Isle of Leon, and near Fort Louis, commenced hostilities against the French ships, at three o'clock in the afternoon of the 9th, and the firing continued without interruption on both sides till night. It was renewed on the part of the Spaniards on the morning of the 10th, and partially continued till two, when a flag of truce was hoisted by the French; but the terms proposed being inadmissible, the Spaniards intend to recommence hostilities with an additional battery, to the eastward of Fort Louis, consisting of thirty twenty-four pounders. Admiral Purvis and myself wished to have co-operated in this attack; but the Spaniards, feeling themselves confident in their own force, have declined our offers of assistance.—The supreme council of Seville have nominated commissioners, and applied last night for passports, and a frigate to convey them to England, and they were also equally anxious to send feluccas with dispatches to South America. Information having been received that a small French corps was assembling at Tavira, with a view of entering Spain by the river Guadiana, we have been requested to proceed against this corps, and either to attack them on the coast, or endeavour to prevent the further prosecution of their plans against Spain. I accordingly propose to sail immediately for this object, lord Collingwood approving of it, Admiral Purvis had already detached three ships of war off the mouth of the Guadiana, and has offered every other necessary assistance, which lord Collingwood has since confirmed.

B. Spencer, major-gen.

Letter from General Morla, Captain-General of Andalusia and Governor

vernor of Cadiz, addreſſed to Admiral Purvis and General Spencer.

Admiral Roſſilly, as your Excellencies will obſerve by the annexed copy, has propoſed to diſarm, but upon conditions which I thought were inadmiſſible. Whatever may be his terms of ſurrender, I ſhall in no manner deviate from my promiſe; it is therefore neceſſary that I ſhould have your conſent, as I have already ſaid in my firſt conference with Brigadier-gen. Smith and Capt. Sir John Gore, to whom I have pledged myſelf with ſimplicity and good faith. It will afford me conſiderable ſatisfaction to conſult with your Excellencies on all occurrences, incidents, and circumſtances, conducive to our common advantage, and contrary to the intereſts of the common enemy. Nothing gives me more real pleaſure than the abſolute confidence of your Excellencies in my candour and ſincerity, with which I remain your Excellencies' moſt affectionate and devoted ſervant,

T. MORLA.

Cadiz, June 11.

Letter from Admiral Roſſilly, addreſſed to General Morla, dated on board the Admiral's ſhip, Hero, Bay of Cadiz, June 12.

Captain-general,

Obliged to defend myſelf on account of the inquietude inſpired into the people of this province by my impoſing attitude, I yeſterday, in order to tranquilliſe them, propoſed to your Excellency to quit the bay. In caſe the Engliſh cannot accede to this propoſal, I ſuggeſt the idea of diſembarking my means of attack and keeping my ſhip's companies on board; no colours ſhall be diſplayed on my ſquadron. Hoſtages ſhall be given for our ſecurity, our ſick, and all the French people in the province, with their national and individual property. Hoſtages will be equally given on my part. The refreſhments, water, and proviſions neceſſary for my ſquadron ſhall be provided on my paying for them, as has hitherto been done. In ſhort, I ſhall demand no conditions but thoſe which are neceſſary for my honour, and that of the people ſerving under my orders, and which are compatible with the public tranquillity. Deprived by my propoſal of the means of defence againſt the exterior enemy, I demand ſecurity againſt them. Receive, Captain-general, the renewal of my diſtinguiſhed conſideration, with which I am your excellency's moſt humble ſervant,

ROSSILLY.

Anſwer to Admiral Roſſilly.

Excellent ſir,

Admiral Roſſilly,—In anſwer to certain propoſals and official demands tranſmitted by your Excellency, which, although dictated by your honour, are unqueſtionably incompatible with mine, as muſt be evident to your excellency, I have to acquaint you, that I cannot accept any terms but an unconditional ſurrender. My honour and character not allowing me to depart in any way from my promiſes, I therefore inform you, that my orders from the ſuperior council being poſitive with reſpect to the ſurrender of the ſquadron commanded by your Excellency, I cannot enter into

into any conditions without previouſly conſulting them. It is likewiſe my duty to conſult with the Engliſh commanders, as, without their conſent, I cannot compromiſe myſelf. For theſe reaſons, I ſhall ſuſpend my attack, until I have diſpatched thoſe two expreſſes, availing myſelf however of the intermediate time to prepare other means for the attack. Nothing oppoſes the individual eſteem entertained for your excellency by your faithful ſervant,

THOMAS MORLA.

Downing ſtreet, July 12.

The following diſpatches have been received from Major-Gen. Spencer, dated on board his Majeſty's Ship Windſor Caſtle, off Ayamonte, June 17.

My lord,

I avail myſelf of the opportunity afforded by the paſſing of the Nautilus from Lord Collingwood to ſir C. Cotton, to congratulate your Lordſhip on the ſurrender of the French ſquadron of five line of battle ſhips, and one frigate, in the harbour of Cadiz, to the Spaniſh arms, on the 14th inſtant, on which day the Spaniſh colours were flying in all the French ſhips. The particulars of this important and intereſting event, will, no doubt, be fully communicated to your lordſhip by lord Collingwood. It is alſo very ſatisfactory for me to inform your Lordſhip, that the movement I have made to this quarter, at the requeſt of General Morla, has been attended with the happieſt effects. The French troops are retiring in every direction towards Liſbon, except ſome very inſignificant parties left to occupy the different ſmall forts and poſts on this ſide of Portugal. The Portugueſe people are riſing in all parts, encouraged greatly by our preſence here; and the Spaniſh frontier on the Guadiana is thus effectually ſecured from any attack of the French.

B. SPENCER.

Extract of a diſpatch from Major-General Spencer, dated on board his Majeſty's Brig Scout, off Lagos, June 21.

My lord

The French fleet having ſurrendered on the 14th, and the Britiſh commiſſioners having ſince embarked for England, I beg leave ſhortly to recapitulate the different events which have led to theſe deſirable objects, and to ſtate to your Lordſhip the preſent ſituation of Spain and Portugal, as far as I have obtained correct information. The general feeling of the Spaniards had been for ſome time excited to the utmoſt degree of indignation at the conduct of the French. The information of the forced renunciation of the crown of Spain by Charles IV, Ferdinand, and all the royal family, in favour of Bonaparte, appeared to be the ſignal of univerſal oppoſition to the views of France. The council of Seville, one of the principal provincial juriſdictions in Spain, have laid hold of ſome ſtatutes in their conſtitution, which authorize their rejecting the orders of the ſupreme council of Madrid when that capital ſhall be in the power of foreign troops. They have therefore aſſumed an independent authority in the name of Ferdinand VII, whom they have proclaimed king;

king; and after ſome previous ſteps, they have formally declared war againſt France, and have appealed to the Spaniſh nation to ſupport them; and their ſupremacy has been acknowledged by the councils of ſeveral other provinces. In Andaluſia they collected from 15 to 20,000 regular troops, and have put arms in the hands of upwards of 60,000 peaſants. General Caſtanos is appointed commander in chief; and I underſtand they propoſe, out of their firſt levies, to augment the eſtabliſhment of the old regiments to double their preſent numbers. Provincial aſſemblies are alſo forming in moſt of the large towns, and different depôts fixed upon for raiſing volunteers. They have a proportion of nearly 4000 cavalry, and a large quantity of artillery, as Seville is a foundry, and one of the largeſt depôts in Spain. All accounts agree, that in every part of Spain the inſurrections have commenced almoſt at the ſame period; many ſmall detachments of the enemy, and many officers have been cut off. General Dupont was on his march to Seville, and had already paſſed the Morena mountains when the inſurrection took place. He has puſhed on to Cordova, and, by the intercepted diſpatches, we learn he is ſtrengthening himſelf there, and propoſes to wait for reinforcements. In the mean time, the Morena paſſes in his rear have been occupied by 5000 Spaniards, the road has been broken up; and I truſt, all communication has been cut off. Gen. d'Alrid had received orders to join him at Seville with 4000 men, who were to aſſemble at Alcorentin; but our arrival off Ayamonte, and the arming of all Spain, and the alarms in Portugal, having prevented this movement, I truſt that Gen. Junot will not now be able to detach any troops from Portugal, though we underſtand a French corps has been collected at Elvas, but I do not think it can exceed 4000 men, though the reports of its ſtrength are very various. At Faro the Portugueſe have already riſen, have taken or deſtroyed a detachment of about 200 men, have ſeized the arms and ammunition of the province, which the French had collected in a depôt, and alſo about 40,000 dollars in gold, which the French general had amaſſed.

From vice-admiral lord Collingwood, dated Ocean, off Cadiz, June 14.

Sir,

In my letter of the 12th inſtant, by the Alphea, I informed you that application had been made for a ſhip to carry to England commiſſioners appointed by the ſupreme council of Seville, to treat with his Majeſty's miniſters on ſuch matters as are important to the intereſts of both countries. The Admiral who commands in the port off Cadiz being one of the deputed, they did not chuſe he ſhould depart until the ſurrender of the French ſhips, which took place this morning. The Spaniards having conſtructed an additional battery of thirty heavy guns, and numerous gun and bomb-veſſels having taken their ſtations, the French ſhips ſtruck their colours at ſeven o'clock this morning, and ſoon after the Spaniſh were hoiſted on board them. The French ſhips, I underſtand, are not at all injured, as the Spaniards wanted them for their

their own uſe; nor has there been much loſs of men on either ſide. The Governor ſome days ſince (and before I came here) requeſted of Major-general Spencer to proceed to Ayamonte, to oppoſe a detachment of the French army, which was ſaid to be marching from Portugal by the coaſt; and yeſterday the tranſports proceeded, under the protection of the Zealous, to that quarter, where the Windſor Caſtle had conducted a detachment the day before.

The governor of Cadiz has notified to me, that the commiſſioners will be ready to embark in two days. As the Revenge has been ſtationed near the town, where Sir J. Gore has had much intercourſe with the governor and chiefs in command during the late operations, and witneſſed the tempers and diſpoſition of the people, I have ordered that ſhip to receive them, that he may give to his Majeſty's miniſters the information they may deſire of what has come within his obſervation as to the preſent ſtate of this part of Spain. Application has been made to me this evening by the ſupreme council at Seville and the Governor of Cadiz, to give a paſſport to a Spaniſh frigate and four diſpatch veſſels, to carry to the ſeveral governments and preſidencies in the Weſt Indies information of the events which have happened in Spain, and their inſtructions to the governors; and alſo that a ſloop of war may take out officers to that country, whoſe preſence there is important; this they urge in preference to their going in a Spaniſh veſſel, as it will convey a proof of their connection with Great Britain.

COLLINGWOOD.

Letter received by Sir C Cotton, Bart. from Capt. Creyke, of the Eclipſe ſloop, detailing the ſtate of affairs at Oporto.

H. M. S. Eclipſe, off the Bar of Oporto, June 20.

Sir,

Since the account I had the hohour of delivering to you on the 10th June, Oporto has undergone two revolutions, and has been ſucceſſively in the hands of the French, and the ſubjects of the prince regent. After the Spaniards had delivered the forts into the cuſtody of the Portugueſe, and the national colours were every where hoiſted, the French were again able to eſtabliſh their authority, in conſequence of the weak and undetermined meaſures of the governor, Louis d'Oliveira, who is now confined as a traitor; and maintained it till the 16th, the day of Corpus Chriſti, a great national feſtival, when it had been uſual for the Portugueſe regiments to attend with colours flying. The governor d'Oliveira, in conſequence of orders from Junot, attempted to eſtabliſh the French flag inſtead of the Portugueſe at the proceſſion. This violent attack on the national cuſtom drew forth the murmur of the populace to ſo great a degree, that an attempt to compromiſe on the part of the Governor had no effect; and on the 18th, in the evening, the day before my arrival here, they were excited to ſuch a degree of fury, that countenanced by the prieſts, the people roſe *en maſs*, broke open the depôts, and ſupplied themſelves with 25,000 ſtand of arms, and, together with the regulars, formed a moſt determined and enthuſiaſtic army. From this moment all

French

French authority ceaſed, and every man, either French, or ſuſpected of being inclined to the French intereſt, was arreſted. The Biſhop of Oporto was elected as the new governor, and an army of 20,000 men ſent to meet the French, who had advanced, to the amount of 900, within ſix leagues of Oporto. The enthuſiaſm has communicated from one to the other; and the Portugueſe provinces of Tralos Montes, Minho, and the northern parts of Beira, in imitation of the Spaniards, have riſen in arms, determined to extirpate the French from their kingdom. From the moſt moderate accounts, beſides what are at Oporto, I may eſtimate them at upwards of 100,000 men. All the regular regiments diſbanded by the French are forming again with the greateſt alacrity, and will ſoon join them. I have this day had an interview with his Excellency the Governor, conducted to him amidſt the ſhouts and huzzas of the populace. To-morrow I ſend a party of men to mount the guns of a large Brazil ſhip, the command of which is given to an Engliſhman, and deſtined as a floating battery to defend the bridge, in caſe the French ſhould have the temerity to approach, though ſuch an event is not to be apprehended. If any requiſition is made for powder, I ſhall comply with it; but they have at preſent abundance of arms, ammunition, and proviſions. The deteſtation of the Portugueſe to the French is ſo great, that Captain Jones and myſelf, after having begged the life of the French Intendant of police, had the greateſt difficulty in conveying him a priſoner to the boat: and the unbounded love and reſpect for the Engliſh alone prevented the enraged populace from tearing him to pieces.

G. A. CREYKE.

From Captain Digby, of the Coſſack, addreſſed to, and tranſmitted by Lord Gambier.

Coſſack, off St. Andero, June 25.

My Lord,

The laſt opportunity I had of writing to your Lordſhip, I acquainted you of my intention to go to St. Andero immediately, and afford every aſſiſtance in my power to the loyal inhabitants, and bring off any Britiſh ſubjects that might wiſh to come away, in the preſent uncertain ſtate of the country; and I had intelligence that the French frigate in Paſſage, accompanied by ſeveral gun-boats, was expected to make a deſcent on that part of the coaſt: owing to the ſtrong eaſterly winds and long calms, I did not get there till the 21ſt. The ſignal-poſt diſplayed a flag of truce, which was anſwered by both ſhips. The Captain of the port, Don Vincento Camino, came on board; he told us that the French army were ſoon expected to make an attack on the paſs in the mountains that guarded the approach to the town; he invited us to anchor in Sardenero Bay, which we did at five P.M.: until he had made his report to the Biſhop, who was the preſent governor, he wiſhed us not to land. No boat returning by one o'clock the next day, I concluded ſome ſudden attack, or unexpected event, muſt have taken place. In the afternoon a brig came out of the harbour full of people of all deſcriptions, who had left the town

on the report that the French were advancing. I immediately got under weigh, and ſent Capt. Daly, of the Comet, up the harbour, to gain ſome confirmed intelligence, and, ſhould the report prove true, to reconnoitre the fort, and find out where the principal magazine was, and, if poſſible, to deſtroy it. Between eight and nine P.M. Captain Daly returned with certain information, that the French army had gained the paſs, and had halted only a few miles from the town, and were expected to enter that night or next day. Captain Daly alſo made every poſſible obſervation, and had himſelf ſpiked the guns in two forts near the town, and he requeſted to go and deſtroy the magazine, and the guns in the forts that guard the entrance of the harbour. I ſhould certainly have ſent the boats that night; but the great chance of their being taken by ſurpriſe, ſhould the enemy advance, and the night being very dark and ſqually, with every appearance of bad weather, made me defer it till the next morning: at day-light we ſtood into the bay, and manned and armed two boats from each ſhip, under the orders of Captain Daly; he was accompanied by Lieutenant H. M. Herbert, of the Coſſack, and Lieutenant Read, of the royal marines, and ſeveral of the younger officers, who all volunteered their ſervices: they left this ſhip ſoon after, ſix o'clock, and landed about eight, ſpiked all the guns in Fort St. Salvador de Ano, and fort Sedra, and wedged ſhot in the chambers of them, which renders them quite uſeleſs; the magazine was at ſome little diſtance, and had 500 whole barrels of powder in it, beſides quantities of other ſtores: all which was completely deſtroyed, great part by throwing it over the cliffs into the ſea, leaving ſufficient to blow up the magazine: the train was laid for a conſiderable diſtance, and it was let off about ten o'clock, which inſtantly levelled the whole building to the ground. Finding ſome more powder in Fort Sedra, a train was laid to it, which took effect, and blew part of the houſe and ſtorehouſe in it up. The two other forts on the weſt ſide of the bay they could not attempt, as the ſurf was ſo high it was impoſſible to land, and to walk round was too far from the boats, as they had not a moment to ſpare; having heard before they ſet fire to the firſt train, that the French had entered the town, and they expected a ſtrong guard at the forts. The boats left the ſhore by eleven o'clock, and had juſt got round the point of De Ann, when a conſiderable body of French dragoons appeared on the hill, and took poſt near the ſmoking ruins of the magazine. I am ſorry to ſay, captain Daly and Lieutenant Read of the marines are much ſcorched, particularly Lieut. Read, in ſetting fire to the laſt train, but am happy to find his eyes are ſafe, and he is doing well. Captain Daly ſpeaks in high commendation of the zeal and exertion of every officer and man employed with him.

GEORGE DIGBY.

Downing Street, Aug. 16.

The following diſpatch has been tranſmitted by Lieut. Gen. Sir Hugh Dalrymple K. B.

Head quarters, Andujar, July 21.

Sir,

I had the honour to inform you, in my letter of the 17th July, that in

In a council of war held on that day at head quarters, it was reſolved that the diviſion of the marquis de Coupigny ſhould join that of Major-general Reding, and that the attack upon Baylen ſhould be undertaken with the united force of the two diviſions, whilſt the third diviſion and the reſerve ſhould occupy the attention of the enemy by a feigned attack upon Andujar. Major-general Reding entered Baylen on the morning of the 18th, at nine; he met with little oppoſition. Tha enemy retreated towards La Carolina. The Major-general wrote to the Commander in Chief for orders, either to advance againſt Andujar, or to purſue the column which was retiring upon La Carolina. General Caſtanos ordered him to advance upon Andujar without delay. On the 19th, at two A.M. the General received information of the retreat of the French from Andujar. Lieutenant-general Pena, with the reſerve, was ordered to advance immediately towards Baylen. The French began their retreat at nine P.M. 18th July. A letter from General Reding informed the Commander in Chief that he intended commenceing his march from Baylen towards Andujar at three A.M. 19th July. At two P. M. the advanced guard of General Pena's diviſion came up with the enemy. At this moment an expreſs arrived from Major-gen. Reding, to inform the Lieutenant-general that he had been engaged with the diviſion of General Dupont from three in the morning till eleven; that he had repulſed the French, and remained maſter of the field of battle. The guns of the advanced guard of Lieutenant-general Pena's diviſion had ſcarcely begun to fire, when a flag of truce arrived to treat upon the terms of a capitulation. General Dupont was told he muſt ſurrender at diſcretion. The diſcuſſion did not laſt long. Lieutenant-general Pena halted, and formed his diviſion upon the heights of Umbla, diſtant three miles from Baylen; between four and five general Caſterick aide-de-camp to Buonaparte, was ſent by General Dupont with orders to treat with General Caſtanos in perſon. At nine P. M. Major-general Reding informed the Lieutenant-general, that during the truce he had been treacherouſly attacked by General Wedel, who was juſt come from La Carolina with a reinforcement of 6000 men; and that the battalion of Cordova had been ſurpriſed and taken priſoners, together with two field pieces. The negotiations laſted till the evening of the 20th, and the glorious reſult I have the honour to encloſe, is as exact an account of the killed and wounded, on both ſides, as I have been able to collect in the hurry of the moment. The French themſelves acknowledge the bravery and ſteadineſs of the Spaniſh troops; their firmneſs, conſtancy, and perſeverance, under the greateſt poſſible privations, are worthy of the admiration of the world, particularly when it is remembered that half the army is compoſed of new-raiſed levies.——The Marquis Coupigny is detached with his diviſion to take immediate poſſeſſion of the paſſes of Sierra Morena. General Caſtanos deſerves the higheſt praiſe for his well conceived plan, and for the cool determination with which he has carried it into execution, in ſpite of the popular clamour for the immediate attack

attack on the position of Andujar. —Whilst the negociations were carried on, Gen. Castanos received an intercepted dispatch from the Duke of Rovigo to Dupont, ordering him to retreat immediately upon Madrid, as the army of Gallicia was rapidly advancing. This determined the General to admit the capitulation of General Wedel.

French force:—Division of Dupont, 8000 rank and file; division of Wedel, 6000. Total 14,000. —Spanish force:—Reding, 9000; Coupigny, 5000; Pena, 6000; Jones, 5000. Total 25,000 *— Nearly 3000 of the French killed and wounded. From 1000 to 1200 of the Spaniards killed or wounded.

Terms of Capitulation.

The division of General Dupont prisoners of war. The division of General Wedel to deliver up their arms till their arrival at Cadiz, where they are to be embarked and conveyed to Rochefort. There no longer exists a French force in Andalusia.

S. WHITTINGHAM,
13th light dragoons.

N. B. The division of General Dupont is also to return to France by Rochefort.

Upon the first of August it was believed there was not a Frenchman remaining in the capital.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY, SEPTEMBER 3.

Downing-street, Sept. 2.

The following dispatches were last night received from Lieut-gen. Sir H. Burrard and Lieut-Gen. Sir A. Wellesley, dated from head-quarters at Lourinha, brought by Capt. Campbell, aide-de-camp to Sir A. Wellesley, addressed to Lord viscount Castlereagh, one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state.

Extract of a Letter from Lieut.-gen. Sir A. Wellesley, dated Head-quarters at Caldas, Aug. 16.

I marched from Lyria on the 13th, and arrived at Alcobaca on the 19th, which place the enemy had abandoned on the preceding night: and I arrived here yesterday. The enemy, about 4000 in number, were posted about 10 miles from hence, at Borica; and they occupied Brilos, about three miles from hence, with their advanced posts. As the possession of this last village was important to our future operations, I determined to occupy it; and as soon as the British infantry arrived upon the ground, I directed that it might be occupied by a detachment, consisting of four companies of riflemen of the 60th and 95th regiments. The enemy, consisting of a small piquet of infantry and a few cavalry, made a trifling resistance, and retired; but they were followed by a detachment of our riflemen to the distance of three miles from Brilos. The riflemen were then attacked by a superior body of the enemy, who attempted to cut them off from the main body of the detachment to which they belonged, which had now advanced to their support; larger bodies of the enemy appeared on both the flanks of the detachment, and it was with difficulty that Major-gen.

* Of this total one half peasantry.

Spencer

Spencer, who had gone out to Obidos, when he had heard that the riflemen had advanced in purſuit of the enemy, was enabled to effect a retreat to that village. They have ſince remained in poſſeſſion of it, and the enemy have entirely retired from the neighbourhood. In this little affair of the advanced poſts, which was occaſioned ſolely by the eagerneſs of the troops in purſuit of the enemy, I am concerned to add, that lieut. Bunbury, of the 2d battalion of the 95th, was killed, and the hon. capt. Pakenham wounded, but ſlightly; and we have loſt 1 rank and file killed, 5 wounded, and 21 miſſing.

Head Quarters, at Villa Verde, Aug. 17.

My lord,

The French general Laborde having continued in his poſition at Roleia ſince my arrival at Caldas on the 15th inſtant, I determined to attack him in it this morning. Roleia is ſituated on an eminenee, having a plain in its front, at the end of a valley, which commences at Caldas, and is cloſed to the ſouthward by mountains, which join the hills, forming the valley on the left, looking from Caldas. In the centre of the valley, and about eight miles from Roleia, is the town and old Mooriſh fort of Obidos, from whence the enemy's picquets had been driven on the 15th; and from that time he had poſts in the hills on both ſides of the valley, as well as in the plain in front of his army, which was poſted on the heights in front of Roleia, its right reſting upon the hills, its left upon an eminence, on which was a windmill, and the whole covering four or five paſſes into the mountains in his rear. I have reaſon to believe that his force conſiſted of at leaſt 6000 men, of which above 500 were cavalry, with five pieces of cannon; and there was ſome reaſon to believe that gen. Loiſon, who was at Rio Major yeſterday, would join gen. Laborde by his right in the courſe of the night. The plan of attack was formed accordingly; and the army having broken up from Caldas this morning, was formed into three columns; the right, conſiſting of 1200 Portugueſe infantry and 50 Portugueſe cavalry, deſtined to turn the enemy's left, and penetrate into the mountains in his rear: the left, conſiſting of major-gen. Ferguſon's and brig.-gen. Bowes's brigades of infantry, three companies of riflemen a brigade of light artillery, and 20 Britiſh and 20 Portugueſe cavalry, was deſtined, under the command of major-gen. Ferguſon, to aſcend the hills at Obidos, to turn all the enemy's poſts on the left of the valley, as well as the right of the poſt at Roleia: this corps was alſo deſtined to watch the motions of gen. Loiſon, on the enemy's right, who I had heard had moved from Rio Major towards Alcoentre laſt night. The centre column, conſiſting of major-gen. Hill's, brig.-gen. Nightingale's, brig.-gen. Craufurd's and brig.-gen. Fane's brigades, (with the exception of the riflemen detached with major-gen. Ferguſon,) and 400 Portugueſe light infantry, the Britiſh and Portugueſe cavalry, a brigade of 9-pounders and a brigade of 6-pounders, were deſtined to attack gen. Laborde's poſition in front. The columns being formed, the troops moved from Obidos about ſeven in the morning. Brig.-

gen. Fane's riflemen were immediately detached into the hills on the left of the valley, to keep up the communication between the centre and left columns, and to protect the march of the former along the valley; and the enemy's posts were successively driven in. Major-gen. Hill's brigade, formed in three columns of battalions, moved on the right of the valley, supported by the cavalry, in order to attack the enemy's left; and brig.-generals Nightingale and Craufurd moved with the artillery along the high road, until at length the former formed in the plain, immediately in the enemy's front, supported by the light infantry companies, and the 45th regiment of brig.-gen. Craufurd's brigade, while the two other regiments of this brigade (the 50th and 91st), and half of the 9-pounder brigade, were kept as a reserve in the rear. Major-gen. Hill and brig.-gen. Nightingale advanced upon the enemy's position, and at the same moment brig.-gen. Fane's riflemen were in the hills on his right; the Portuguese infantry in a village upon his left; and major-gen. Ferguson's column was descending from the heights into the plain. From this situation the enemy retired by the passes in the mountains with the utmost regularity and the greatest celerity; and, notwithstanding the rapid advances of the British infantry, the want of a sufficient body of cavalry was the cause of his suffering but little loss in the plain. It was then necessary to make a disposition to attack the formidable position which he had taken up. Brig.-gen. Fane's riflemen were already in the mountains on his right, and no time was lost in attacking the different passes, as well to support the riflemen as to defeat the enemy completely.—The Portuguese infantry were ordered to move up a pass on the right of the whole; the light companies of major-gen. Hill's brigade and the 15th regiment moved up a pass next on the right; and the 29th regiment, supported by the 9th, under brig.-gen. Nightingale, a third pass; and the 45th and 82d regiments passes on the left. These passes were all difficult of access, and some of them were well defended by the enemy, particularly that which was attacked by the 29th and 9th regiments. These regiments attacked with the greatest impetuosity, and reached the enemy before those whose attacks were to be made on their flanks: the defence of the enemy was desperate, and it was in this attack principally that we sustained the loss which we have to lament, particularly of that gallant officer the hon. lieut.-col. Lake, who distinguished himself on this occasion.—The enemy was, however, driven from all the positions he had taken in the passes of the mountains, and our troops were advanced in the plains on their tops. For a considerable length of time the 29th and 9th regiments alone were advanced to this point, with brig.-gen. Fane's riflemen at a distance on the left, and they were afterwards supported by the 5th regiment, and by the light companies of major-gen. Hill's brigade, which had come up on their right; and by the other troops ordered to ascend the mountains, who came up by degrees. The enemy here made three most gallant attacks upon the 29th and 9th regiments, supported, as I have above stated,

with a view to cover the retreat of his defeated army; in all of which he was, however, repulsed; but he succeeded in effecting his retreat in good order, owing principally to my want of cavalry, and, secondly, to the difficulty of bringing up the passes of the mountain, with celerity, a sufficient number of troops, and of cannon, to support those which had first ascended. The loss of the enemy has, however, been very great; and he left three pieces of cannon in our hands. I cannot sufficiently applaud the conduct of the troops throughout this action. The enemy's positions were formidable, and he took them up with his usual ability and celerity, and defended them most gallantly. But I must observe, that although we had such a superiority of numbers employed in the operations of this day, the troops actually engaged in the heat of the action were, from unfavourable circumstances, only the 5th, 9th, 29th, the riflemen of the 95th and 60th, and the flank companies of major-gen. Hill's brigade, being a number by no means equal to that of the enemy: their conduct, therefore, deserves the highest commendation.—I cannot avoid to take this opportunity of expressing my acknowledgments for the aid and support I received from all the general and other officers of this army. I am particularly indebted to major-gen. Spencer for the advice and assistance I received from him, to major-gen. Ferguson for the manner in which he led the left column, and to major-general Hill, and brig.-generals Nightingale and Fane, for the manner in which they conducted the different attacks which they led. I derived most material assistance also from lieutenant-colonel Tucker and lieutenant-colonel Bathurst in the offices of deputy adjutant, and deputy quarter-master-general, and from the officers of the staff employed under them. I must also mention that I had every reason to be satisfied with the artillery under lieutenant-colonel Robe.—I have the honour to transmit herewith a return of killed, wounded, and missing. ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

Officers killed, wounded, and missing, on the 17th of August.—General staff: capt. K. J. Bradford, 3d regiment guards, dep. assist. adj. gen., killed.—Artillery: capt. H. Geary, killed.—Engineers, capt. H. Elphinstone, badly wounded.—5th foot: major Emes, slightly wounded; lieut. Doyle, wounded.—9th foot: lieut.-col. Stuart, severely wounded; major Molle, capt. Sankey, and ensign Nichols, wounded.—29th foot: lieut.-col. the hon. G. A. F. Lake, killed; majors G. Way, and T. Egerson; capts. P. Hodge, and A. Patison; lieuts. R. Birmingham, St. John, W. Lucas, and R. Stannus, wounded: capt. G. Tod; lieuts. W. Birmingham. A. Newbold, and T. Langton, missing.—6th foot: capt. J. Curry, slightly wounded.—45th foot: ensign Dawson, killed; lieut. Burke, slightly wounded.—82d foot: lieut. R. Reid. dangerously wounded.—60th foot: lieut. Kiety, ensign Dawes, and adj. De Gilso, slightly wounded.—95th foot: capt. Creagh, and lieuts. Hill and Cortman, slightly wounded.

Abstract of the above return—4 officers killed; 20 officers wounded; 4 officers missing; 3 non-commissioned officers and drummers wounded; 2 non-commission-

ed officers and drummers miſſing; 63 rank and file killed; 295 rank and file wounded; 68 rank and file miſſing; 1 horſe killed; 2 horſes wounded.—Total officers, non-commiſſioned officers, rank and file, and horſes, killed, wounded, and miſſing, 482.

G. B. TUCKER, dep. adj.-gen.

Head Quarters, at Lourinha, Aug. 18.

My lord,

Since I wrote to you laſt night, I have heard from brig.-gen. Anſtruther, that he is on the coaſt of Peniche, with the fleet of victuallers and ſtore-ſhips, in charge of capt. Bligh, of the Alfred, with a part of the force detached from England under brig.-general Ackland, in conſequence of the receipt of orders which I had left at Mondego bay for gen. Ackland, which he had opened. I have ordered brig.-gen. Anſtruther to land immediately; and I have moved to this place, in order, to protect his landing, and facilitate his junction. Gen. Loiſon joined gen. Laborde in the courſe of laſt night at Torres Vedras; and I underſtand that both began their march towards Liſbon this morning. I alſo hear that gen. Junot has arrived this day at Torres Vedras, with a ſmall corps from Liſbon; and I conclude that the whole of the French army will be aſſembled between Torres Vedras and the capital in the courſe of a few days.

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

Head Quarters, Maceira, Aug. 21.

My lord,

The report which I have the honour to encloſe to your lordſhip, made at my requeſt by lieut.-gen. ſir A. Welleſley, conveys information which cannot but prove highly gratifying to his majeſty.—On my landing this morning, I found that the enemy's attack had already commenced, and I was fortunate enough to reach the field of action in time to witneſs and approve of every diſpoſition that had been and was afterwards made by ſir A. Welleſley, his comprehenſive mind furniſhing a ready reſource in every emergency, and rendering it quite unneceſſary to direct any alteration.—I am happy on this occaſion to bear teſtimony to the great ſpirit and good conduct diſplayed by all the troops compoſing this gallant army in this well-conteſted action. I ſend this diſpatch by capt. Campbell, aide-de-camp to ſir A. Welleſley, no perſon being better qualified to give your lordſhip information.

HARRY BURRARD, lieut.-gen.

Sir, *Vimiera, Aug.* 21.

I have the honour to report to you, that the enemy attacked us in our poſition at Vimiera this morning. The village of Vimiera ſtands in a valley, through which runs the river Maceira; at the back, and to the weſtward and northward of the village, is a mountain, the weſtern point of which touches the ſea, and the eaſtern is ſeparated by a deep ravine from the heights, over which paſſes the road which leads from Lourinha and the northward, to Vimiera. The greater part of the infantry, the 1ſt, 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, and 8th brigades were poſted on this mountain, with eight pieces of artillery; major-general Hill's brigade being on the right, major-general Ferguſon's on the left, having one battalion on the heights, ſeparated from the moun

tain

tain. On the eaſtern and ſouthern ſide of the town is a hill, which is entirely commanded, particularly on its right, by the mountain to the weſtward of the town, and commanding all the ground in the neighbourhood to the ſouthward and eaſtward, on which brigadier-general Fane was poſted with his riflemen, and the 50th regiment, and brigadier-general Anſtruther with his brigade, with half a brigade of 6-pounders, and half a brigade of 9-pounders, which had been ordered to the poſition in the courſe of laſt night. The ground over which paſſes the road to Lourinha commanded the left of this height, and it had not been occupied, excepting by a piquet, as the camp had been taken up only for one night; and there was no water in the neighbourhood of his height. The cavalry and the reſerve of artillery were in the valley, between the hills on which the infantry ſtood; both flanking and ſupporting brigadier-general Fane's advanced guard. The enemy firſt appeared at eight o'clock in the morning, in large bodies of cavalry on our left, upon the heights on the road to Lourinha; and it was ſoon obvious that the attack would be made on our advanced guard, and the left of our poſition; and major-general Ferguſon's brigade was immediately moved acroſs the ravine to the heights, on the road to Lourinha, with three pieces of cannon: he was followed ſucceſſively by brigadier-general Nightingale with his brigade, and three pieces of cannon; brigadier-general Ackland with his brigade, and brigadier-general Bowes with his brigade. Theſe troops were formed (major-general Ferguſon's brigade in the firſt line; brigadier-general Nightingale's in the ſecond; and brigadier-general Bowes's and Ackland's, in columns in the rear) on thoſe heights, with their right upon the valley which leads into Vimiera; and their left upon the other ravine, which ſeparates theſe heights from the range which terminates at the landing-place at Maceira. On theſe laſt mentioned heights, the Portugueſe troops, which had been in the bottom near Vimiera, were poſted in the firſt inſtance, and they were ſupported by brigadier-general Craufurd's brigade. The troops of the advanced guard on the height to the ſouthward and eaſtward to the town were deemed ſufficient for its defence; and major-general Hill was moved to the centre of the mountain on which the great body of the infantry had been poſted, as a ſupport to theſe troops, and as a reſerve to the whole army. In addition to this ſupport, theſe troops had that of the cavalry in the rear of the right. The enemy's attack began in ſeveral columns upon the whole of the troops on this height; on the left they advanced, notwithſtanding the fire of the riflemen, cloſe to the 50th regiment, and were checked and driven back only by the bayonets of that corps. The 2d battalion 43d regiment was likewiſe cloſely engaged with them in the road which leads into Vimiera; a part of that corps having been ordered into the church-yard to prevent them from penetrating into the town. On the right of the poſition they were repulſed by the bayonets of the 97th regiment, which corps was ſucceſsfully ſupported by the 2d battalion 52d regiment, which, by an advance in column, took the enemy

enemy in flank. Beſides this oppoſition given to the attack of the enemy on our advanced guard by their own exertions, they were attacked in flank by brigadier-general Ackland's brigade, in its advance to its poſition on the heights on the left; and a cannonade was kept up on the flank of the enemy's columns by the artillery on thoſe heights.—At length, after a moſt deſperate conteſt, the enemy was driven back in confuſion from this attack, with the loſs of ſeven pieces of cannon, many priſoners, and a great number of officers and ſoldiers killed and wounded. He was purſued by the detachment of the 20th light dragoons, but the enemy's cavalry were ſo much ſuperior in numbers, that this detachment has ſuffered much, and lieutenant-colonel Taylor was unfortunately killed. Nearly at the ſame time the enemy's attack commenced upon the heights on the road to Lourinha. This attack was ſupported by a large body of cavalry, and was made with the uſual impetuoſity of the French troops. It was received with ſteadineſs by major-general Ferguſon's brigade, conſiſting of the 36th, 40th, and 71ſt regiments: and theſe corps charged as ſoon as the enemy approached them, who gave way, and they continued to advance upon him, ſupported by the 82d, one of the corps of brig.-gen. Nightingale's brigade, which, as the ground extended, afterwards formed a part of the firſt line; by the 29th regiment, and by brig.-general Bowes's and Ackland's brigades, while brig.-gen. Craufurd's brigade, and the Portugueſe troops, in two lines, advanced along the height on the left. In the advance of major-gen. Ferguſon's brigade ſix pieces of cannon were taken from the enemy, with many priſoners, and vaſt numbers were killed and wounded. The enemy afterwards made an attempt to recover a part of his artillery by attacking the 71ſt and 82d regiments, which were halted in a valley in which it had been taken. Theſe regiments retired from the low grounds in the valley to the heights, where they halted, faced about, fired, and advanced upon the enemy, who had by that time arrived in the low ground; and they thus obliged him to retire with great loſs. In this action, in which the whole of the French force in Portugal was employed under the command of the duke d'Abrantes in perſon, in which the enemy was certainly ſuperior in cavalry and artillery, and in which not more than half of the Britiſh army was actually engaged, he has ſuſtained a ſignal defeat, and has loſt 13 pieces of cannon, 23 ammunition waggons, with powder, ſhells, ſtores of all deſcriptions, and 20,000 rounds of muſket ammunition. One general officer (Berniere) has been wounded and taken priſoner, and a great many officers, and ſoldiers have been killed, wounded, and taken.—The valour and diſcipline of his majeſty's troops have been conſpicuous upon this occaſion, as you, who witneſſed the greateſt part of the action, muſt have obſerved; but it is a juſtice to the following corps to draw your notice to them in a particular manner, viz., the royal artillery, commanded by lieut.-col. Robe; the 20th dragoons, which had been commanded by lieut.-col. Taylor; the 50th regiment, commanded by col. Walker; the 2d battalion 95th foot, commanded by major Travers, the 5th battalion 60th regiment, commanded by

by major Davy; the 2d battalion 43d, commanded by major Hull; the 2d bat. 52d, commanded by lieut.-col. Rofs: the 97th reg. commanded by lieut.-col. Lyon; the 36th, commanded by col. Burne; the 40th, commanded by colonel Kemmis; the 71ſt, commanded by lieut.-col. Pack; and the 82d, commanded by major Eyre.—In mentioning col. Burne and the 36th regiment to you upon this occaſion, I cannot avoid to add, that the regular and orderly conduct of this corps throughout this ſervice, and their gallantry and diſcipline in action, have been conſpicuous.—I muſt take this opportunity of acknowledging my obligations to the general and ſtaff officers of the army. I was much indebted to major-general Spencer's judgment and experience, in the deciſion which I formed with reſpect to the number of troops allotted to each point of defence; and for his advice and aſſiſtance throughout the action. In the poſition taken up by major-gen. Fergufon's brigade, and in its advance upon the enemy, that officer ſhowed equal bravery and judgment; and much praiſe is due to brig.-general Fane, and brig.-gen. Anſtruther, for their gallant defence of their poſition in front of Vimiera, and to brig.-general Nightingale, for the manner in which he ſupported the attack upon the enemy made by major-gen. Fergufon. Lieut.-col. G. Tucker, and lieut.-col. Barhurſt, and the officers in the departments of the adjutant and quarter-maſter-general, and lieut.-colonel Torrens, and the officers of my perſonal ſtaff, rendered me the greateſt aſſiſtance throughout the action. I have the honour to encloſe herewith a return of the killed, wounded, and miſſing.

A. WELLESLEY.

N. B. Since writing the above, I have been informed that a French general officer, ſuppoſed to be gen. Thibault, the chief of the ſtaff, has been found dead upon the field of battle. A. W.

Officers killed, wounded, and miſſing.—General ſtaff, capt. Hardinge, 57th foot, dep. aſſiſt. quart.-maſ.-gen., wounded.—Royal engineers, lieut. Wells, miſſing.—20th light dragoons, lieut-col. Taylor, killed; capt. Euſtace, miſſing.—20th foot, lieut. Brooke, killed; lieut. Hogg, wounded.—29th foot, brig.-major A. Creagh, wounded.—36th foot, capt. Herbert, lieuts. Hart, Lought, and Edwards, wounded; enſign Roſell, ſlightly; lieutenant and adjutant Poveah, ſeverely.—40th foot, capt. Smith, and lieut. Frankley, ſlightly.—43d foot, major Hearne, capts. Fergufon, Brock, and Haverfield, lieut. Madden, and enſign Wilſon, wounded.—50th foot, capt. A. G. Cooke, killed; major C. Hill, lieuts. J. Kent, J. Wilſon, and R. Way, wounded.—52d foot, capt. Ewart, and lieut. Bell, wounded.—60th foot, lieut. C. Kirk, and L. Reith, wounded.—71ſt foot, capt. A. Jones, major Mackenzie, lieuts. W. Hartley, R. Dudgeon, and A. S. M'Intyre, and enſign W. Campbell, ſlightly wounded; lieut. J. D. Pratt, and acting adj. R. M'Alpine, ſeverely wounded.—82d foot, lieut. R. Donkin, killed.—95th foot, lieut. Pratt, and enſign W. Cox, wounded.—97th foot, major J. Wilſon, and lieut. E. Kettlewell, wounded.—Total: 1 lieut.-col., 1 capt., 2 lieuts., 3 ſerjeants, 128 rank and file, 30 horſes, killed; 3 majors,

jors, 10 capts. 9 lieuts. 3 enſigns, 2 ſtaff, 27 ſerjeants, 4 drummers, 466 rank and file, 12 horſes, wounded; 1 capt., 1 lieut., 1 ſerjeant, 2 drummers, 46 rank and file, 1 horſe, miſſing.—Total officers, non-commiſſioned officers and drummers, rank and file, and horſes, killed, wounded, and miſſing, 783.

G. B. TUCKER, dep. adj.-gen.

Ordnance and ammunition taken on the 21ſt.—One 6-pounder, four 4-pounders, two 3-pounders, ſix 5½ inch howitzers; 2 ammunition-waggons, 21 Portugueſe ammunition-cars, 40 horſes, 4 mules. The above is only the number already received in the park; but, from ſeveral accounts, there are eight more taken from the enemy. The ammunition-waggons and cars contain a portion of powder, ſhells, and ſtores of all deſcriptions, and about twenty thouſand pounds of muſket ammunition.

WM. ROBE,
Lt.-col., commanding roy. art.
Lieut.-col. Tucker, &c.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

Downing-ſtreet, Sept. 16.

The following diſpatch was received yeſterday evening from lieut.-general ſir Hew Dalrymple, commanding his majeſty's troops in Portugal, addreſſed to lord viſcount Caſtlereagh.

Head-quarters, Cintra, Sept. 3.

My lord,

I have the honour to inform your lordſhip that I landed in Portugal, and took the command of the army on Monday the 22d of Auguſt, the next day after the battle of Vimiera, and where the enemy ſuſtained a ſignal defeat, where the valour and diſcipline of Britiſh troops, and the talents of Britiſh officers, were eminently diſplayed. A few hours after my arrival, general Kellermann came in with a flag of truce from the French general-in-chief, in order to propoſe an agreement for a ceſſation of hoſtilities, for the purpoſe of concluding a convention for the evacuation of Portugal by the French troops. The encloſed contains the ſeveral articles at firſt agreed upon, and ſigned by ſir Arthur Welleſley and general Kellermann; but as this was done with a reference to the Britiſh admiral, who, when the agreement was communicated to him, objected to the 7th article, which had for its object the diſpoſal of the Ruſſian fleet in the Tagus, it was finally concluded, that lieut.-col. Murray, quarter-maſter-general to the Britiſh army, and gen. Kellermann ſhould proceed to the diſcuſſion of the remaining articles, and finally to conclude a convention for the evacuation of Portugal, ſubject to the ratification of the French general-in-chief, and the Britiſh commanders by ſea and land.—After conſiderable diſcuſſion and repeated reference to me, which rendered it neceſſary for me to avail myſelf of the limited period latterly preſcribed for the ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, in order to move the army forwards, and to place the ſeveral columns upon the routes by which they were to advance, the convention was ſigned, and the ratification exchanged the 30th of laſt month.—That no time might be loſt in obtaining anchorage for the tranſports and other ſhipping, which had for ſome days been expoſed

expoſed to great peril on this dangerous coaſt, and to inſure the communication between the army and the victuallers, which was cut off by the badneſs of the weather, and the ſurf upon the ſhore; I ſent orders to the buffs, and 42d regiments, which were on board of tranſports with Sir C. Cotton's fleet, to land and take poſſeſſion of the forts of the Tagus, whenever the admiral thought it proper to do ſo. This was accordingly carried into execution yeſterday morning, when the forts of Caſcaes, St. Julien and Bugio, were evacuated by the French troops, and taken poſſeſſion of by ours. As I landed in Portugal entirely unacquainted with the actual ſtate of the French army, and many circumſtances of a local and incidental nature, which doubtleſs had great weight in deciding the queſtion; my own opinion in favour of the expediency of expelling the French army from Portugal, by means of the convention the late defeat had induced the French general-in-chief to ſolicit, inſtead of doing ſo by a continuation of hoſtilities, was principally founded on the great importance of time, which the ſeaſon of the year rendered peculiarly valuable, and which the enemy could eaſily have conſumed in the protracted defence of the ſtrong places they occupied, had terms of convention been refuſed them.—When the ſuſpenſion of arms was agreed upon, the army under the command of Sir John Moore had not arrived; and doubts were even entertained, whether ſo large a body of men could be landed on an open and a dangerous beach; and, that being effected, whether the ſupply of ſo large an army with proviſions from the ſhips could be provided for, under all the diſadvantages to which the ſhipping were expoſed. During the negotiation, the former difficulty was overcome by the activity, zeal, and intelligence, of Captain Malcolm, of the Donegal, and the officers and men under his orders; but the poſſibility of the latter ſeems to have been at an end, nearly at the moment when it was no longer neceſſary.—Captain Dalrymple, of the 18th dragoons, my military ſecretary, will have the honour of delivering to your lordſhip this diſpatch. He is fully informed of whatever has been done under my orders, relative to the ſervice on which I have been employed, and can give any explanation thereupon that may be required.

HEW DALRYMPLE,
Lieutenant-General.

[A ſuſpenſion of arms agreed upon between ſir A. Welleſley and general Kellermann, on the 22d of Auguſt, was the baſis of the following convention; the ſeventh article of that preliminary treaty (which was afterwards rejected by ſir Charles Cotton) ſtipulated that the Ruſſian fleet ſhould be allowed to remain in the Tagus, unmoleſted, as long as it thought proper, or to return home.]

Definitive convention for the evacuation of Portugal by the French army.

The generals commanding in chief the Britiſh and French armies in Portugal, having determined to negotiate and conclude a treaty for the evacuation of Portugal by the French troops, on the baſis of the agreement entered into on the 22d inſt.

inſt. for a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, have appointed the undermentioned officers to negotiate the ſame in their names, viz.: On the part of the general-in-chief of the Britiſh army, lieut.-col. Murray, quarter-maſter-general, and on the part of the general-in-chief of the French army, M. Kellermann, general of diviſion; to whom they have given authority to negotiate and conclude a convention to that effect, ſubject to their ratifications reſpectively, and to that of the admiral commanding the Britiſh fleet at the entrance of the Tagus. Thoſe two officers, after exchanging their full powers, have agreed upon the articles which follow:

Art. I. All the places and forts in the kingdom of Portugal occupied by the French troops ſhall be delivered up to the Britiſh army in the ſtate in which they are at the period of the ſignature of the preſent convention.

Art. II. The French troops ſhall evacuate Portugal with their arms and baggage; they ſhall not be conſidered as priſoners of war, and, on their arrival in France, they ſhall be at liberty to ſerve.

Art. III. The Engliſh government ſhall furniſh the means of conveyance for the French army, which ſhall be diſembarked in any of the ports of France between Rochefort and L'Orient inclusively.

Art. IV. The French army ſhall carry with it all its artillery of French calibre, with the horſes belonging to it, and the tumbrils ſupplied with ſixty rounds per gun. All other artillery, arms, and ammunition, as alſo the military and naval arſenals, ſhall be given up to the Britiſh army and navy, in the ſtate in which they may be at the period of the ratification of the convention.

Art. V. The French army ſhall carry with it all its equipments, and all that is comprehended under the name or property of the army: that is to ſay, its military cheſt, and carriages attached to the field commiſſariat and field hoſpitals; or ſhall be allowed to diſpoſe of ſuch part of the ſame on its account, as the commander-in-chief may judge it unneceſſary to embark. In like manner, all individuals of the army ſhall be at liberty to diſpoſe of their private property of every deſcription, with full ſecurity hereafter for the purchaſers.

Art. VI. The cavalry are to embark their horſes, as alſo the generals, and other officers of all ranks. It is, however, fully underſtood, that the means of conveyance for horſes at the diſpoſal of the Britiſh commanders are very limited; ſome additional conveyance may be procured in the port of Liſbon; the number of horſes to be embarked by the troops ſhall not exceed ſix hundred; and the number embarked by the ſtaff ſhall not exceed two hundred. At all events, every facility will be given to the French army to diſpoſe of the horſes belonging to it which cannot be embarked.

Art. VII. In order to facilitate the embarkation, it ſhall take place in three diviſions, the laſt of which will be principally compoſed of the garriſons of the places, the cavalry, the artillery, the ſick, and the equipment of the army. The firſt diviſion ſhall embark within

within ſeven days of the date of the ratification, or ſooner, if poſſible.

Art. VIII. The garriſons of Elvas, and its forts, and of Peniche and Palmela, will be embarked Liſbon; that of Almaida at Oporto, or the neareſt harbour. They will be accompanied on their march by Britiſh commiſſaries, charged with providing for their ſubſiſtence and accommodation.

Art. IX. All the ſick and wounded who cannot be embarked with the troops, are intruſted to the Britiſh army. They are to be taken care of whilſt they remain in this country, at the expenſe of the Britiſh government, under the condition of the ſame being reimburſed by France when the final evacuation is effected. The Engliſh government will provide for their return to France, which ſhall take place by detachments of about one hundred and fifty or two hundred men at a time. A ſufficient number of French medical officers ſhall be left behind to attend them.

Art. X. As ſoon as the veſſels employed to carry the army to France ſhall have diſembarked in the harbours ſpecified, or in any other of the ports of France to which ſtreſs of weather may force them, every facility ſhall be given them to return to England without delay, and ſecurity againſt capture until their arrival in a friendly port.

Art. XI. The French army ſhall be concentrated in Liſbon, and within a diſtance of about two leagues from it. The Engliſh army will approach within three leagues of the capital, and be ſo placed as to leave about one league between the two armies.

Art. XII. The forts of St. Julien, the Bugio, and Caſcaes, ſhall be occupied by the Britiſh troops on the ratification of the convention. Liſbon and its citadel, together with the forts and batteries, as far as the Lazaretto or Trafuria on one ſide, and fort St. Joſeph on the other, inclu, ſively, ſhall be given up on the embarkation of the ſecond diviſion, as ſhall alſo the harbour, and all armed veſſels in it of every deſcription, with their riggings, ſails, ſtores, and ammunition. The fortreſſes of Elvas, Almaida, Peniche, and Palmela, ſhall be given up as ſoon as the Britiſh troops can arrive to occupy them. In the mean time the general-in-chief of the Britiſh army will give notice of the preſent convention to the garriſons of thoſe places, as alſo to the troops before them, in order to put a ſtop to all further hoſtilities.

Art. XIII. Commiſſaries ſhall be named on both ſides, to regulate and accelerate the execution of the arrangements agreed upon.

Art. XIV. Should there ariſe doubts as to the meaning of any article, it ſhall be explained favourably to the French army.

Art. XV. From the date of the ratification of the preſent convention, all arrears of contributions, requiſitions, or claims whatever, of the French government againſt ſubjects of Portugal, or any other individuals reſiding in this country, founded on the occupation of Portugal by the French troops in Dec. 1807, which may not have been paid up, are cancelled; and all

all ſequeſtrations laid upon their property, moveable or immoveable, are removed, and the free diſpoſal of the ſame is reſtored to the proper owners.

Art. XVI. All ſubjects of France, or of powers in friendſhip or alliance with France, domiciliated in Portugal, or accidentally in this country, ſhall be protected: their property of every kind, moveable and immoveable, ſhall be reſpected; and they ſhall be at liberty either to accompany the French army, or to remain in Portugal. In either caſe their property is guaranteed to them, with the liberty of retaining or of diſpoſing of it, and paſſing the produce of the ſale thereof into France, or any other country where they may fix their reſidence, the ſpace of one year being allowed them for that purpoſe. It is fully underſtood that ſhipping is excepted from this arrangement, only, however, in ſo far as regards leaving the port; and that none of the ſtipulations above mentioned can be made the pretext of any commercial ſpeculation.

Art. XVII. No native of Portugal ſhall be rendered accountable for his political conduct during the period of the occupation of this country by the French army; and all thoſe who have continued in the exerciſe of their employments, or have accepted ſituations under the French government, are placed under the protection of the Britiſh commanders; they ſhall ſuſtain no injury in their perſons or property, it not having been at their option to be obedient or not to the French government: they are alſo at liberty to avail themſelves of the ſtipulations of the 16th article.

Art. XVIII. The Spaniſh troops detained on board ſhip in the port of Liſbon ſhall be given up to the Commander-in-Chief of the Britiſh army, who engages to obtain of the Spaniards to reſtore ſuch French ſubjects, either military or civil, as may have been detained in Spain without being taken in battle, or in conſequence of military operations, but on occaſion of the occurrences of the 29th of laſt May, and the days immediately following.

Art. XIX. There ſhall be an immediate exchange eſtabliſhed for all ranks of priſoners made in Portugal, ſince the commencement of the preſent hoſtilities.

Art. XX. Hoſtages of the rank of field-officers ſhall be mutually furniſhed on the part of the Britiſh army and navy, and on that of the French army, for the reciprocal guarantee of the preſent convention. The officers of the Britiſh army ſhall be reſtored on the completion of the articles which concern the army; and the officers of the navy on the diſembarkation of the French troops in their own country. The like is to take place on the part of the French army.

Art. XXI. It ſhall be allowed to the general in chief of the French army to ſend an officer to France with intelligence of the preſent convention. A veſſel will be furniſhed by the Britiſh admiral to convey him to Bourdeaux or Rochefort.

Art. XXII. The Britiſh admiral will be invited to accommodate his excellency the commander-in-chief, and the other principal officers of the French army, on board ſhips of war.

Done

Done and concluded at Liſbon, this 30th day of Auguſt, 1808.

(Signed)

GEORGE MURRAY, Quarter-Maſter-General.
KELLERMANN, le Gén. de Diviſion.

Nous duc d'Abrantes, général en chef de l'armée Françaiſe, avons ratifié et ratifions la préſente convention définitive dans tous ſes articles, pour être exécutée ſelon ſa forme et teneur.

(Signed)

LE DUC D'ABRANTES.
Au Quartier Général de Liſbonne, le 30 Aout, 1808.

Additional Articles to the Convention of the 30th Aug. 1808.

Art. I. The individuals in the civil employment of the army made priſoners, either by the Britiſh troops, or by the Portugueſe in any part of Portugal, will be reſtored, as is cuſtomary, without exchange.

Art. II. The French army ſhall be ſubſiſted from its own magazines up to the day of embarkation: the garriſons up to the day of the evacuation of the fortreſſes. The remainder of the magazines ſhall be delivered over in the uſual form to the Britiſh government, which charges itſelf with the ſubſiſtence of the men and horſes of the army from the above-mentioned periods till their arrival in France, under the condition of their being reimburſed by the French government for the exceſs of the expenſe beyond the eſtimation, to be made by both parties, of the value of the magazines delivered up to the Britiſh army. The proviſions on board the ſhips of war, in poſſeſſion of the French army, will be taken on account by the Britiſh government, in like manner with the magazines in the fortreſſes.

Art. III. The general commanding the Britiſh troops will take the neceſſary meaſures for re-eſtabliſhing the free circulation of the means of ſubſiſtence between the country and the capital.

Done and concluded at Liſbon, this 30th day of Auguſt, 1808.

(Signed)

GEORGE MURRAY, Quarter-Maſter-General.
KELLERMANN, le Général de Diviſion.

Nous duc d'Abrantes, général en chef de l'armée Françaiſe, avons ratifié et ratifions les articles additionels à la convention et contre, pour être exécutes ſuivant leur forme et teneur.

LE DUC D'ABRANTES,
A. J. DALRYMPLE, Captain Military Sec.

Admiralty-office, Sept. 16.

Captain Halſted, firſt captain to the ſquadron under the command of Sir C. Cotton, Bart. Commander-in-Chief of his Majeſty's ſhips and veſſels on the coaſt of Portugal, arrived yeſterday with diſpatches to the Hon. W. W. Pole.

Hibernia, off the Tagus, Sept. 3.

SIR,

Encloſed herewith, for the information of the lords commiſſioners of the admiralty, is a copy of a con-

a convention *, entered into by Lieutenant-Colonel Murray and General Kellermann, for the evacuation of Portugal by the French army; such convention having been ratified by Lieutenant-General Sir Hew Dalrymple, myself, and the French commander-in-chief. British troops, consisting of the 3d and 42d regiments, were on the 2d inst. landed, to occupy the forts of Cascaes, St. Antonio, St. Julien, and the Bugio; and no time shall be lost to embark the French troops, agreeably to the said convention. Captain Halsted, first captain of this ship, and captain of the fleet, who is the bearer of these dispatches to their lordships, respecting the Russian squadron in the Tagus, is in full possession of my confidence, and will be able to explain to their lordships the motives inducing me to ratify the convention in question, as well as give any further information that may be thought necessary.

C. Cotton.

Hibernia off the Tagus, Sept. 4.

Sir,

Herewith I have the honour to enclose to you, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, a copy of a convention entered into by me with vice-admiral Siniavin, commanding the Russian fleet in the Tagus; by which it will appear to their lordships that such fleet has been surrendered to me, to be held by his majesty as a deposit, until six months after the conclusion of peace between Russia and England. I have charged capt. Halsted, first captain of the Hibernia, and captain of the fleet, with the delivery of this dispatch to their lordships; he was sent by me to negotiate the convention with vice-admiral Siniavin, and will be able to explain every particular. To capt. Halsted I feel greatly indebted for his able advice and assistance upon all points of service; his zeal and diligence have been exemplary, and entitle him to my highest commendation. Rear-admiral Tyler has been directed to superintend the first division of the Russian fleet, which I purpose ordering under his protection, immediately to Spithead; to him (since with me) I have been indebted for every assistance, and to the captains, officers, and crews, of those ships that have been employed throughout a tediously protracted blockade (by whom every exertion has been made with a degree of cheerfulness, doing them infinite honour). I feel extremely grateful, and deem it my duty to offer every possible testimony of my approbation in their favour.

C. Cotton.

Articles of a Convention entered into between Vice-Admiral Siniavin, Knight of the Order of St. Alexander, and other Russian Orders, and Admiral Sir Charles Cotton, Bart., for the surrender of the Russian fleet, now anchored in the river Tagus.

Art. I. The ships of war of the Emperor of Russia, now in the Tagus, as specified in the annexed list, shall be delivered up to Admiral Cotton immediately, with all

* A copy of the convention enclosed in a letter from Sir Hew Dalrymple.

their

their ſtores as they now are, to be ſent to England, and there held as a depoſit by his Britannic Majeſty, to be reſtored to his Imperial Majeſty within ſix months after the concluſion of a peace between his Britannic Majeſty and his Imperial Majeſty the Emperor of all the Ruſſias.

Art. II. Vice-Admiral Sniiavin, with the officers, ſailors, and marines, under his command, to return to Ruſſia without any condition or ſtipulation reſpecting their future ſervices; to be conveyed there in men of war, or proper veſſels, at the expenſe of his Britannic Majeſty.

Done and concluded on board the ſhip Twerday, in the Tagus, and on board his Britannic Majeſty's ſhip Hibernia; off the mouth of that river, the 3d day of September, 1808.

DE SINIAVIN,
CHARLES COTTON.

(Counter-ſigned)
By command of the Admiral,
L. SASS, Aſſeſſeur de College.

(Counter-ſigned)
By command of the Admiral,
JAMES KENNEDY, Secretary.

Liſt of the ſhips referred to in the foregoing Convention.

Twerday, Vice-Admiral Siniavin, Captain du 1er rang Malayoff, of 74 guns and 736 men.—Scoroy, Captain du 1er rang Shelling, of 60 guns and 524 men.—Ste Helene, Captain du 2d rang Bytchenſkoy, of 74 guns and 598 men.—S. Rafael, Captain du 2d rang Roſhnoff, of 74 guns and 610 men.—Ratzivau, Captain du 2d rang Rtiſhchoff, of 66 guns and 549 men.—Silnoy, Captain-Lieutenant Malygruin, of 74 guns and 604 men.—Motchnoy, Captain-Lieutenant Raſvoſoff, of 74 guns and 629 men.—Rafael, Captain-Lieutenant Bytchenſkoy, of 80 guns and 646 men.—Frigate Kilduyn, Captain-Lieutenant Dournoff, of 26 guns and 222 men.—Yarowſlay, Captain du 2d rang Milkoff, of 74 guns and 567 men.—Total, 5685 men.

MALINJEFF, le Capitaine de Pavillon.

Proteſt made by Bernardine Friere de Anrade, General of the Portugueſe Troops, againſt the Articles of the Convention agreed on between the Engliſh and French Armies for the Evacuation of Portugal.

I proteſt, in general, on account of this treaty being totally void of that deference due to his Royal Highneſs the Prince Regent, or the government that repreſents him; on account of what may be hoſtile in it to the ſovereign authority and independence of this government, and for all that may be againſt the honour, ſafety, and intereſts of the nation: and, in particular, I proteſt againſt what is ſtipulated in the following articles:

Articles I, IV, and XII.—Becauſe theſe articles determine the ſurrender of Portugueſe fortified places, ſtores, and ſhips, to the Engliſh forces, without ſolemnly declaring that this ſurrender is momentary, and that it is intended they ſhould be immediately reſtored to the Prince Regent of Portugal, or the government that may repreſent him to whom they belong, and in whoſe aid the Engliſh

liſh forces came as auxiliaries.—Art. XVI. Becauſe it permits the reſidence in Portugal of the individuals mentioned in it.—Art. XVII. Becauſe it attempts to tie down the government of this kingdom, not to bring to juſtice and condign puniſhment thoſe perſons who have been notoriouſly and ſcandalouſly diſloyal to their prince and their country, by joining and ſerving the French party: and, even if the protection of the Engliſh army ſhould be allowed to ſcreen them from the puniſhment they have deſerved, ſtill it ſhould not prevent their expulſion, whereby this country would no longer have to fear being again betrayed by the ſame men.

Firſt of the additional articles.—This article can by no means bind the government of the kingdom, as no reciprocal conditions are ſtipulated.—I proteſt, finally, on account of the want of attention to the ſafety of the inhabitants of the capital and its environs, nothing having been ſtipulated in their favour to inſure their not being ſtill vexed and oppreſſed by the French during their ſtay—not even an equivalent for what is eſtabliſhed by Art. XVI. and XVII, in favour of the French and their followers. And to theſe heads I limit my proteſt, in order not to make too long a liſt, paſſing over other objects of leſs importance, ſuch as the conceſſion of 800 horſes, which was made without conſidering that they almoſt all belong to Portugal, and thus cannot be conſidered as the property of the French; that of the magazines of the army, filled at the expenſe of the country, and conſequently only belonging by fact, not by right, to the unjuſt occupants of the country.

BERNARDINE FRIERE D'ANRADE.

Head-quarters at the Incarnation, Sept. 14, 1808.

LONDON GAZETTE, NOV. 3.

Letter tranſmitted by Lord Collingwood.

Seahorſe, off Skyro, July 6.

MY LORD,

I have the honour to inform your Lordſhip, that yeſterday we obſerved two Turkiſh men of war and a galley coming round the eaſt end of the iſland of Scopolo, towards which we immediately made ſail. On coming near enough to make out that they were both ſingle-decked ſhips, I determined to bring them to action, having every confidence in the officers and crew of this ſhip. The action began at half-paſt nine, the Turks going a little off the wind under eaſy ſail, and continually endeavouring to run us on-board; indeed I early ſaw that their chief attention was directed to this object; and as the largeſt ſhip appeared of great force and full of men, I kept this ſhip in a poſition not to be boarded. At ten o'clock, obſerving a good opportunity of more particularly attacking the ſmall ſhip to advantage, we dropped along ſide of her, and after a quarter of an hour's hot fire, at half piſtol ſhot diſtance, her fire having totally ceaſed, we left her in a ſtate of the greateſt diſtreſs and confuſion, with her ſails moſtly down; and juſt before we had left her

her ſhe had partially blown up forward. By this time the large frigate, which, from having fallen a little to leeward, had not been able to aſſiſt her conſort, had again got pretty cloſe up, and the action between us ſoon recommenced; ſtill ſo obſtinate was the reſiſtance of the Turks, that it was not till a quarter paſt one we rendered her a motionleſs wreck. As they now would neither anſwer nor fire, I conceived it moſt prudent, knowing the character of the people, to wait for day-light to ſend on board her. At day-light, obſerving her colours upon the ſtump of the mizen-maſt, we poured a broadſide into her ſtern, when ſhe ſtruck, and I had the pleaſure to take poſſeſſion of the Badere Zaffer, a very fine frigate of the largeſt dimenſions, carrying 52 long braſs guns, 24-pounders, on the main-deck, except two, which are 42-pounders, and 12-pounders on the quarter-deck and forecaſtle. She had a complement of 500 men, and was commanded by Captain Scanderli Kichuc Alli, who, I am informed, was only prevented by his own people from blowing her up. Her loſs in killed and wounded is prodigious, 165 killed and 195 wounded; ours comparatively ſmall, 5 killed and 10 wounded. Our mizen-maſt fell ſoon after the action, which is the greateſt injury we ſuſtained. The other ſhip was named the Abs Fezan, carrying twenty-four 13-pounders and two mortars, commanded by Captain Daragardi Alli, with a complement of 230 men. I underſtand they took moſt of the men out of the galley before the action, and ſent her away. Having now, my Lord, given you the details of this affair, there only remains the pleaſant office of recommending to you the officers and ſhip's company, who, during a tedious night action, where much depended upon working the ſails as well as the guns, behaved in a manner to command my utmoſt gratitude. The diſparity of force, with the loſs in the enemy's ſhips, will prove the greatneſs of their exertions, to which I ſhall add, that thirty men were abſent from the ſhip. Mr. Downie, the firſt lieutenant, is an officer of merit, ability, and experience; and I beg leave ſtrongly to recommend him to your Lordſhip's protection for promotion. Mr. Leſter, maſter's-mate, who has paſſed, is alſo very deſerving of promotion. Thomas Hully, gunner's-mate, and an excellent man, acted as gunner; and from his conduct is very deſerving of ſuch a ſituation. I am now proceeding, with the prize, for any port I can get firſt into amongſt the iſlands, as it is with difficulty we can keep her above water. J. STEWART.

Admiralty-office, Nov. 19.

Letter from Captain Seymour to Lord Gambier.

Amethyſt, Hamoaze, Nov. 15.

My Lord,

I have the moſt ſincere pleaſure in acquainting you, that his Majeſty's ſhip the Amethyſt, under my command, captured, 10th inſtant at night, the French frigate La Thetis, of 44 guns, and a crew of 330 men, who had ſerved years together, and 106 ſoldiers, from L'Orient for Martinique. Being cloſe to the N. W. point of Groa, ſhe was ſeen a quarter before ſeven

P. M. and immediately chaſed; and a cloſe action began before 10 o'clock, which continued with little intermiſſion till 20 minutes after midnight. Having fallen on board for a ſhort time after 10, and from a quarter paſt 11, when ſhe intentionally laid us on board, till ſhe ſurrendered (about an hour), ſhe lay faſt alongſide, the fluke of our beſt bower anchor having entered her foremoſt main-deck port, and ſhe was, after great ſlaughter, boarded and taken poſſeſſion of, and ſome priſoners received from her, before we diſengaged the ſhips. Shortly after, a ſhip of war was ſeen cloſing faſt under a preſs of ſail, which proved to be the Triumph, which immediately gave us the moſt effectual aſſiſtance that the anxious and feeling mind of ſuch an officer as Sir T. Hardy could ſuggeſt. At half-paſt one the Shannon joined, received priſoners from, and took La Thetis in tow. She is wholly diſmaſted, dreadfully ſhattered, and had her commander (Pinſon, capitaine de vaiſſeau) and 135 men killed; 102 wounded, amongſt whom are all her officers except three. The Amethyſt has loſt 19 killed and 51 wounded; amongſt the former is Lieut. B. Kindall, a moſt promiſing young officer, of the royal marines, who ſuffered greatly; and that invaluable officer Lieut. S. J. Payne, dangerouſly wounded; the mizen-maſt ſhot away, and the ſhip much damaged and leaky. No language can convey an adequate idea of the cool and determined bravery ſhown by every officer and man of this ſhip: and their truly noble behaviour has laid me under the greateſt obligation. The aſſiſtance I received from my gallant friend the firſt lieutenant, Mr. G. Blennerhaſſet, an officer of great merit and ability, is beyond all encomium. Lieuts. Hill and Crouch, and Mr. Fair, the maſter (whoſe admirable exertions, particularly at the cloſe of the action, when the enemy was on fire, the boarders employed, and the ſhip had ſuddenly made two feet water, ſurmounted all difficulties) are happily preſerved to add luſtre to his Majeſty's ſervice. In juſtice to Monſieur Dede, the ſurviving commander, of La Thetis, I muſt obſerve he acted with ſingular firmneſs, and was the only Frenchman upon the quarter deck, when we boarded.

MICHAEL SEYMOUR.

Admiralty-office, Dec. 13.

A diſpatch has been received from Gen. Stuart, at Meſſina, containing an incloſure from Lieut. Bryce, which details the particulars of a ſucceſsful attack made on Diamante Harbour, by a ſmall expedition ſupported by the Halcyon and Weazel ſloops, &c.

Off Diamante, Sept. 8.

Sir,

I do myſelf the honour to acquaint you, that the detachment you were pleaſed to put under my orders has ſucceſsfully executed the ſervice in view, by capturing, in conjunction with Capt. Pearce, of the royal navy, a flotilla of 38 ſail of the enemy's veſſels, of which four are large gun-boats, under the town of Diamante, where they had been blockaded with much perſeverance by Capt. Preſcott, of the Weazel. On our arrival, I found the

the poſition of the enemy very reſpectable, as the town of Diamante, which covered the veſſels ranged on the right and left of it, ſtands on a peninſula nearly inacceſſible on three ſides; the fourth is protected by different incloſures; and there is, beſides, a building of conſiderable ſtrength commanding the whole. After the building had been cannonaded for ſome time by Captains Pearce and Reſcold, of the royal navy, and the chevalier de Balſamo, commander of a Sicilian galliot, who were indefatigable in their exertions, 250 men of the regiment of Malta, under Major Hammill, and 100 of the 58th regiment under Capt. O'Brien, were landed at day-break this morning, about half a mile to the northward of the town, accompanied by a howitzer and two 3-pounders, commanded by Captain Campbell of the royal artillery. The enemy, who conſiſted of about 400 men of the civic guard, with a proportion of French troops, were gradually forced back through the underwood upon the town; which, however, they did not attempt to defend, but took to the mountains; and we were enabled to turn their batteries, of four heavy guns, on the beach to the ſouthward of the town, without ſuſtaining any loſs, when the whole of their veſſels fell into our hands. I beg leave to expreſs great ſatisfaction with the judicious conduct of Major Hammill; and thanks are due to Capt. Campbell, commanding the artillery, Capt. O'Brien, commanding the 58th, and Lieut. Lawſon of the engineers, who did me the favour to attend me on ſhore.

ALEX. BRYCE, Lieut.-col. R. E.

Admiralty-office, Dec. 17.

Copy of a Letter from Sir E. Pellew, Bart. to the Hon. W. W. Pole.

Culloden, Bombay Harbour, April 7.

Sir,

I requeſt you will ſubmit to the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty the incloſed letter from Lieut. Dawſon, acting in the command of his Majeſty's ſhip St. Fiorenzo, ſtating the particulars of the capture of La Piedmontaiſe French frigate, mounting 50 guns, on the 8th ult. in the Gulf of Manaar.—In making this communication, I am deſirous of expreſſing thoſe mingled ſentiments of admiration and concern which I experienced in the loſs of Capt. Hardinge, who fell in the moment of victory, after having exerted, during three ſucceſſive days, the moſt remarkable zeal, gallantry, and judgment, in the conduct of this very brilliant action. His Majeſty's ſervice has been thus deprived of a moſt excellent and diſtinguiſhed officer, of whom the higheſt expectations have been juſtly formed, from a knowledge of his many great and excellent qualities.—The merit of Lieut. Dawſon, upon whom the command devolved after the death of Captain Hardinge, is already well known to the board by his gallant behaviour on a former occaſion, when he was ſeverely wounded at the capture of the Pſyche frigate by the St. Fiorenzo, in which nearly the whole of her preſent officers and crew had the honour to ſhare.—The manner in which he continued the action, which had been ſo nearly concluded by his lamented Captain, and finally conducted it to a ſuc-

ceſsful iſſue, will doubtleſs ſecure to him the high approbation and recompenſe of their Lordſhips.—The undaunted bravery, the animated and perſevering exertions of every officer, ſeaman, and marine on board the St. Fiorenzo, have been truly worthy of the beloved country in whoſe cauſe they have been ſo nobly engaged; the public gratitude will be commenſurate with their eminent ſervices.—I learn that the St. Fiorenzo had arrived with her prize in ſafety at Columbo, from whence ſhe may ſhortly be expected at this port.

EDWARD PELLEW.

St. Fiorenzo, at Sea, March 9.

Sir,

It is with great regret I have to inform you of the death of Capt. Hardinge, late of his Majeſty's ſhip St. Fiorenzo, who fell glorioufly in the early part of an action on the 8th inſt. between this ſhip and the French national frigate La Piedmontaiſe.—The St. Fiorenzo ſailed from Point de Galle on Friday the 4th inſt. at half paſt 11, A. M. On the 6th, at 7, A. M. paſſed three Indiamen, and ſhortly after ſaw a frigate bearing N. E. We immediately hauled our wind in chaſe, and made all ſail, being at that time in lat. 7 deg. 32 min., long. 77 deg. 58 min. We made the private ſignal, which was not anſwered; and at five ſhowed our colours, which the enemy took no notice of. At 40 minutes paſt eleven, P. M. we ranged alongſide of him on the larboard tack, and received his broadſide. After engaging till 50 minutes paſt eleven P. M. within a cable's length, the enemy made ſtill a-head, out of the range of our ſhot. We ceaſed firing, and made all ſail after him, continuing to come up with him till day-light; when, finding he could not avoid an action, he wore, as did we alſo. At 25 minutes paſt ſix recommenced the action at the diſtance of half a mile, gradually cloſing with him to a quarter of a mile. The fire was conſtant and well-directed on both ſides; though that of the enemy ſlackened towards the latter part of the action. At a quarter paſt eight P. M. the enemy made all ſail away; our main topſail-yard being ſhot through, the main royal maſt, and both main-topmaſt-ſtays, the mainſpring-ſtay, and moſt of the ſtanding and running rigging, and all our ſails, ſhot to pieces, and moſt of our cartridges fired away (as our guns were directed at his hull, he was not much diſabled about his rigging), we ceaſed firing, and employed all hands in repairing the damages ſuſtained, and fitting the ſhip again for action. From the great injury our maſts, yards, and ſails had received, I am ſorry to obſerve that it was not in our power to chaſe to renew the action immediately. We, however, ſucceeded in keeping ſight of him during the night; and at nine A. M. on the 8th, the ſhip being perfectly prepared for action, we bore down upon the enemy under all ſail. He did not endeavour to avoid us till we hauled athwart his ſtern, for the purpoſe of gaining the weather-gauge, and bringing up to cloſe fight, when he hauled up alſo, and made all ſail; but, perceiving that we came faſt up with him, and that an action was inevitable, he tacked; and at three

we

we paſſed each other on oppoſite tacks, and recommenced action within a quarter of a cable's length. With grief I have to obſerve, that our brave Captain was killed by a grape-ſhot the ſecond broadſide. When the enemy was abaft our beam, he wore; and, after an hour and 20 minutes cloſe action, ſtruck their colours, and waved their hats for a boat to be ſent them. She proved to be La Piedmontaiſe, commanded by Monſieur Epron, capitaine de vaiſſeaux; ſhe mounts 50 guns, long 18 pounders on her main-deck, and 36-pounder carronades on her quarter-deck. She had 366 Frenchmen on board, and nearly 200 Laſcars, who worked their ſails. She ſailed from the iſle of France on the 30th December. In the action ſhe had 48 killed, and 112 wounded. The St. Fiorenzo has 13 killed, and 25 wounded; moſt of the latter are in a promiſing way. A liſt of them I have the honour to incloſe for your information. The enemy was cut to pieces in his maſts, bowſprit, and rigging; and they all went by the board during the night. It is now a pleaſing part of my duty to recommend to your particular notice, the cool, ſteady, and gallant conduct of Lieuts. Edward Davies and Henry George Moyſey; the latter, I am ſorry to add, was ſeverely wounded about ten minutes before the enemy ſtruck. I alſo experienced very great aſſiſtance from Mr. Donovan the maſter, by the judicious and ſeamanlike manner in which he laid us cloſe alongſide the enemy. To Lieut. Samuel Aſhmore, of the royal marines, I am much indebted, for the cool and determined courage evinced by him through the whole action. Indeed, every officer, petty officer, ſeaman, and marine in the ſhip, behaved in the moſt brave and gallant manner, and nobly maintained the pre-eminence of the Britiſh flag. In the firſt boat from the prize came Mr. W. F. Black, aſſiſtant-ſurgeon of his Majeſty's 86th regiment, captured by the Piedmontaiſe on his paſſage to Madras, who rendered the ſurgeon great aſſiſtance. I am alſo much indebted to the officers of the army, and the captains and officers of the country ſhips, who were priſoners on board the enemy, for the great aſſiſtance they afforded us with their Laſcars in erecting jury maſts, and working the ſhip into port, as, from our weak ſtate, and the great number of priſoners on board us, we could ſpare but few hands from our own ſhip to ſend on board the prize.

WILLIAM DAWSON.

Killed.—G. N. Hardinge, Eſq. captain; T. Martin, C. Smallwood, R. Currell, J Middleton, W. Mead, J. Beer, J. Burn, J. Meadows, and W. Baldwin, ſeamen; W. Martin, J. Luff, and Jos. Litchfield, marines.—Among the wounded are Lieut. H. G. Moyſey, and quarter-maſter W. J. Brown.

Report of the Board of Enquiry, on the Convention of Cintra.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

WE the underwritten general officers of the army, in obedience to your Majeſty's warrant, which bears date the 1ſt day of November, 1808, commanding us ſtrictly to enquire into the conditions of a ſuſpenſion

ſuſpenſion of arms, concluded on the 22d of Auguſt, 1808, between your Majeſty's army in Portugal, and the French force in that country—and alſo into a definitive convention, concluded with the French general commanding on the 31ſt Auguſt following—alſo into all the cauſes and circumſtances (whether ariſing from the previous operations of the Britiſh army, or otherwiſe, which led to them)—and into the conduct, behaviour, and proceedings of Lieutenant-general Sir Hew Dalrymple, and ſuch other commander or commanders of your Majeſty's forces in Portugal, and of any other perſon or perſons, as far as the ſame were connected with the ſaid armiſtice, ſuſpenſion of arms, and convention—and to report to your Majeſty a ſtatement thereof, as it ſhall appear, together with our opinion thereon, and alſo our opinion, whether any, and what further proceedings ſhould be had thereupon.

We have, at ſeveral meetings, peruſed and conſidered your Majeſty's orders and inſtructions, as tranſmitted to us by the Right Hon. Lord Caſtlereagh, your Majeſty's principal ſecretary of ſtate, together with ſundry letters, and other papers, therewith tranſmitted—And have heard and examined Lieutenant-general Sir Hew Dalrymple, Sir Harry Burrard, and Sir Arthur Welleſley, and other principal officers employed on the ſaid expedition, with ſuch witneſſes as any of them deſired—and alſo ſuch other perſons as ſeemed to us moſt likely to give any material information.—And in order that your Majeſty may be fully poſſeſſed of every circumſtance which has appeared in the courſe of this enquiry, we beg leave to lay before your Majeſty the whole of our examinations and proceedings to this our report annexed.—And upon the moſt diligent and careful review of the whole matter, we do, in further obedience to your royal command, moſt humbly report to your majeſty, that it appears, &c. &c.

[Here follows a ſtatement of facts relative to the arrival in Portugal of Sir Arthur Welleſley's expedition from Cork—to the appearance of General Spencer off the Tagus, his return to Cadiz, and his arrival again in Portugal—to the operations of the army up to the battles of the 17th and 21ſt—to the junction of General Auckland and General Anſtruther's brigades—to the arrival of Sir Harry Burrard and Sir Hew Dalrymple—to the arrival and landing of Sir John Moore; all of which have already been given in the official diſpatches publiſhed in the Gazette, in the narratives of Sir A. Welleſley, Sir H. Burrard, and Sir Hew Dalrymple, and in the evidence which was detailed during the ſitting of the Board of Enquiry.]

After a deſcription of the battle of Vimeira, the report proceeds thus;—Soon after twelve, the firing had ceaſed, and the enemy's cavalry were ſeen from our left, in bodies of about 200, by General Ferguſon; and about the ſame time General Spencer ſaw a line formed, about three miles in front of our centre. About half paſt twelve, Sir Arthur Welleſley propoſed to Sir Harry Burrard to advance from his right, with three brigades, upon Torres Vedras, and with the other five brigades to follow the enemy, who had been defeated by our left.

It appears that the ſituation of

the

the army at this moment was—on the right, Major-general Hill's brigade, which had not been engaged, was on the heighth behind Vimeira, and at a diſtance of above three miles from thoſe of Generals Fergusſon and Nightingale on the left. In front of Vimeira and in the centre, were the brigades of Anſtruther and Fane, which had been warmly engaged. Brigadier-general Bowes's and Ackland's brigades were advanced on the heights, towards the left, in ſupport of Generals Fergusſon and Nightingale. Brigadier-general Crauford's brigade was detached rather to the rear of the left, about half a mile from Major-general Fergusſon, to ſupport the Portugueſe troops, making front in that direction. It appears, that although the enemy was completely repulſed, the degree of expedition with which a purſuit could be commenced, conſidering the extended poſition of the army at that time, and the precaution to be taken againſt the ſuperior cavalry of the enemy, muſt have depended on various local circumſtances only to be calculated by thoſe on the ſpot.

This very circumſtance of a ſuperior cavalry retarding our advance, would allow the enemy's infantry, without any degree of riſk, to continue their retreat in the moſt rapid manner, till they ſhould arrive at any given and advantageous point of rallying and formation: nor did Sir A. Welleſley, on the 17th Auguſt, when the enemy had not half the cavalry as on the 21ſt, purſue a more inconſiderable and beaten army with any marked advantage. (Here paſſages are quoted from Sir A. Welleſley's diſpatches in the Gazette, in ſupport of this ſtatement.) It may alſo be conſidered, that as the attack on our centre had been repulſed long before that on our left had, the attacking corps, which, as had been obſerved, was not purſued (but by the 20th dragoons, not exceeding 150) had time (above an hour) to re-aſſemble, and to occupy ſuch ground as might afterwards facilitate the retreat of their right, and that the enemy were actually and viſibly formed in one or more lines, at about three miles in front of the centre.

From theſe and other fair military grounds, as allowed by Sir A. Welleſley; from thoſe that occurred in Sir H. Burrard's firſt interview with Sir A. Welleſley; from the utmoſt certainty of the immediate arrival of Sir John Moore's corps, which, if they had not ſtopped at Mondego Bay, would have been at Maceira on the 21ſt; Sir H. Burrard declined making any further purſuit that day, or ordering the army to march next morning early.—(In this opinion Sir H. Burrard ſtates, Brigadier-general Clinton and Colonel Murray concurred.)

[Here follows an account of the appointment of Sir Hew Dalrymple; his aſſuming the command; the negociation of the armiſtice; objections of Sir C. Cotton, and final concluſion of the armiſtice; all the particulars of which have already been laid before the public.]

It appears that when the propoſed treaty (ratified by General Junot) of the 28th Auguſt, was brought by Captain Dalrymple on the 29th to head-quarters at Ramalhal, all the Lieutenant-generals (Burrard, Moore, Hope, Fraſer, Welleſley) were preſent, Lord Paget excepted,

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excepted, becauſe not long previouſly ſummoned. The propoſed treaty was, however, formally diſcuſſed. Minutes of propoſed alterations were taken by Sir A. Welleſley, as laid before the Board, and the commander of the forces has no reaſon to believe that Sir J. Moore, or any of the Lieutenant-generals that came with him, expreſſed any diſapprobation of the ſtate and terms of the negociation.

" The treaty with the alterations propoſed were re-tranſmitted to Lieutenant-colonel Murray. It appears when the treaty concluded by Lieutenant-colonel Murray on the 30th, was brought by him to Torres Vedras on the 31ſt for ratification, the lieutenant-generals preſent were convened, and Sir A. Welleſley was ſent for. Lord Paget, who was at a diſtance, did not come, nor did Sir A. Welleſley, his corps having marched that morning. The other Lieutenant-generals met, (Burrard, Moore, Fraſer, Hope) the alterations made by Lieutenant-colonel Murray were approved, and the treaty then ratified by the commander of the forces (Sir H. Dalrymple) with the approbation of the Lieutenant-generals preſent. Some of the articles of the treaty of the 28th, before objected to by the Lieutenant-generals, were altered in that of the 30th, and ſome other good alterations had been inſerted, not before ſuggeſted. A compariſon of the treaty of the 28th, and that ratified, will ſhew the alterations. The meetings of the lieutenant-generals, the commander of the forces did not call, or conſider as regular councils of war. He ſought to benefit from their talents and expe-rience, by conſulting them on exigent caſes, and by purſuing the meaſures he might himſelf deem moſt for the good of your Majeſty's ſervice, after availing himſelf of the advantage he might draw from their reaſonings, and he does not recollect there was any diſſentient opinion on the 31ſt, as to the ratification of the convention. It appears that Sir J. Moore's corps having arrived at Mondego Bay on the 20th of Auguſt, began to diſembark; that they re-embarked, and arrived off Maceira Bay on the 24th; that from the 25th to the 29th, they landed under conſiderable difficulties, and ſucceſſively joined the army at Torres Vedras. It appears that ſome of the principal advantages to ariſe from the convention were in the contemplation of the Generals. That it immediately liberated the kingdom of Portugal from the dominion of the French, thereby reſtoring to the inhabitants their capital and fortreſſes, their principal ſea-ports, their perſonal liberty, property, religion, and eſtabliſhed government. That it relieved a great extent of Spaniſh frontier from all apprehenſions of an enemy, and the whole of Spain from that of having an enemy behind them, and allowed all parts of Spain to take more effective meaſures for its defence; as well as permitted Portugal immediately to contribute for their mutual ſupport. That it enabled the Britiſh army immediately to enter Spain, if required, by central routes, while it tranſported the French force to a very diſtant part of their own coaſt, far removed from the Spaniſh frontier. That it immediately releaſed 4000 Spaniſh ſoldiers, and ſent them to the defence of Catalonia, ; it alſo releaſed

releaſed from the Portugueſe frontier another body of 2000 Spaniſh troops. The Portugueſe army alſo became diſpoſable for the common cauſe. To the men of war and tranſports, which at this ſeaſon of the year with great difficulty could keep their ſtation near the coaſt, and on whoſe preſence the ſupplies and operations of the army depended, the opening of the Tagus afforded immediate ſhelter. It is further urged by the Generals, as much more than probable, that if the enemy had been required to lay down their arms, and ſurrender priſoners of war, they would not have complied; but if driven to extremity, that they would have retired upon Liſbon, reinforced by 6000 Ruſſians, who muſt have been thus compelled to ſhare their fate; and in the temporary attack of this city, much calamity and deſtruction muſt have enſued. Alſo, that maſters of the Ruſſian fleet, and of boats and ſhipping in the Tagus, the paſſage to the river was enſured to them; that they could have defended, for a conſiderable time, its eaſt bank, and prevented the occupation of the Tagus by our fleet; that, with the ſtrong fortreſſes of Alentejo in their poſſeſſion, they could have protracted a deſtructive war, to the great detriment of Portugal and the Spaniſh cauſe, by finding employment for the greater part of the Britiſh army, for the remainder of the year, and whoſe difficulties and loſſes in ſuch operation muſt have been very conſiderable. It appears, that the forts on the Tagus were taken poſſeſſion of on the 2d of September, by the Britiſh troops, and the port was then opened to our ſhipping. That on the 5th the army had its right at St. Juliens, and its left on the heights of Bellas: that on the 8th or 9th, a Britiſh corps marched into Liſbon, to enſure the tranquillity of that city during the embarkation of the enemy, who were all ſent off (except the laſt diviſion, who were purpoſely detained) before the end of the month, and part of the army was then actually on its route towards the Spaniſh frontier.—It appears, that during the diſcuſſion, and afterwards during the execution of the convention, much firmneſs was ſhewn in reſiſting the pretenſions and interpretations of the enemy; every ſtipulation being reſtricted to its fair, honourable, and grammatical meaning, and the French not allowed to carry off, but obliged to diſgorge plunder, which they affected to conſider as private property. It appears that pains were taken to miſrepreſent and raiſe a clamour in Portugal againſt this convention; but when it was generally known, and its effects felt, the people of Liſbon, and of the country, ſeem to have expreſſed their gratitude and thanks for the benefits attending it. It has been urged by Sir Hugh Dalrymple, and allowed by Major-general Spencer, that in Egypt, in 1801 (after the victory of the 21ſt of March, the French having thrown their whole force into Alexandria and Grand Cairo, about 10,000 men in each place), that at the ſiege of Alexandria, in Auguſt, the country was in the full poſſeſſion of the Britiſh and Turks. The garriſon, cut off from every poſſibility of relief, and could only have held out ſome days, when a capitulation was granted

granted to it, September the 2d, as favourable as the convention of Cintra to the army of Junot (of 24,000 French, and 6000 Ruſſians), and perfectly ſimilar in all the chief articles of men, baggage, artillery, conveyance, &c. alſo, that the ſame terms had been previouſly granted to the garriſon of Cairo, under much the ſame circumſtances. By theſe two conventions, or capitulations, above 20,000 French evacuated Egypt, and the Britiſh army was left diſpoſable for other purpoſes. On the whole, it appears, that the operations of the army under Sir Arthur Welleſley, from his landing in Mondego Bay the 1ſt of Auguſt, until the concluſion of the action at Vimeira, the 21ſt of Auguſt, were highly honourable and ſucceſsful, and ſuch as might be expected from a diſtinguiſhed General, at the head of a Britiſh army of 13,000 men, augmented on the 20th and 21ſt to 17,000, deriving only ſome ſmall aid from a Portugueſe corps (1600 men) and againſt whom an enemy not exceeding 14,000 men in the field was oppoſed; and this before the arrival of a very conſiderable reinforcement from England, under Lieutenant-general Sir John Moore, which, however, did arrive and join the army, from the 25th to the 30th of Auguſt. It appears a point on which no evidence adduced can enable the board to pronounce, with confidence, whether or not a purſuit, after the battle of the 21ſt, could have been efficacious; nor can the board feel confident to determine on the expedience of a forward movement to Torres Vedras, when Sir Harry Burrard has ſtated weighty conſiderations againſt ſuch a meaſure. Further it is to be obſerved, that ſo many collateral circumſtances could not be known in the moment of the enemy's repulſe, as afterwards became clear to the army, and have been repreſented to the board. And conſidering the extraordinary circumſtances under which two new commanding generals arrived from the ocean, and joined the army (the one during, and the other immediately after a battle, and thoſe ſucceſſively ſuperſeding each other, and both the original commander within the ſpace of 24 hours), it is not ſurpriſing that the army was not carried forward, until the ſecond day after the action, from the neceſſity of the generals being acquainted with the actual ſtate of things, and of their army, and proceeding accordingly.

It appears that the convention of Cintra in all its progreſs and concluſion, or at leaſt all the principal articles of it, were not objected to by the five diſtinguiſhed Lieutenant-generals of that army; and other general officers who were on that ſervice, whom we have had an opportunity to examine, have alſo concurred in the great advantages that were immediately gained, to the country of Portugal, to the army and navy, and to the general ſervice, by the concluſion of the convention at that time.—On a conſideration of all circumſtances, as ſet forth in this report, we moſt humbly ſubmit our opinion, that no further military proceeding is neceſſary on that ſubject. Becauſe, howſoever ſome of us may differ in our ſentiments reſpecting the fitneſs of the convention in the relative

relative ſituation of the two armies, it is our unanimous declaration, that unqueſtionable zeal and firmneſs appear throughout to have been exhibited by Lieutenant-generals Sir Hew Dalrymple, Sir Harry Burrard, and Sir Arthur Welleſley, as well as that the ardour and gallantry of the reſt of the officers and ſoldiers, on every occaſion during this expedition, have done honour to the troops, and reflected luſtre on your majeſty's arms. All which is moſt dutifully ſubmitted.

(Signed)

DAVID DUNDAS, General.
MOIRA, General.
PETER CRAIG, General,
HEATHFIELD, General.
PEMBROKE, Lieut.-gen.
G. NUGENT, Lieut.-Gen.
OL. NICOLLS, Lieut.-gen.

22*d Dec.* 1808.

Judge-Advocate-General's Office, Dec. 27, 1808.

In conſequence of the following letter from his Royal Highneſs the Commander in Chief to General Sir David Dundas, as preſident, viz.

Horſe Guards, Dec. 25, 1808.

Sir

The Judge-advocate-general having delivered to me, to be laid before his Majeſty, the ſeveral papers and documents, containing all the examinations and proceedings taken before the board of inquiry, of which you are the preſident, together with your report and opinion upon the whole of the late operations of his Majeſty's forces in Portugal, as connected with the armiſtice and ſubſequent convention of Cintra, I think it incumbent on me to ſtate to you, that although the report is fully detailed, and perfectly explanatory of all the tranſactions as they appeared in evidence before you: yet upon a due conſideration of the whole matter, it certainly appears that your opinion upon the conditions of the armiſtice and convention, which the words of his Majeſty's warrant expreſsly enjoin ſhould be ſtrictly examined, enquired into, and reported upon, has been altogether omitted. I feel it my duty, therefore, to call your attention to theſe two principal features of this important caſe, the armiſtice and convention, and to deſire that you may be pleaſed to take the ſame again into your moſt ſerious conſideration, and ſubjoin to the opinion which you have already given upon the other points ſubmitted to your examination and enquiry, whether, under all the circumſtances which appear in evidence before you, on the relative ſituation of the two armies, on the 22d of Auguſt, 1808, it is your opinion that an armiſtice was adviſable, and if ſo, whether the terms of that armiſtice were ſuch as ought to have been agreed upon; and whether upon a like conſideration of the relative ſituation of the two armies ſubſequent to the armiſtice, and when all the Britiſh forces were landed, it is your opinion that a convention was adviſable, and if ſo, whether the terms of that convention were ſuch as ought to have been agreed upon.—I am the more deſirous that you ſhould

ſhould reſume the conſideration of theſe two points, the armiſtice and convention, as it appears upon the face of your report, that a difference of opinion exiſts among the members of the board, which may probably produce a diſſent from the majority upon theſe very queſtions. You will be pleaſed, therefore, to deſire ſuch of the members as may be of a different opinion from the majority upon theſe two queſtions, to record upon the face of the proceedings their reaſons for ſuch diſſent.

I am, Sir, yours,
(Signed) FREDERICK,
Commander in Chief.

General Sir D. Dundas, K. B.

The board met this day at the Judge-advocate-general's office, when the ſaid letter having been read, they agreed that the following queſtions ſhould be put to each of the members of the board:

Approve.	Do you, or do you not approve of the armiſtice as concluded upon the 22d of Auguſt, 1808, in the relative ſituation of the two armies?	Diſapprove.
Lt.-gen. Nicolls. Lt.-gen. Sir G. Nugent. Earl of Pembroke. Lord Heathfield. General Craig. Gen. Sir G. Dundas.		Earl of Moira.

Approve.	Do you, or do you not approve of the convention as concluded upon the 31ſt of Auguſt, 1808, in the relative ſituation of the two armies?	Diſapprove.
Lt.-gen. Sir G. Nugent. Gen. Lord Heathfield. General Craig. Gen. Sir D. Dundas.		Lt.-gen. Nicolls. Earl of Pembroke. Earl of Moira.

(Signed) DAVID DUNDAS, Preſident

My reaſon for conſidering the armiſtice as adviſable on the 22d of Auguſt was, becauſe the enemy had been able to retire after the battle of the 21ſt, and take up a ſtrong defenſive poſition.

OL. NICOLLS, L. G.

I think, conſidering the great increaſe of our force from the firſt ſuſpenſion of hoſtility to the definitive ſigning of the convention, added to the defeat the enemy had ſuffered, Sir H Dalrymple was fully entitled to have inſiſted upon more favourable terms.

OL NICOLLS, L. G.

I approve of the armiſtice, after a due conſideration of the relative ſituations of the two armies on the evening of the 22d of Auguſt, but I cannot fully approve of the whole of the convention, after a due conſideration of the relative ſituation of the two armies at that time; becauſe it does not appear to me that, in the progreſs of the negociation, ſufficient ſtreſs was laid upon the great advantages which had reſulted, or were likely to reſult from the former ſucceſsful operations of the Britiſh army in the field—from the conſiderable reinforce-

inforcements which had joined it, ſubſequent to the commencement of the negociation—from the cauſe in which the Britiſh army was engaged being the cauſe of Portugal, which gave good reaſon to reckon upon the good will, if not upon the active aſſiſtance, of the majority of the inhabitants; and alſo, from the unuſual readineſs which, as it appears to me, was manifeſted by general Junot to enter into negociation, and by the French negociator to accede to terms as they were propoſed, and to ſuch conſtruction as lieut.-gen. Sir Hew Dalrymple put upon them in ſome inſtances, where they might have borne a difference of interpretation. I therefore think it probable, for the above reaſons, that if leſs favourable terms to the French army had been inſiſted upon, they would have been acceded to.

PEMBROKE, Lieut.-gen.

I feel leſs awkwardneſs in obeying the order to detail my ſentiments on the nature of the convention, becauſe that I have already joined in the tribute of applauſe due in other reſpects to the officers concerned. My opinion, therefore, is only oppoſed to theirs on a queſtion of judgment, where their talents are likely to have ſo much more weight, as to render the profeſſion of my difference, even on that point, ſomewhat painful. The duty is, however, imperious on me not to diſguiſe or qualify the deductions which I have made during this inveſtigation. An armiſtice ſimply might not have been objectionable, becauſe Sir Hew Dalrymple expecting hourly the arrival of Sir John Moore's diviſion, might ſee more advantage for himſelf in a ſhort ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, than what the French could draw from it; but as the armiſtice involved, and in fact eſtabliſhed the whole principle of the Convention, I cannot ſeparate it from the latter. Sir A. Welleſley has ſtated, that he conſidered his force, at the commencement of the march from the Mondego river, as ſufficient to drive the French from their poſitions on the Tagus. That force is ſubſequently joined by above 4000 Britiſh Troops, under Generals Anſtruther and Ackland. The French make an attack with their whole diſpoſable ſtrength, and are repulſed with heavy loſs, though but a part of the Britiſh Army is brought into action. It is difficult to conceive that the proſpects which Sir A. Welleſley entertained could be unfavourably altered by theſe events, even had not the certainty of ſpeedy reinforcements to the Britiſh Army exiſted. It is urged, that had the French been puſhed to extremity, they would have croſſed the Tagus, and have protracted the campaign in ſuch a manner as to have fruſtrated the more important view of the Britiſh Generals—namely, ſending ſuccours into Spain. This meaſure muſt have been equally feaſible for the French if no victory had been obtained over them; but I confeſs that the chance of ſuch an attempt ſeems to me aſſumed againſt probability. Sir Hew Dalrymple notices what he calls "the critical and embarraſſed ſtate of Junot," before that general has been preſſed by the Britiſh Army: and, in explanation of that expreſſion, obſerves, that

that the ſurrender of Dupont, the exiſtence of the victorious Spaniſh army in Andaluſia, which cut off the retreat of the French in that direction, and the univerſal hoſtility of the Portugueſe, made the ſituation of Junot one of great diſtreſs. No temptation for the tranſlation of the war into Alentejo preſents itſelf from this picture; nor does any other repreſentation give ground to ſuppoſe that Junot could have contemplated the meaſure as holding forth any proſpect but ultimate ruin, after much preliminary diſtreſs and diſgrace. The ſtrongeſt of all proofs as to Junot's opinion, ariſes from his ſending the very morning after the battle of Vimeira, to propoſe the evacuation of Portugal; a ſtep which ſufficiently indicated that he was ſatisfied he could not only make no effectual defence, but could not even prolong the conteſt to take the chance of accidents. He ſeems, indeed, to have been without any real reſource. It appears in evidence, that of the troops left by him in Liſbon and the forts, a conſiderable proportion were of very doubtful quality. Thoſe troops on whoſe fidelity he could confide, had been diſmayed by a ſignal defeat, and they were ſenſible that they had no ſuccour to look to from abroad. To the Britiſh generals it was known, when the armiſtice was granted, that 10,000 men under Sir J. Moore, as well as the 3d and 42d regiments of foot, with the 18th dragoons, might be immediately reckoned upon; and although much advantage had not been drawn from the Portugueſe troops, their ſupport and the general violence of the country againſt the French, cannot be laid out of this calculation.

The diſparity of force and of circumſtances was, then, ſuch as could leave no doubt that the iſſue muſt be favourable to us. I do not omit advertence to the difficulties urged as poſſible to occur in furniſhing the Britiſh army with bread. But, putting aſide the obvious ſolution, that ſuch a temporary privation is not ruinous to an army where cattle can be procured in the country, this difficulty cannot be well pleaded, if admiſſion is to be given to the ſpeculation, that the heavy cannon neceſſary for battering forts St. Julien and Caſcaes were to be got aſhore in the Bays of the Rock of Liſbon. The queſtion then comes to this: whether the convention did (as has been aſſerted) ſecure all the objects which were propoſed in the expedition? If it did not, it was not what his majeſty was entitled to expect from the relative ſituation of the two armies.

I humbly conceive it to have been erroneous to regard the emancipation of Portugal from the French, as the ſole or principal object of the expedition. Upon whatever territory we contend with the French, it muſt be a prominent object in the ſtruggle to deſtroy their reſources, and to narrow their means of injuring us, or thoſe whoſe cauſe we are ſupporting. This ſeems to have been ſo little conſidered in the convention, that the terms appear to have extricated Junot's army from a ſituation of infinite diſtreſs, in which it was wholly out of play, and to have brought it in a ſtate of

of entire equipment, into immediate currency, in a quarter too, where it muſt interfere with our moſt urgent and intereſting concerns.

Had it been impracticable to reduce the French army to lay down its arms unconditionally, ſtill an obligation not to ſerve for a ſpecified time might have been inſiſted upon, or Belleiſle might have been preſcribed as the place at which they ſhould be landed, in order to prevent the poſſibility of their reinforcing (at leaſt for a long time) the armies employed for the ſubjugation of Spain. Perhaps a ſtronger conſideration than the merit of thoſe terms preſents itſelf. Opinion relative to the Britiſh arms was of the higheſt importance, as it might influence the confidence of the Spaniards, or invite the nations groaning under the yoke of France to appeal to this country, and co-operate with it for their deliverance. The advantages ought, therefore, to have been more than uſually great, which ſhould be deemed ſufficient to balance the objection of granting to a very inferior army, hopeleſs in circumſtances, and broken in ſpirit, ſuch terms as might argue, that notwithſtanding its diſparity in numbers, it was ſtill formidable to its victors. No advantages ſeem to have been gained that would not have equally followed from forcing the enemy to a more marked ſubmiſſion. The gain of time as to ſending ſuccours into Spain cannot be admitted as a plea; becauſe it appears that no arrangements for the reception of our troops in Spain had been undertaken previous to the convention; and this is without reaſoning on ſubſequent facts.

The Convention in Egypt, which has been advanced as a parallel caſe, appears to me inapplicable. No object beyond the diſlodgement of the French from Egypt was there in queſtion. In the preſent inſtance, the operation of the convention upon the affairs of Spain was a conſideration of primary intereſt; and in that view, the inevitable effect of ſome of the articles offers itſelf to my mind as liable to material objection.

I truſt that theſe reaſons will vindicate me from the charge of preſumption, in maintaining an opinion contradictory to that profeſſed by ſo many moſt reſpectable officers: for, even if the reaſons be eſſentially erroneous, if they are concluſive to my mind (as I conſcientiouſly affirm them to be), it is a neceſſary conſequence that I muſt diſapprove the convention.

Dec. 27. MOIRA, General.

His Majeſty's Opinion on the Convention of Cintra.

THE following are the terms in which His Majeſty has expreſſed his diſapprobation to Sir H. Dalrymple, of certain parts of the Convention of Cintra.

The King has taken into his conſideration the report of the board of inquiry, together with the documents and opinions thereunto annexed.

While his Majeſty adopts the unanimous opinion of the board, that no farther military proceeding is neceſſary to be had upon the tranſactions

tranſactions referred to their inveſtigation, his Majeſty does not intend thereby to convey an expreſſion of his Majeſty's ſatisfaction at the terms and conditions of the armiſtice and convention.

When thoſe inſtruments were firſt laid before his majeſty, the King, reſerving for inveſtigation thoſe parts of the definitive convention in which his Majeſty's immediate intereſts were concerned, cauſed it to be ſignified to Sir Hew Dalrymple, by his Majeſty's Secretary of State, that his Majeſty, nevertheleſs, felt himſelf compelled at once to expreſs his diſapprobation of thoſe articles, in which ſtipulations were made, directly affecting the intereſts or feelings of the Spaniſh and Portugueſe nations.

At the cloſe of the inquiry, the King, abſtaining from any obſervations upon other parts of the convention, repeats his diſapprobation of thoſe articles; his Majeſty deeming it neceſſary that his ſentiments ſhould be clearly underſtood, as to the impropriety and danger of the unauthoriſed admiſſion, into military conventions, of articles of ſuch a deſcription, which, eſpecially when incautiouſly framed, may lead to the moſt injurious conſequences.

His Majeſty cannot forbear further to obſerve, that lieutenant-general Sir Hew Dalrymple's delaying to tranſmit for his information the armiſtice concluded on the 22d Auguſt, until the 4th of September, when he, at the ſame time, tranſmitted the ratified convention, was calculated to produce great public inconvenience, and that ſuch inconvenience did in fact reſult therefrom.

Addreſs of the City to his Majeſty on the Convention of Cintra.

October 12.

About twelve o'clock this day, his Majeſty arrived at the Queen's Palace. At two he was waited upon by a deputation from the City of London, conſiſting of the Lord Mayor, the Recorder, Aldermen, Chriſtopher Smith and Wood, the Sheriffs, Common Council, &c. The following Addreſs and Petition was read by the Recorder.

To the King's moſt excellent Majeſty.

The Humble and Dutiful Addreſs and Petition of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, in Common Council aſſembled.

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

We, your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, in Common Council aſſembled, moſt humbly approach your Majeſty, with renewed aſſurances of attachment to your Majeſty's moſt ſacred perſon and government, and veneration for the free principles of the Britiſh Conſtitution; to expreſs to your Majeſty our grief and aſtoniſhment at the extraordinary and diſgraceful convention lately entered into by the commander of your Majeſty's forces in Portugal, and the commander of the French army in Liſbon.

The circumſtances attending this afflicting event cannot be contemplated by Britiſh minds without the moſt painful emotions; and all ranks of your Majeſty's ſubjects ſeem

ſeem to have felt the utmoſt concern and indignation at a treaty ſo humiliating and degrading to this country and its allies. After a ſignal victory gained by the valour and diſcipline of Britiſh troops, by which the enemy appears to have been cut off from all means of ſuccour or eſcape, we have the ſad mortification of ſeeing the laurels, ſo nobly acquired, torn from the brows of our brave ſoldiers, and terms granted to the enemy diſgraceful to the Britiſh name, and injurious to the beſt intereſts of the Britiſh nation.

Beſides the reſtitution of the Ruſſian fleet upon a definitive treaty of peace with that power, and the ſending back to their country, without exchange, ſo large a number of Ruſſian ſailors, by this ignominious convention Britiſh fleets are to convey to France the French army and its plunder, where they will be at liberty immediately to recommence their active operations againſt us or our allies. The guarantee and ſafe conveyance of their plunder cannot but prove highly irritating to the pillaged inhabitants over whom they have tyranniſed and for whoſe deliverance and protection the Britiſh army was ſent; and the full recognition of the title and dignity of Emperor of France, while all mention of the government of Portugal is omitted, muſt be conſidered as highly diſreſpectful to the legitimate authority of that country.

We, therefore, humbly pray your Majeſty, in juſtice to the outraged feelings of a brave, injured, and indignant people, whoſe blood and treaſure have been thus expended, as well as to retrieve the wounded honour of the country, and to remove from its character ſo foul a ſtain in the eyes of Europe, that your Majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed immediately to inſtitute ſuch an inquiry into this diſhonourable and unprecedented tranſaction, as will lead to the diſcovery and puniſhment of thoſe by whoſe miſconduct and incapacity the cauſe of the country and its allies has been ſo ſhamefully ſacrificed.

We beg to aſſure your majeſty of our unalterable fidelity, and earneſt deſire to co-operate in every meaſure conducive to the peace, honour, and ſecurity of your majeſty's dominions.

Signed by order of the court,

HENRY WOODTHORPE.

To which his Majeſty was pleaſed to return the following moſt gracious anſwer, which was read by Lord Hawkeſbury:—

I am fully ſenſible of your loyalty and attachment to my perſon and government. I give credit to the motives which have dictated your petition and addreſs, but I muſt remind you that it is inconſiſtent with the principles of Britiſh juſtice to pronounce judgment without previous inveſtigation. I ſhould have hoped that recent occurrences would have convinced you, that I am at all times ready to inſtitute enquiries on occaſions in which the character of the country, or the honour of my arms is concerned; and that the interpoſition of the city of London could not be neceſſary for inducing me to direct due inquiry to be made into a tranſaction which has diſappointed the hopes and expectations of the nation.

Resolutions of the Common Council on His Majesty's Answer to the Address of the City.

At a Common Council, holden in the Chamber of the Guildhall of the City of London, on Thursday, the 27th Day of October, 1808.

Resolved,

That his Majesty's answer be entered upon the journals. That at the same time this court cannot forbear declaring it as their opinion, that the address and petition presented to his Majesty by this court on Wednesday the 12th instant, was conceived in the most dutiful and respectful terms; that it is the undoubted right of the subject to petition, and that this right ought at all times to be freely exercised in all matters of public grievance without obstruction or reproof.

That they are, therefore, at a loss to know by what construction of their said petition, however strained or perverted, his Majesty's advisers could attribute to them any intention or desire "to pronounce judgment, without previous investigation."

That they are equally at a loss to know why his Majesty's advisers should have deemed it necessary to remind them, "that it was inconsistent with the principles of British justice;" unless to throw an unmerited odium on this corporation, and raise a barrier between them and the crown, on all occasions where their object is free and constitutional inquiry.

That had this court refrained from expressing to his Majesty their feelings at the humiliating termination of the campaign in Portugal, they must have ceased to feel, to think, to act as Britons, and have shown themselves unsusceptible of that patriotism so essentially necessary for the preservation of their liberties, the maintenance of their national honour, and the independence and security of his Majesty's crown and dominions.

They cannot, therefore, sufficiently express their concern, that they should, by any suggestions, have met with obstruction and reprehension in the exercise of this undoubted and invaluable right.

That they particularly regret that his Majesty should have been advised to express a hope, "that recent occurrences would have convinced them, that his Majesty is at all times ready to institute inquiries on occasions in which the character of the country, or the honour of his arms, is concerned; and that the interposition of the city of London could not be necessary for inducing his Majesty to direct due inquiry into a transaction which had disappointed the hopes and expectations of the nation."

Because it appears, that during the eventful period of the last 15 years, various enterprises and expeditions have been undertaken, "in which the character of the country, and the honour of his Majesty's arms, were concerned," which have grievously failed, and "disappointed the hopes and expectations of the nation," and into which "due inquiry" has not been made. That in one of the recent occurrences to which his Majesty's answer refers, it is not known even at the present moment by whose advice

advice the commander in chief was appointed, or on what account ſuch commander was ſelected.

That during all theſe calamitous events and waſteful profuſion of blood and treaſure, the public burthens have been patiently borne, and his Majeſty has not been called upon by "the interpoſition of the city of London" (if their humble ſupplication muſt be ſo termed) to inſtitute inquiries into theſe failures; although it appears to them that ſuch "interpoſition" might have been highly neceſſary and beneficial to the country, and, by promoting "due inquiry," precluded the neceſſity of their late application.

That during theſe unhappy reverſes, and while his Majeſty's ſubjects ſubmitted to ſo many privations, the moſt ſhameful and ſcandalous abuſes and peculations have prevailed; into which "due inquiry" has not been made, ſo as to bring to juſtice ſuch great public delinquents.

That whoever adviſed his Majeſty to put ſo unfavourable and unwarrantable a conſtruction on their late petition, has abuſed the confidence of his ſovereign, and is equally an enemy to his Majeſty and the juſt rights of his people.

That they do not attribute guilt to any one, much leſs do they pronounce judgment without previous inveſtigation. They aſk for inveſtigation, prompt and rigid inveſtigation, and the puniſhment of guilt wherever it may be found.

(Signed by order of the court.)

WOODTHORPE.

Firſt Report from the Select Committee on the Affairs of the Eaſt India Company.—Ordered to be printed 25th May, 1808.

The ſelect committee appointed to enquire into the preſent ſtate of the affairs of the Eaſt-India-Company, and to report the ſame, as it ſhall appear to them, to the houſe, with their obſervations thereupon, and alſo to report their proceedings from time to time to the houſe; and to whom ſeveral accounts and other papers preſented to the houſe, reſpecting the revenues and charges, and the commercial concerns of the Eaſt-India-Company; and alſo the petition of the united company of merchants of England, trading to the Eaſt Indies, were ſeverally referred: —Have, purſuant to the orders of the houſe, examined the matters to them referred, and have agreed upon the following report.

The utmoſt diligence which your committee have been enabled to beſtow upon a ſubject of ſuch extenſive detail, as an enquiry into "the preſent ſtate of the affairs of the Eaſt-India-Company," would not have been ſufficient for its full inveſtigation within the period which has elapſed ſince their appointment, even if many of the moſt neceſſary documents, as to the ſtate of the company's affairs in India, had not been received ſo recently as to preclude the poſſibility of their being examined with that degree of accuracy, care, and attention, which the complicated nature, not leſs than the importance of the ſubject, indiſpenſably requires: your committee are ſtill engaged in the con-

ſideration of the various matters comprehended in the general object of their enquiry, and will from time to time ſubmit their obſervations thereupon to the houſe; but in conſequence of the petition which the company have preſented to the houſe, and which has been referred to your committee, they have deemed it adviſable, in the firſt inſtance, to advert to the allegations of that petition, including not only thoſe which refer excluſively to the balance claimed by the company, as owing to them by the public, but alſo ſuch as relate to the general ſtate of their affairs, and to report upon the ſame, as far as the progreſs which your committee have been enabled to make in their enquiry, has, in their apprehenſion, juſtified the obſervations which they now offer to the conſideration of the houſe.—Your committee, finding it ſtated in the petition from the company, as one of the cauſes from which the preſent embarraſſment in their pecuniary concerns had ariſen, that a large balance of debt remained due to them from the public, on account of various expences incurred for expeditions to the French, Dutch, and Spaniſh ſettlements in the Indian ſeas, and to Egypt, have proceeded, in the firſt inſtance, on the inveſtigation of the account between the public and the company. Your committee find, that in the report made by a former committee upon this ſubject, on the 26th day of June 1805, and now referred to your committee, the ſeveral heads of charge upon which the claims preferred on behalf of the company were founded, are arranged in the following manner, in three claſſes, according to the nature of the circumſtances and tranſactions out of which they have reſpectively ariſen. The firſt claſs compoſed of ſuch heads of charge as ſhould fall, in the opinion of the committee framing that report, excluſively on the public; the ſecond, of ſuch as ſhould be borne excluſively by the company; and the third, conſiſting of charges to be divided equally between both parties.—*Firſt claſs*, chargeable to the public.—"An account of expenſes incurred by the Eaſt-India Company in India and England, for the intended expedition to the French Iſlands, and for the expedition againſt and ſupplies to the Cape of Good Hope. An account of expenſes incurred by the Eaſt-India Company, for the intended expedition againſt Manilla. An account of the expenſes incurred by the Eaſt-India Company, for the purchaſe of veſſels for his Majeſty's navy, repairs to king's ſhips, &c. &c. An account of the expenſes incurred by the Eaſt-India company, by the capture of the Daniſh ſettlements in India, in 1801. An account of the extraordinary expenſes incurred by the Eaſt-India Company, by the expedition to Egypt, over and above the charge of the troops in India. Ceylon balance of property, December 1801, and remittances from India ſubſequent to that date; alſo the expenſe of the capture of the ſaid iſland." *Second claſs*, chargeable to the company.—"An account of the expenſes incurred by the Eaſt-India Company, in conſequence of various captures made from the French and Dutch, on the peninſula of India, including ſubſiſtence of priſoners. An account of the king's troops in India, beyond the number authoriſed by

acts

acts of parliament." *Third class*, to be equally divided.—"An account of the expense incurred by the capture and maintenance of Malacca and the Moluccas, and for the maintenance of Ceylon, deducting the profit on spices."—The said report further states the determination of that committee, concerning the rates of interest to be allowed upon the several sums appearing on the different sides of the account, as follows: "Your committee have thought it reasonable, that the company's claims, so far as they arise from an expenditure carried on in India by loans raised there, should be made up with the rate of interest paid by the company abroad for the loan of the year in which the expense was actually incurred; and that the paymaster-general's account should bear interest according to the rate paid by the public for money in Europe, in the several years in which the demands have accrued; credit is given on the other side of the account on all payments hitherto made by the public in discharge of these demands, at the same rate of Indian interest as that debited by the company."—The report then states the opinion of the said committee, that, as far as they can judge, a balance of about 2,300,000*l.* would be owing by the public to the company, according to the mode of stating and making up the account therein prescribed, and that the sum of 1,000,000*l.* might safely be voted by the house on account. But it was observed in the said report, that the accounts on which the opinion of the said committee (in regard to the amount of what might prove due to the company had been founded) would require revision; and it was recommended, that an accountant should be nominated on the part of the treasury, and another on the part of the company, to examine and make up the accounts according to the principles therein specified, previous to the final balance being discharged; and it was also recommended, that frequent and early adjustments of accounts should take place between the public and the company.—Your committee find, that the sum of 1,000,000*l.* was accordingly voted in that session of parliament, and paid to the company, and that in conformity to the recommendation contained in the said report, accountants were named on the part of the public and the company respectively, for the purpose therein mentioned, who appear to have entered without delay upon the duties assigned to them.—Your committee find that, in the session of 1806, another sum of 1,000,000*l.* was voted and paid to the company on account; it appearing by a letter from Mr. Wittwer, the accountant named by the lords commissioners of the treasury on the part of the public, to George Harrison, Esq. dated on the 25th of June, 1806, (which letter is referred to your committee) that although for reasons therein particularly detailed, no final adjustment of accounts could at that time be made between the public and the company, the ultimate balance due to the latter would be found to exceed that sum.—Your committee find, that additional claims and demands have arisen between the public and the company, subsequent to the report of 1805, above alluded to, some of which have accrued from

from a continuation to a later period of accounts and heads of charge then exiſting, and others from different circumſtances and tranſactions which have ſince occurred.—Your committee have applied to thoſe of the former deſcription, the principles which they found laid down in the report of 1805. The following charges, which have grown out of new matter ſince that report, they have agreed, after due conſideration, to include in the firſt claſs, as payable by the public: Expenſes incurred in India on account of the Chineſe ſettlers at Trinidad.—Expenſes incurred on account of the expedition to the Cape of Good Hope in 1805. Supplies for the expedition againſt Buenos Ayres.—Your committee are alſo of opinion, that the charge of priſoners of war taken at ſea by his Majeſty's ſhips, which does not appear to have been particularly noticed by the committee of 1805, ought to be defrayed by the public, eſpecially as the principle on which this claim is founded, ſeems to be recognized and admitted in the act of 1793, chap. 52. ſect. 127.—Your committee find that a new demand has alſo been brought forward on the part of the public againſt the company for victualling ſtores furniſhed for the company's ſervice by the commiſſioners of victualling, or their agents. Your committee find, that the groſs demand of the company on the public, drawn up in conformity to what has been ſtated, with intereſt computed to the firſt of March 1808, amounts, according to the beſt judgment which your committee can now form, (ſeveral of the items of ſuch demand being ſtated upon eſtimate) to the ſum of 8,461,331*l.* and that the counter demand on the part of the public, for advances of caſh upon account (including the two ſums of 1,000,000*l.* and 1,000,000*l.* mentioned in the former part of this report) for diſburſements by the pay-office, and for ſupplies furniſhed by the victualling office, with intereſt computed to the ſame period, amounts to 6,960,912*l.* leaving a balance due to the company from the public of 1,500,419*l.* In the above ſum of 6,960,912*l.* is included the ſum of 3,082,755*l.* which is the amount of the claim of the pay-maſter general on the company, including intereſt to the 1ſt March 1808, deducting therefrom the ſum of 443,767*l.* hereinafter mentioned. Your committee cannot adduce a ſtronger inſtance of the neceſſity of attending to the recommendation of the committee of 1805, as to the frequent adjuſtment of accounts between the public and the company, than the mere ſtatement of a claim to ſo large an amount, and which has moreover been only brought forward at a period ſo recent, that it has been, and for a conſiderable time muſt be, impoſſible for the accountants to examine in detail, and form an opinion on the accuracy of all the charges. There is every reaſon to believe, that the objections which have already been urged on the part of the company to the pay-office demands, are in general well founded, eſpecially as their validity has been ſtrongly confirmed by a return which was laid before your committee, from the office of the adjutant-general, of the periods during which the different regiments were chargeable to the company; and

and it is very poſſible, that, on further and more minute examination, by the accountants, other objections will be diſcovered. On theſe conſiderations, your committee have thought it reaſonable to ſuſpend for further examination, ſuch part of the pay-office demand as has been ſpecifically objected to on the part of the company, which amounts to the ſum of 443,767*l.* In concluding this part of the ſubject, your committee have no heſitation in ſuggeſting the expediency of repealing the clauſe in the act of 1793 (cap. 52. ſect. 128.) which enacts, that the company ſhall be chargeable with all the recruiting and other expenſes incurred in England, for regiments in India (which in practice has been found ſo difficult to adjuſt,) and ſubſtituting other proviſions which might ſimplify the mode of ſtating the account, and conſequently facilitate its frequent and early adjuſtment, and at the ſame time ſecure for the public an equitable compenſation for that portion of its military expenditure. Your committee have annexed to this report, a copy of the account between the public and the company, containing a detailed ſtatement of the particular items of which the two ſums of 8,461,331*l.* and 6,960,912*l.* are compoſed. Your committee cannot, in juſtice to the company, conclude this part of their report, without calling the attention of the houſe to the remonſtrances made againſt the mode adopted by the committee appointed in 1805 to take into conſideration the account between the public and the Eaſt-India Company, as far as relates to the expenſes incurred by the capture and maintenance of Malacca and the Moluccas, and the maintenance of Ceylon; a mode of deciſion by which claims on the part of the company to no leſs an amount than 1,972,984*l.* have been ſet aſide. Your committee, under the order of reference made to them, have not thought themſelves authorized to make any obſervations upon the principles on which the committee of 1805 arranged the claims of the company. Your committee have, however, thought it their duty, under all the circumſtances of the caſe, to ſtate the amount of what the company maintain to be their juſt and unſatisfied demand.

Independently of the claim which the company have preferred againſt the public for expenſes incurred in carrying into execution the orders which at different times have been tranſmitted to India, for expeditions againſt the ſettlements of ſuch European powers as have been engaged in war with this country, and alſo to Egypt, your committee obſerve, that in the above mentioned petition various circumſtances (all of which are connected with that ſtate of war in Europe and in India) are repreſented as the cauſes which have produced the preſent embarraſſments in the company's affairs, and the grounds on which they pray for ſuch relief as parliament may think fit to grant. It will be evident from the examination of their ſeveral accounts (which exhibit a view of the company's pecuniary concerns in England during the laſt ten years,) when compared with the eſtimate for 1808-9, that the deficiencies of the laſt and preſent year have proceeded from cauſes which have been progreſſive in their operation, and that

that the ſtate of affairs which thoſe accounts now exhibit, is to be traced to a combination of various circumſtances connected with the wars in which the company have been engaged in India, as well as with the general ſtate of warfare in which a large portion of Europe has for a long period been involved. Your committee have ſelected from the annual accounts of the company's affairs at home, which have been preſented to parliament during the laſt ten years, a comparative ſtatement of receipts and payments in ſuch articles as have experienced or admit of any conſiderable variation in their amount. It will appear from that account, that the preſent deficiency may be aſcribed principally to the following cauſes:—1ſt. To the diminiſhed ſale of the company's goods; the ſum eſtimated to be received from ſuch ſales for the year 1808-9 being 1,394,589*l.* leſs than the average of the ten preceding years; 2,200,996*l.* leſs than the average of the firſt five years of that period; and 588,183*l.* leſs than the average of the laſt five years. It would lead your committee much beyond the limits within which they propoſe to confine this report, if they were to enter upon the diſcuſſion of all the cauſes to which the gradual decreaſe in the amount of the company's ſales, during the laſt ten years, may poſſibly be aſcribed. It will appear, however, from the account of ſales during that period, that in the article of tea, which forms a large proportion of their whole trade, no diminution has taken place, but that it has chiefly occurred in the imports from India, and particularly in the different deſcriptions of piece goods. The increaſed conſumption of cotton ſtuffs manufactured in Britain, and the advantages derived to neutral nations from the expence at which the trade to India muſt neceſſarily be carried on during war, as well as the obſtructions inſeparable from that ſtate of war which has exiſted with little intermiſſion ſince the renewal of the company's charter in 1793, are the cauſes to which, in the opinion of your committee, the diminiſhed ſale of Indian imports may principally be attributed. 2dly. To the increaſed expenſe of freight and demurrage of the company's ſhipping; the eſtimated amount of the ſame for the year 1808-9, being 276,251*l.* more than the average of the ten preceding years; 276,712*l.* more than the average of the firſt five years of that period; and 275,790*l.* more than the average of the laſt five years. Whether the ſyſtem now purſued by the company, in the deſcription of veſſels which they have been accuſtomed to employ, is the moſt economical to them or the moſt beneficial to the country, or whether it is calculated to withſtand the competition of foreign nations, are points on which your committee are not yet prepared to pronounce an opinion; but which they conſider to be of the higheſt importance, as they affect not only the commercial proſperity of the company, but the permanent intereſt of the Britiſh empire, in the preſervation and excluſive enjoyment of a valuable portion of its trade. In eſtimating this charge, to which the commerce of the company is expoſed, from the rate of freight, it muſt be recollected that the means of defence

and

and conſequent ſecurity which the ſize and ſtructure of their ſhips afford to their valuable cargoes, and to the tranſport of troops and military ſtores, muſt neceſſarily be included in any compariſon between the preſent and any other ſyſtem which may be ſuggeſted. 3dly. To the increaſed amount of bills of exchange drawn on the company in England from India and China; the eſtimated amount of which for the year 1808-9 being 725,408*l.* more than the average of the ten preceding years; 521,970*l.* more than the average of the firſt five years of that period; and 925,845*l.* more than the average of the laſt five years. It is unqueſtionably to thoſe heavy drafts from India and China on the company's treaſury at home, that the largeſt portion of the deficiency in their funds during the laſt and preſent year muſt be aſcribed. Your committee have been informed, that in conſequence of arrangements which the court of directors have adopted, and of orders which they have tranſmitted to China, the amount of bills from thence is not likely to increaſe, and that in all probability it will fall conſiderably below the average of former years. Your committee have not been enabled to form any ſuch expectation with regard to the amount of bills from India. Any interruption in the tranquillity of the company's territories would create increaſed demands on their treaſury at home, which can only be effectually avoided by a ſurplus revenue in India. The attainment of that object, either by a reduction of expenditure or by additional revenue, or by the operation of both thoſe cauſes, is indiſpenſable to the maintenance of the company's credit and power in India; and to this important ſubject your committee will, without delay, direct its moſt ſerious attention. Your committee have confined themſelves in this report to a ſtatement of the principal cauſes which have produced the preſent deficiency. There are others, however, of inferior amount, which have contributed to augment it. The charge of payments to military and marine officers retired from the ſervice has been gradually increaſing for ſeveral years, and amounts now to a ſum much beyond the calculation which was formed of it, when the ſyſtem was firſt eſtabliſhed. The addition to the company's bonded debt has alſo contributed to ſwell the deficit, by the increaſed charge for intereſt. With the view of enquiring into the practicability of retrenchment in the expenditure, your committee have called for the detail of the articles comprehended under the head of "charges general," which, in the aggregate, amounts annually to a very conſiderable ſum. As far as your committee have yet inveſtigated this account, they have found no reaſon to believe that it is capable of any material reduction, but they propoſe to go into a more detailed examination of the particular articles of which it conſiſts. And, entertaining this intention, they forbear at preſent laying before the houſe any thing more than an abſtract of the account, and of its principal ſubdiviſions for the laſt three years, as it has been prepared by the court of directors. The company have ſtated in their petition, that they did "not preſume to requeſt the interpoſition of the houſe to aid them in their preſent

preſent emergency, without at the ſame time ſhewing their unqueſtionable ability to diſcharge all their debts in England, and to repay whatever the houſe may in its wiſdom think fit to aſſiſt them with;" and having ſubmitted to the houſe a ſtatement in that petition, by which it appeared that a conſiderable balance would remain to them, after making proviſion for the payment of all their debts in England, but excluſive of their Indian debt; your committee felt it their duty carefully to inveſtigate that part of the ſubject, and they have no difficulty in ſtating an opinion, that there will remain aſſets in this country to an amount conſiderably beyond what the preſent exigency of the company's affairs appears to demand, in ſecurity for any advance to that extent which parliament may think fit to grant. Your committee have prepared an account of the probable aſſets of the company on the 1ſt of March 1809, in which the amount of debt due to them by the public, as the balance of their account, is taken only at 1,500,419*l.* inſtead of 2,460,000*l.* which the company claims, and in which nothing is allowed for their property afloat, and which will arrive in England ſubſequently to that period, though a large portion of the charges affecting that property will be incurred and paid during the current year. Eſtimating the amount in that moſt unfavourable mode, there will remain a balance of 2,819,587*l.* in favour of the company. If credit however is given for the value of that property, and the ſum due by the public is ſtated at the amount claimed by the company, the eſtimated balance in their favour will be 9,050,587*l.* It will be apparent to the houſe, from the examination of thoſe accounts, that the moſt accurate eſtimates which can be formed of ſuch articles of receipt and expenditure as are comprehended in them, muſt be liable to uncertainty: but your committee have no reaſon to doubt, that every practicable degree of caution has been uſed in preparing them. Your committee have already ſtated, that they are proceeding upon the detailed inveſtigation of the various matters comprehended in the general object of their enquiry, and which embrace the whole of the financial and commercial as well as political concerns of the company. An examination into the civil and military eſtabliſhments in India, will form a material branch of that enquiry; and your committee are already impreſſed with the neceſſity of carrying into effect reductions in the amount of thoſe eſtabliſhments to a very conſiderable extent. Your committee are happy to add, that this important ſubject has alſo engaged the ſerious attention of the court of directors, and of their governments abroad.

Report of the Committee of the Hon. the Houſe of Commons, appointed to inquire how far the Evils attending Lotteries have been remedied by the Laws paſſed reſpecting the ſame; and to report their Obſervations thereupon, and upon ſuch further Meaſures as may be neceſſary for the Remedy thereof.

[*Ordered to be printed June* 24. 1808.]

Your committee beg to call your attention to the evidence contained in

in the appendix, and more particularly to that of Mr. Wood, an officer appointed and paid by government, under the title of "Inſpector of Lotteries," from whom your committee might have expected to derive the moſt material and ſatisfactory information upon all the matters referred to them; and more eſpecially upon the ſteps he had lately taken in the execution of the duties of his office. It is manifeſt, however, that ſince the year 1802, when the ſcheme of the lottery was altered, the inſpector of lotteries has performed no duties; and he has declared to your committee that there do not appear to him to be any duties incumbent upon him to perform. Your committee have been further informed by Mr. Wood, [the inſpector] that he believes, by the regulations adopted ſince the year 1802, the evils ariſing from the lottery have been done away, and illegal inſurances ſuppreſſed. But the examination of many other witneſſes has proved to your committee that the information ſo given, by what your committee had a right to rely on as the moſt competent authority, is unfortunately altogether erroneous; and your committee have collected the reaſons why information more to be depended upon has not been obtained from the ſource in queſtion; for the details of which they refer you to the evidence itſelf.

Your committee are compelled to ſtate, that the evils of clandeſtine inſurance appear to them to prevail to a much greater extent than they had reaſon to ſuſpect when they made their firſt report in the month of April laſt; and it now appears fairly queſtionable, whether the number of perſons concerned in ſuch practices has materially diminiſhed, or the ſums adventured have been at all decreaſed. The greater privacy with which the tranſactions are conducted of courſe makes every inquiry into their exiſtence exceedingly difficult, whilſt it produces combination, and renders the invention of any real remedy the more hopeleſs.

An Act was paſſed (22d Geo. III. c. 47.) intituled, "An Act for licenſing lottery-office keepers, and regulating the ſale of lottery tickets." The breach of the law was puniſhed by penalties recoverable before two magiſtrates, "and the uſual powers were given for the recovery of the ſame, in caſe of non-payment, by warrant of diſtreſs and ſale, and for want of ſufficient diſtreſs, the offender to be ſent to the houſe of correction, for any time not exceeding ſix months nor leſs than three, unleſs the penalty ſhould be ſooner paid." A power of mitigation was given to the magiſtrates, and no penalty could be recovered, unleſs the offence had been committed within twelve months preceding the commencement of the proſecution.

No alteration in the law, with reſpect to illegal inſurance in lotteries, was made until 1787, when an Act (27th Geo. III. c. 1.) was paſſed, for rendering more effectual the laws now in being for ſuppreſſing unlawful lotteries. In the preamble to the laſt-mentioned act, the 8th Geo. I. c. 2. the 12th Geo. II. c. 28. and the 22d Geo. III. c. 47. are recited; and it is further recited, "that great difficulties have ariſen upon the methods of conviction of offenders againſt the ſaid recited acts before juſtices of

of the peace, and many evaſions of the ſaid recited acts are daily put in practice;" and it was by the 2d ſect. enacted, "that from and after the paſſing of ſaid act, no pecuniary penalties incurred by any perſon concerned in lotteries ſhould be recovered before any juſtice, but might be ſued for by action in any of the courts at Weſtminſter, and one moiety of the penalties, when recovered, ſhould be applied for the uſe of his Majeſty, and the other moiety to the perſon who ſhould ſue for the ſame; and the power was given in every ſuch action to hold the offenders to bail, for any ſum not exceeding 500*l.*"

All perſons engaged in illegal inſurance might alſo, under the authority of the 3d ſect. of the laſt mentioned act, be deemed rogues and vagabonds, under the 17th Geo. II. c. 5.; and power was given to the magiſtrates before whom any perſon ſhould be proſecuted as a rogue or vagabond, to commit the perſon ſo proſecuted to the houſe of correction, there to remain until the next general quarter ſeſſions; and the juſtices are then to inveſtigate the merits of the caſe, and to proceed according to the proviſions contained in the 17th Geo. III.

In conſequence of the repreſentations wich were made, of the extent to which common informers, aided by attornies, had abuſed the powers given by the 2d ſect. of the 27th Geo. III. c. 1. it was enacted, by an act paſſed in the 33d Geo. III. c. 62. ſect. 38. "That from and after the commencement of the ſaid act, it ſhould not be lawful for any perſon to commence or proſecute any action for the recovery of penalties inflicted by any of the laws touching or concerning lotteries, unleſs the ſame ſhould be commenced in the name of his Majeſty's attorney general;" and by ſect. 40 of the ſame act it was enacted, "that if any perſon ſhould be brought before two magiſtrates, and ſhould be convicted of any offence againſt the ſtatute of the 27th Geo. III. whereby he ſhould be adjudged a rogue and vagabond, the magiſtrates ſhould commit ſuch offender to the houſe of correction, there to remain for any ſpace of time not exceeding ſix calendar months nor leſs than one month, and until the final period of the drawing of the lottery, in reſpect whereof ſuch offence ſhould be committed; and that the proceeding ſhould be without appeal, and not removable by *certiorari*, or otherwiſe, into any court whatſoever."

No evidence has been given to the committee to ſhew what were the difficulties which occurred in the conviction of offenders under the 22d Geo. III. c. 47, and the acts recited therein; but it appears from the preamble to the 27th Geo. III. c. 1, that difficulties had occurred, and that many evaſions of that act had been put in practice. It is therefore reaſonable to preſume that the proviſions of that act had been found inſufficient to ſuppreſs the practice of inſuring in the lottery. In the hope therefore of more effectually ſuppreſſing the evil, the 27th Geo. III. c. 1. was paſſed; but it appears from the evidence of Mr. Eſtcourt, and more eſpecially from the letter from the under-ſheriffs of Middleſex addreſſed to him, and contained in his evidence, that the proviſions of that act had been perverted to the purpoſes of extortion,

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and had been productive of very ſerious evil.

In order to counteract this new evil, the 20th Geo. III. c. 62, ſect. 38 was paſſed, directing that no action ſhould be commenced or proſecuted, except in the name of the attorney general.

In conſequence of this limitation, very few actions have, as appears from the evidence given to the committee, been commenced ſince the paſſing of the laſt-mentioned act, although there is no doubt that inſurance in the lottery is ſtill carried on to a great extent.

The evidence which has been given with reſpect to the practical inconveniences reſulting from the proviſions of the 27th Geo. III. proves, that it would be impolitic again to have recourſe to the proviſions of that act, and yet it is very difficult to ſuggeſt any middle courſe between limiting the power of commencing actions to the attorney general, and giving that power to common informers. In the one caſe, there will probably be reaſon to complain of inactivity in enforcing the law, and in the other, of a corrupt and miſchievous perverſion of it. It might perhaps be proper to authorize the police magiſtrates, and the magiſtrates of the city, to direct actions to be commenced, when evidence to warrant that direction ſhall have been given upon oath before them. This however would be a novel and perhaps an improvident power to grant, and conſiderable difficulty would occur in carrying the principle into effect.

By the 27th Geo. III. all perſons engaged in illegal inſurance might be treated as rogues and vagabonds, under the 17th Geo. II. c. 5; and the magiſtrates had the power of committing them to the houſe of correction until the next general quarter ſeſſions. It appears from the evidence given to the committee, that in the interval between the commitment and the trial, the witneſſes were generally tampered with or removed, and conviction became impoſſible. In order to obviate this difficulty, a power was given by 33 Geo. III. to two magiſtrates, to commit ſuch perſons to the houſe of correction for any period not exceeding ſix months nor leſs than one, and until the end of the drawing of the lottery, in reſpect of which the offence had been committed; and the proceeding was without appeal, and not removable by *certiorari* or otherwiſe into any other court. From this enactment, it appears that the legiſlature has been under the neceſſity of granting very large and extraordinary powers to magiſtrates, in order to diminiſh the evil ariſing from inſurance in lotteries, and the circumſtances which gave riſe to it ſhew that no pecuniary means are wanting to enable thoſe who are engaged in *this* practice to evade the puniſhment of the law.

Your committee have to lament that it is not in their power to furniſh to the Houſe any more ſatisfactory reſult of this part of their labours: but when it is recollected that for many years paſt the attention of the moſt acute and ingenious perſons, well acquainted with the whole of the lottery ſyſtem, both legal and fraudulent, under the auſpices of ſucceſſive miniſters, have been directed to this object without ſucceſs; that it has been repre-

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ſented to your committee, that the lottery and illegal inſurances are inſeparable; that the former cannot exiſt without the latter for its ſupport; that a ſyſtem of connivance in thoſe acts which the law prohibits pervades all ranks concerned, from the perſons contracting with government under the law, down to the meaneſt wretch employed in the violation of the law, and its moſt ordinary victim: your committee did not enter upon this matter with much proſpect of ſucceſs, and do not therefore feel any very great diſappointment at the iſſue; they are perſuaded the houſe will not impute to them any want of attention to the ſubject, or zeal in the execution of their duty.

In truth, the foundation of the lottery is ſo radically vicious, that your committee feel convinced that, under no ſyſtem of regulations which can be deviſed, will it be poſſible for parliament to adopt it as an efficient ſource of revenue, and at the ſame time diveſt it of all the evils and calamities of which it has hitherto proved ſo baneful a ſource.

A ſpirit of adventure muſt be excited amongſt the community, in order that government may derive from it a pecuniary reſource. That ſpirit is to be checked at a certain given point, in order that no evils may attend it—the latter object has not hitherto been attained; with all the pains which have been beſtowed upon it. Your committee are of opinion, that its attainment is impoſſible.

The ingenuity of perſons intereſted in breaking the law, is always upon the watch for its new enactments, and has hitherto always baffled the ſagacity of the legiſlature. Added to which, there can be no hope of greater purity amongſt the perſons employed to detect and bring the offenders to puniſhment than has hitherto been experienced, or than now exiſts. The ſtatute book is burthened with regulations entirely repugnant to the ſpirit of the conſtitution, rigorous and oppreſſive in the extreme, which, if they are ever executed, fall only upon the ignorant and deſtitute, whilſt the wealthy and more profligate hold them in utter contempt: and this unſeemly ſtate of things is allowed to continue, in order that the ſtate may derive a certain annual ſum from the partial encouragement of a vice, which it is the object of the law, in all other caſes, and at all other times, moſt diligently to repreſs.

In the meantime your committee find, that by the effects of the lottery, even under its preſent reſtrictions, idleneſs, diſſipation, and poverty are increaſed, the moſt ſacred and confidential truſts are betrayed, domeſtic comfort is deſtroyed, madneſs often created, crimes, ſubjecting the perpetrators of them to the puniſhment of death, are committed, and even ſuicide itſelf is produced, as will fully appear in the evidence ſubmitted to the Houſe. Such have been the conſtant and fatal attendants upon ſtate lotteries, and ſuch your committee have too good grounds to fear will be their invariable attendants ſo long as they are ſuffered, under whatever checks or regulations, to exiſt.

The queſtion naturally occurs to your committee, whether any pecuniary advantage, however large or convenient, can compenſate to a

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ſtate for the amount of vice and miſery thus neceſſarily produced by the levy of it.

The anſwer to this queſtion is ſubmitted to your wiſdom and deliberation. But in order that the Houſe may come to a deciſion, in every view ſo important to the intereſts and happineſs of the community, without prejudice, your committee cannot conclude without expreſſing a decided opinion, that the pecuniary advantage derived from a ſtate lottery is much greater in appearance than in reality. When we take into conſideration the increaſe of poor's rates ariſing from the number of families driven by ſpeculations in the lottery, whether fortunate or otherwiſe, to ſeek parochial relief, the diminiſhed conſumption of exciſeable articles during the drawings, and other circumſtances deducible from the evidence, they may well be conſidered to operate as a large deduction from the groſs ſums paid into the Exchequer by the contractors. On the other hand, the ſum raiſed upon the people is much greater in proportion to the amount received by the ſtate, than in any other branch of revenue.

No mode of raiſing money appears to your committee ſo burthenſome, ſo pernicious, and ſo unproductive; no ſpecies of adventure is known, where the chances are ſo great againſt the adventurer; none where the infatuation is more powerful, laſting, and deſtructive.

In the lower claſſes of ſociety the perſons engaged, whether ſucceſsful or unfortunate, are, generally ſpeaking, either immediately or ultimately tempted to their ruin; and there is ſcarcely any condition of life ſo deſtitute and abandoned, that its diſtreſſes have not been aggravated by this allurement to gaming, held forth by the ſtate.

Your committee are conſcious that they are far from having exhauſted all the grounds upon which it might be urged, that the lottery ought not to be reſorted to as a financial reſource. The reaſoning upon them appears to your committee to apply with peculiar force to the ſituation, the habits, and all the circumſtances, of a great manufacturing and commercial nation, in which it muſt be dangerous, in the higheſt degree, to diffuſe a ſpirit of ſpeculation, whereby the mind is miſled from thoſe habits of continued induſtry which inſure the acquiſition of comfort and independence, to deluſive dreams of ſudden and enormous wealth, which moſt generally end in abject poverty and complete ruin. If after all that has been ſtated, and a peruſal of the evidence, the Houſe ſhall think proper to ſanction the adoption of the lottery in any future ſeſſion of parliament, your committee recommend to your conſideration the various ſuggeſtions contained in their two reports for the alteration of the law, from which they are willing to hope, at leaſt, that ſome beneficial ſelection may be made. But they cannot flatter themſelves with the expectation that they have been much more fortunate than the able perſons who have applied themſelves with ſo much induſtry and ſo little ſucceſs to the ſame ſubject, and to whom the public are indebted for their attempt to correct the evils which, in the opinion of your committee, can only be done away by the ſuppreſſion of the cauſe from which they are derived.

Reſolved,

Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that (in caſe it ſhall be thought expedient to continue ſtate lotteries) the number thereof in each year ſhould be limited to two lotteries, of not more than 30,000 tickets each; that the number of days allowed for drawing, inſtead of ten, the preſent number, ſhould be brought back to eight for each lottery, the number fixed in 1802: that the number of tickets to be drawn each day ſhould be uncertain, and left to the diſcretion of the commiſſioners of ſtamp duties, and kept ſecret till the cloſe of the drawing each day, care being taken, as the lottery proceeds, not to leave too great a number undrawn on the latter days of drawing, but that one moiety or upwards be drawn on the four firſt days thereof.

Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that no perſon ſhould be allowed to deal in lottery tickets without a licence for that purpoſe from the commiſſioners of ſtamp duties, and that the proviſion to that effect, in the 2d ſection of 22 Geo. III. cap. 47, repealed in 1802, and not renewed in the late acts, ſhould be re-enacted, with this addition, that every licenſed lottery office keeper ſhould be allowed to take out from the ſtamp office, in addition to his own licence, a limited number of licences for agents, with a ſtamp duty of about one-tenth of that paid by himſelf, in the proportion of two ſuch agents licences, for every 150 tickets ſhared by him at the ſtamp office; and that all perſons ſhould be forbidden, under a heavy penalty, to act as agents for any lottery office keeper, or to deal in lottery tickets, except perſons ſo licenſed.

Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that in order to prevent perſons ſetting up licenſed lottery offices as a cloak for carrying on illegal inſurances, the number of tickets required to be ſhared in each lottery, in order to entitle the parties to a licence, ſhould be extended from *thirty* to *one hundred and fifty*; and that ſuch licences ſhould be renewed for every lottery upon the parties continuing to ſhare that number of tickets.

Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that the limitation of hours during which lottery offices may be open for the tranſaction of buſineſs, viz. from 8 o'clock in the morning till 8 o'clock in the evening, enacted by 22 Geo. III. cap. 47, and renewed in the lottery acts of 1802, and the three following years, but omitted in thoſe of the two laſt years, ought in future to be re-enacted, without the exception therein made with reſpect to Saturday, when lottery offices ought to be ſhut at as early an hour as on other evenings.

Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that all perſons concerned in hawking about lottery tickets and ſhares for ſale, in diſtributing hand-bills reſpecting lotteries otherwiſe than in the offices of licenſed perſons, in illuminating lottery offices for outſide ſhow, in exhibiting lottery ſchemes and bills upon boards, carts, or carriages, in town or country, ſhould be ſubjected, on conviction before a magiſtrate, to a conſiderable penalty, and in default of payment to impriſonment for a limited period.

Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that the exemption of licenſed lottery office keepers, from the juriſdiction of juſtices of

of the peace, and police magiſtrates, by inſerting in ſec. 34 of the laſt lottery act, the words, "if not li- "cenſed to divide tickets into "ſhares, in the manner aforeſaid," is inexpedient, and ought to be diſcontinued; and that ſuch lottery office keepers ought in future to be ſubjected in common with other perſons to ſuch juriſdiction.

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The following information is extracted from the Appendix to the preceding Report.

GAMBLING.

Formerly, theſe evils uſed to occupy only forty-two days of drawing, and for a fortnight before the drawing began; but now theſe things are going forward nearly all the year round. There has been what is almoſt a continual lottery, and the ſpirit of gambling is more encouraged. *Formerly*, the offices were by law to be ſhut up at eight o'clock, except on the day preceding the drawing, when they were allowed to be kept open till twelve, but now there is no limit as to the time of their being kept open.

Formerly, The inſurance for high ſums exceeded that for low ones. The firſt men in the kingdom, noblemen, merchants, and others, uſed to inſure in this way for one thouſand or five thouſand guineas.

NUMBER OF SHARES.

The low price occaſions the lottery to be diffuſed into ſmall parts, ſo that in fact at preſent there are a great many more tickets ſhared in ſixteenths than when tickets were cheaper. Twenty years ago, it uſed to be reckoned that the aggregate of the whole tickets ſhared was generally multiplied by eight to find the number of ſhares; but in the preſent, and in the two or three laſt lotteries, it may be multiplied by ten, the higher ſhares having decreaſed, and the lower ſhares increaſed.

LITTLE GOES.

Little goes are little lotteries, on the ſame plan as the great lotteries, and drawn in the ſame manner.

There are generally about five or ſix little goes in the year, and they are generally conducted by two or three of the lottery-office-keepers who are licenſed.

It is the cover of the ſtate lotteries that leads to the little go. It appears that they begin in the ſtate lottery, but have not patience to wait till another ſtate lottery, and they gamble in ſome little go; a little go is never heard of during the ſtate lottery.

LAWFUL AGENTS.

The employment of agents in the country within the laſt year or two has been at leaſt doubled: *i. e.* by ſome houſes. Others have been more cautious. Mr. Hodges obſerves, at firſt they required 10*l.* licences for the country agents; then that was dropped, and there has been an increaſe of country agents. We had fifty, but we have decreaſed half, becauſe they were not acquainted. We have twenty-five only now, and we had fifty. Many of them failed, and became bankrupts.

The lottery now finds it way to villages: in the country it is confined to the ſhares, not to inſurances. It extends to the labouring people, and raiſes a ſpirit of gambling where it was not before.

No agent out to be ſuffered without a licence either in town or country. At preſent, every perſon may be an agent without pay-

ing any ſum at all for a licence, and by theſe means at preſent perſons are enabled to ſell tickets even in villages, which before was never done.

Theſe agents are allowed on a whole ticket 1s.; on a half-ticket 2s.; on a quarter of a ticket 1s. 6d.; on an eighth 1s.; and on the ſixteenth of a ticket 6d.; together with all the charges and expences they may be put to, in parcels, carriage, the putting up, and the circulation of poſting bills, and alſo the expences of advertiſing. One of the profits of the agent conſiſts in his having ſums in his hands belonging to principals in London, of which he is able to make uſe in his own buſineſs.

Many old ſteady correſpondents who had been accuſtomed to buy tickets and halves, now buy quarters, eighths, and ſixteenths, becauſe the lotteries of late have made more frequent calls on their purſes than it has been convenient for them to anſwer.

Thoſe who buy are in a good meaſure the ſame perſons in different lotteries. There are certain perſons who are diſpoſed to that kind of adventure, and who make their purchaſes more or leſs in every lottery.

UNLAWFUL AGENTS.

Inſurances in the lottery exiſt to the ſame extent as they did formerly, but not ſo much in the open face of day. Formerly perſons without capital and without principal, illuminated ſhop windows, and put up patent lamps, and did this in the open face of day, for illegal inſurances. But now, it is believed, that full three parts out of four of ſuch illegal inſurances, ultimately find their way into the ſhops of, and are monopolized by, the licenced lottery-office keepers; becauſe, though this buſineſs is done ſecretly, in holes and corners through almoſt every alternate green-grocer's ſhop, or chandler's ſhop, or ſhoe-maker's ſhop, and though it is collected by men called Morocco Men, yet they are the ſubordinate agents of licenced lottery-office keepers in general; and what multiplies this miſchief of inſurance more than it would otherwiſe be, is, that the adventurer and the dupe of laſt year, becomes an animal of prey in the preſent year, for they find out that theſe Morocco Men, who have the collecting of the ſums of money, get conſiderable ſums themſelves, many of them getting $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, and a quarter profit upon the whole ſpeculation at the end of the lottery, without the chance of loſing. Then they take to the ſame practice, and ſeduce freſh perſons to lay out their money with them.

It was a well known fact, that many perſons had acquired conſiderable fortunes by carrying on illegal inſurances, and it was not uncommon for one of theſe perſons to employ twenty or thirty agents of different deſcriptions, daily to collect the inſurances during the forty-two days of drawing of each lottery, ſome in cellars and others in garrets, whilſt others were permitted to attend at the bar of a coffee houſe, or admitted into private families for the purpoſe of inſuring for money, or, in other words, for the purpoſe of receiving a ſmall ſum of money, to return a larger ſum if any given number in the lottery on a given day ſhould be drawn blank or prize, and the premiums were adapted to all deſcriptions

ſcriptions of people; any ſum might be inſured from one guinea to twenty guineas, ſo that perſons of the loweſt deſcription might be accommodated. The price of inſurance for a guinea at the commencement of the lottery was 8d., and it gradually increaſed as the drawing of the lottery proceeded.

INSURERS.

When caught, many in a room together, moſt of them are found to be poor women, and perhaps in their pockets 20 or 30, to 40 or 60 duplicates of their things pledged, even their pillows, beds, and bolſters, and their clothes, till they have been almoſt naked.

They inſure for guineas and half guineas, and I believe, calling a whole number 20*l.* they inſure halves, quarters, and ſixteenths.

There are various methods of inſuring, in which very ſmall ſums, even the halfpence in their pockets, are riſked in this line of gambling.

There is no legal penalty; the only puniſhment is commitment as rogues and vagabonds.

They are generally committed for from one month to three months, but ſometimes commitment is for ſix months.

There are generally two parties, one to proſecute, becauſe they have not been bribed, and the other to endeavour to get rid of the evidence that might have been brought forward againſt the accuſed party, either by calling the witneſſes on one ſide, or by uſing means to perſuade them to go out of the way.

People have taken things out of a ready furniſhed room, and pledged them to make up money for the lottery.

If an adventurer loſes *four* days, *he never can recover his loſs*; and as to the *Inſurer*, his riſk is ſo great, that by one day's ill-luck he may be entirely ruined.

EXPENCES OF OFFICES.

Thoſe offices which ſhare no more than thirty tickets at the ſtamp-office (the number required by law to entitle them to a licence) cannot have ſufficient buſineſs in that way to ſupport an office, as their profits upon them, and upon any proportionate number of whole tickets which they ſell, muſt be ſo very ſmall, as to make a certain loſs by the legal part of the buſineſs. The expence of an office can ſcarcely be leſs than 500*l.* per annum; and, if much buſineſs is done, conſiderably more; which 500*l.* may be ſet down as follows:

Rent and Taxes - - -	£200
Licence - - - - - - -	50
Seat in Hall - - - - -	10
Clerks (at leaſt) - - - -	200
Porter - - - - - - - -	50
	£510

Thoſe office-keepers who do illegal buſineſs are protected by the inſpector, who may be ſeen daily and nightly at their offices, but ſeldom in any of the offices where tickets and ſhares are ſold.

The expence of propagating a lottery of 60,000 tickets within the laſt ten years, has not exceeded 7,000*l.*; whereas the expence of the four laſt lotteries, on the part of the contractors and office-keepers, has not been leſs than 70,000*l.* or 80,000*l.* There are upwards of 100 country newſpapers, in which, in the courſe of a week, the lottery advertiſements are in general inſerted twice.

Theſe practices ſet people againſt the lotteries. Lotteries are now

ſo frequent, that the public cannot recover from one lottery to another.

PROFIT OF CONTRACTORS, OFFICES, &c.

The general advance put upon tickets by the contractors has been about 3*l.* per ticket, not varying much under or over. This is in conſideration of the certain loſs on ſuch tickets as the contractor is not able to ſell, the expence he muſt neceſſarily be put to in the ſale of his lottery, and the profit which he naturally expects on ſuch a concern.

The lottery is ſold pretty well, of which four-fifths of the tickets are ſold. The contractors for the preſent lottery, it is imagined, will ſell about 17,000 tickets out of 25,000.

The profit derived by letting ſeats in Guildhall, made part of the revenue of the corporation of the city of London, and amounted to from 4 to 500*l.* per annum.

There is an incorrigible propenſity in the middling and lower claſſes to game in illegal inſurances. The public has a comparative advantage in point of price or premium in inſuring, preferable to buying legal ſhares; for the diſadvantage of the adventurer on inſurance never exceeds 20 per cent. or thereabouts, and ſometimes is ſo low as 12½ per cent. whereas in the purchaſe of legal ſhares they encounter a loſs of 100 per cent. This high price of legal ſhares originates in the middle hands through which the tickets and ſhares paſs. In the preſent lottery, the Chancellor of the Exchequer ſold the tickets at 17*l.* and a fraction. Thoſe tickets were not intrinſically worth 10*l.* each, when it is conſidered that the contractors lay out their money in prompt payment, and there is an interval before they receive it back again. Thus there is 7*l.* added on the true value of the ticket. The contractor ſold it again to the licenſed lottery-office keepers at 20*l.* 19*s.*, between 3*l.* and 4*l.* more than the contractor gave for it. The licenſed office-keeper puts another profit on it, which, though ſmall on whole tickets, only 1*s.*) yet when divided again into different kinds of ſhares, gives 1*l.* more. The lower claſs having this propenſity to gaming, are, from the high price of legal ſhares, ſhut out from the fair market, and are therefore induced to reſort to the unlawful practice of inſurance. The lottery ſchemes of the preſent day contain too many large prizes, 10,000*l.* ſhould be the higheſt prize; and there ſhould be no prizes leſs than 50*l.*, or 40*l.* at the leaſt, for the legal adventurer, who now pays 28*s.* for a ſixteenth, in caſe it comes up a 21*l.* prize, gets only 26*s.* of his money back again, and in caſe it comes up only a 15*l.* prize, he gets only 18*s.* of his money back again, which gives great diſſatisfaction among the middle and lower orders, particularly when we take into the account the vaſt number of blanks compared to the prizes, which appear to be in proportion of three to one.

Mr. Wood, the lottery inſpector, was charged in the court of exchequer with receiving bribes, ſome ſtated to be directly received as bribes, and others as loans; and Mr. Wood, in his anſwer upon oath, contented himſelf with ſwearing, "that he verily believed that "the object of that application to "the

"the court of exchequer againſt "him was to procure an affidavit "from him, upon which he might, "by falſe witneſſes, be indicted "for perjury."

The incidents to the lottery are, poſtage of letters, ſtamps, duties on advertiſements, exciſe duty on paper and candles, &c. reckoned at a profit to government of 2*l.* a ticket.

Every lottery falls off in its ſale.

The lower claſs of people buy nearly two-thirds of what is ſold.

What do you mean by the lower claſs?—Mechanics and ſervants, and inferior tradeſmen. People from workhouſes buy ſhares of tickets, and from all quarters.—*Mr. Shewell.*

LEGAL OPPRESSIONS.

In 1787, inſurances were puniſhable in *two* ways, one by writ of capias, the other under the vagrant law. This power given to every perſon to arreſt his neighbour for 500*l.* ſet all the qui tam attornies to work, and cauſed hundreds of perſons to be ſworn into priſon, upon the oaths or pretended oaths of people that could not afterwards be found, and which was done only to extort money. Theſe capiases were ſo numerous, that they employed all the ſheriffs' officers in London and Middleſex to execute them; until at laſt, in 1791, the ſheriff complained, as I was told by the under-ſheriff, that his officers could do no other buſineſs, and obtained from government, in 1793, a clauſe to prevent any perſon ſuing for penalties by capias, except the attorney-general. Between that time and 1802, conſiderably more than 1000 perſons were impriſoned for offences againſt the lottery acts, ſome at the ſuit of the attorney-general, and others as rogues and vagabonds, at an immenſe expence to government in hiring informers, conſtables, &c. and at great danger to the perſon who held the office of inſpector, and that without effecting the leaſt abatement of the evil of inſurance. In 1802, Iriſh lotteries were aboliſhed, and Engliſh lotteries were new modelled; the long drawings were reduced from forty-two days to eight days; inſurances dropped in the ſame proportion, and the profits to government increaſed to nearly double what they were before. The old regulation laws reſpecting lotteries became of courſe a dead letter, and were repealed one by one until they were all out of force, except a few old clauſes which were neceſſary, and were continued in the new acts; and it was the deſire of the then lord mayor and other city magiſtrates that the whole might be put into one act, and thus all the clauſes for creating and regulating the lotteries for each year appear in the act for that year. In 1806, every perſon might *ſell* lottery tickets or ſhares or particular chances without a licence; which plan of allowing every perſon to deal, ſpreads the market all over the kingdom, and occaſions the high price of tickets; but no perſon could *make* ſhares, or ſuch chances as the act permits, without a licence, and giving a bond of 1000*l.* to the ſtamp-office.—*Mr. Wood.*

By the power given by this act, the common informer was authorized to iſſue proceſs at his own diſcretion againſt any perſons he might think proper, ſpecifying therein the amount of the penalties ſued for, whereof an affidavit ſhould be

be firſt made and filed, and to arreſt them for the ſame; and in conſequence thereof, the proceſs of the court, in the hands of the common informer, aſſiſted by profeſſional men who employed themſelves in theſe kind of proceedings, became a nuiſance of the moſt ſerious nature; and complaints were made of the abuſe of their proceſs from all parts of the metropolis, and amongſt others from the ſheriffs of London and Middleſex, who repreſented that theſe actions were ſo frequent, and the reſponſibility of themſelves and their officers ſo great, that unleſs a ſtop was put to it, no perſon would be found to execute the office of under-ſheriff, without the riſk of being totally ruined.—*Mr. Eſtcourt.*

As we recollect, the penalties of illegal inſurance ſometimes amounted to 500*l.* before that ſtatute; it was the cuſtom for common informers to ſue out writs of capias againſt the ſame perſon for ſeveral penalties, to prevent the poſſibility of procuring bail without the conſent of the plaintiff or his attorney, the price of which conſent varied according to the ſuppoſed ability of the defendant; it was enormous; from 20*l.* to 50*l.* according to circumſtances; on payment of which, the party was liberated, and no further proceeding took place.—Theſe arreſts were uſually on a Saturday evening, in order to keep the party in cuſtody on Sunday, as the moſt favourable for the proſecutor to make his terms of compromiſe; and there was too much reaſon to believe that ſome of the ſheriff's officers were in colluſion with the common informer or his attorney —*Meſſrs. Birchell and Sayer, Under-Sheriffs.*

An attorney of the name of Sandbich, another of the name of Croſley, and one of the name of Clement, were in the habit of ſuing a great deal under this act of parliament; and made no ſcruple of ſacrificing the intereſt of the King to the intereſt of their client; for inſtance, they took 10*l.* or 20*l.* in an action brought for 500*l.*, by which the King only got 10*l.* and the plaintiff 10*l.*, but the attorney received a groſs ſum for his coſts, not only that his bill was never taxed, but that no bill at all was frequently made out, but a groſs ſum pitched upon for coſts, infinitely beyond what he ought to have had, had his bill been taxed.

Mr. Wood being jealous of the right which the public at large poſſeſſed of proſecuting offenders of this ſort, wiſhed to diveſt the public of that right, and to ſubſtitute in its ſtead a cloſe ſyſtem, by which the right of proſecuting ſhould be confined to himſelf, and to the commiſſioners of ſtamps, and to his Majeſty's attorney-general; and the eſtabliſhment of that cloſe ſyſtem enabled Mr. Wood to make it, when he choſe, a ſyſtem of favouritiſm and protection; inſomuch, that Mr. Wood was regularly penſioned by perſons engaged in lottery ſpeculations, both of a legal and an illegal nature; yet, though he had received great bounty at their hands, there was great ingratitude about him, for that, in ſpite of all that, he was now and then endeavouring to cramp their proceedings.

The licenſed office-keepers who are engaged in this ſort of traffic, it is ſaid, ſend a liſt, or in ſome other way communicate to Mr. Wood the names and places of abode

abode of thoſe Morocco * men, in order that he may know that thoſe perſons ſo contained in that liſt are their ſubordinate agents, and muſt not be meddled with; ſo that Mr. Wood knows exactly what proportion of perſons belong to A. a licenſed lottery office keeper, and to B. a licenſed lottery-office keeper, and ſo forth. About ſix years ago, Mr. Wood was ſeized with a ſudden fit of ſeverity, and, in the courſe of one term, he cauſed to be arreſted by writs of capias perhaps from 300 to 400 perſons; which, with the exception of a very few, perhaps about twelve, were perſons of the very loweſt claſs of life, many of them married women, and many of them waſher-women, char-women, and perſons of that deſcription; ſo that government neceſſarily had to pay to the ſolicitor of ſtamps heavy coſts, for having inſtituted ſo great a number of unproductive ſuits, and the treaſury was greatly diſpleaſed. The poor were put into priſon, and after remaining there, ſome a month, ſome two months, and ſome three months, and ſo on, Mr. Wood, either by himſelf, or by his brother, or father, or ſome relation, told them they had better petition the commiſſioners of ſtamps, ſtating their indigence; and when the commiſſioners came to know what ſort of wretched beings they had in priſon, their humanity urged them to ſet them at liberty by degrees.—But in ſome inſtances, Mr. Wood made miſtakes, and arreſted ſome of the ſubordinate agents of the lottery-office keepers, ſuppoſed to be on terms of friendſhip; and when it was intimated to Mr. Wood that he had done wrong, by the licenced office-keepers, the defendant has been illegally put out of the lock-up-houſe, and ſent about his buſineſs, without the ſheriff being ever called upon to make any return to the writ, without any further proceedings being had upon it, and without its ever having come to the knowledge of the ſolicitor of ſtamps, or of the commiſſioners, or of his Majeſty's attorney-general, that ſuch defendants had at all been arreſted; and that upon ſuch occaſions, the officer has been rendered ſecure by Mr. Wood's promiſe, that he would take care that he (the officer) ſhould never be called upon for the return of the writ.—*Mr. Bellis, heretofore Aſſiſtant to a Police Magiſtrate.*

MISERIES PRODUCED BY LOTTERIES.

It would be too tedious to enter into the details of the miſery which this fatal deluſion, ſtimulated by the artful devices of thoſe who are concerned in the lotteries, has produced, and muſt continue to produce, until a radical change ſhould be effected, ſince, were it poſſible to obtain a hiſtory of all the lamentable caſes which have occurred, it would fill volumes to recount them.

No revenue has been obtained to the ſtate at half the expenſe, in point of pecuniary ſacrifice to the public, independent of the exceſſive injury to the morals of the people, as lotteries in the manner they are now conſtituted. They have been a productive harveſt to the moſt

* Morocco men are ſo called from carrying a morocco pocket-book with them, for the purpoſe of inſuring.

idle,

idle, the moſt profligate, and the moſt abandoned and depraved members of the community, many of whom have, through this medium, acquired princely fortunes within the laſt thirty years. Theſe ſucceſſes have ſtimulated others to follow the evil example: great capitals have been employed in the trade of illegal inſurances, and long practice has enabled theſe miſchievous agents to ſyſtematize their deſigns in ſo perfect a manner as to elude detection. Their profits on the money received during each lottery are eſtimated at 33⅓ per cent. clear of all expences. From 7½ to 10 per cent, is generally allowed to Morocco men, who go about for the purpoſe of ſoliciting perſons to inſure. A very conſiderable proportion of women who can write, and know a little of figures, are employed in this nefarious trade, and when any of them are convicted and impriſoned, there is generally a ſtipulation with their principal that they ſhall be allowed two guineas a week during the term of their impriſonment. It is not eaſy to eſtimate the annual expence which lotteries coſt the public, the following ſtatement, however, is hazarded:

	£.
Suppoſe three annual lotteries each of 25,000 tickets, the public receives -	600,000
Contractor's profit at £1 per ticket -	75,000
Lottery-office keeper's profit - -	100,000
Inſurer's profit 33½ per cent, on £1,000,000	333,000
Total -	£1,108,000

The public are ſuppoſed to pay for 75,000 tickets, including the additional advance on halves, quarters, eighths and ſixteenths, £17 a ticket - -		1,275,000
The lower claſs who inſure are ſuppoſed to pay - -		1,000,000
		£2,275,000
Deduct prizes	750,000	
Deduct hits obtained by inferior claſſes who inſure 25 per cent -	250,000	
		1,000,000
Loſs to the public, to gain £600,000 to the ſtate, yearly		£1,275,000

Patrick Colquhoun, Eſq. Magiſtrate.

I remember one very ſtrong inſtance of diſtreſs ariſing out of the tranſactions in the lottery, four or five years ago. It was the caſe of a journeyman who belonged to a club, which club purchaſed a ticket that came up a great prize. The ſhare of this man was 100l, or thereabouts; he had been an induſtrious working man before, and he was perſuaded by his friends to inveſt the money in the ſtocks, in the joint names of himſelf and his wife, in order to prevent his making away with it. He did ſo, but he ſoon got into habits of idleneſs now he was poſſeſſed of the money, and he wanted his wife to join in the transfer of it. That occaſioned quarrels, which proceeded to aſſaults; he changed his habits of induſtry to thoſe of drunkenneſs and

and idleneſs, and deſtroyed all his domeſtic comforts. It was the ruin of the family.

The perſons inſuring are principally women of a low deſcription, about nine women to one man always. One great evil is the diſputes which it occaſions between the women and their huſbands. The women inſure without the knowledge of their huſbands, and then pawn their cloaths.

In another caſe, a man inſured ſeven ſhillings, to receive 20 guineas if a certain number was drawn on a particular day. a prize of above 15l.; the number I believe was 1,070, but that number will do for the purpoſe of explanation. It happened that the number came up a prize of above 15l., and when the man claimed his money the next day the inſurer ſhewed him a book where it was not 1,070, but 11,070, ſo he had prefixed a 1 in the book to alter the number.

The diſtreſs occaſioned by dealing in the lottery among the lower order of houſekeepers prevents their being able to pay their taxes.—*Robert Baker, Eſq. Magiſtrate.*

I have been frequently applied to aid, having a benevolent ſociety at my chapel, and I have in general examined the caſes myſelf; frequently I have had the perſons with me, and ſometimes I went to them to aſk the ſource of their diſtreſs. It often happened that their diſtreſs aroſe from the miſconduct of the huſband, and ſometimes from the miſconduct of the wives, in their going to inſure in the lottery, in St. Giles's pariſh, ſomewhere near Seven Dials, with the perſons who had the habit of collecting in public-houſes, where thoſe called collectors of inſurance uſed to come. After they had drank a little at thoſe places, they were more inclined to embark, until all the money about them was expended in that way; and ſeveral inſtances have come within my knowledge of their returning home, and ſelling their property to raiſe more money, when the children perhaps have been ſtarving, at leaſt wanting the common neceſſaries of life.

I was glad the drawing was curtailed, which ſaved a great deal of miſchief.

When the lottery was ſo long in drawing, the premium was, during the firſt days, ſo low, that many were tempted to try their chance, and they were led to the whole ſeries of the forty-two days.

I knew a widow, in a good line of buſineſs as a ſilk dyer, which I ſuppoſe brought her in about 400l. a-year clear. She kept a very good houſe, and I was in habits of intimacy with the family. The foreman ſhe had was in the habit of inſuring, he was led aſtray, and they inſured to the amount of 300l. or 400l. a-night, although the foreman had only 30l. a-year wages. It appeared, on his deceaſe, he had inſured immenſe ſums of money. Within the laſt year of his life, I found that he had ſpent upwards of 100 guineas in the lottery, purchaſing one ticket at 16l., and inſuring away the reſt. It came up blank at laſt, and I verily believe it was the death of him. He died inſolvent; I acted as his executor, and paid three or four ſhillings in the pound for him. He had received a great many bills for his miſtreſs, which he had never croſſed out, and he ruined her. She was not able to pay three ſhillings in the pound.

pound. She was obliged to go into an alms-houſe, and ſhe died there in four or five months. They would ſend all the plate ſhe had to raiſe money to carry on an inſurance, which had begun perhaps at a low price.

A gentleman who drew him into the ſnare, was ruined by it. His wife had 400l. a-year, and it was ſettled upon her. He ſold his life-intereſt, and ſhe was obliged to live upon charity during the laſt ſeven or eight years; he died within the rules of the Fleet-priſon. He formerly kept his carriage, and lived in Queen-ſquare. It was like intoxication with him. If a man gets into the habit of it, he does not leave it.

I know of another very remarkable caſe. The man was a coachman. The family conſiſted of the man, his wife, and an orphan child they took care of. This was two years and a half ago. They reſolved, as ſoon as they bought ſome tickets, to inſure them, which they underſtood was legal; they inſured, and kept on inſuring during the eight days (the lottery was eight days drawing), and on the eighth day they got all their money back by inſuring. They took care to cover the premium of the day before on the ſucceeding day. They got each of them 1-16th of a 20,000l. prize, the coachman, his wife, and the child. From that period the man became a noted gambler in the lottery. He did not know what to do with the money, and he was going to ſpend it all that way; on which ſhe intreated that he would buy into the ſtocks; and after 200l. was gone he bought into the ſtocks, and ſoon afterwards he went out of his mind, and he was always raving about the lottery. He has ſince recovered his ſenſes, and he comes to my chapel. The wife fretted herſelf to death; the laſt ſtage of her illneſs was the dropſy. I attended her in her laſt moments.

To one woman I gave five ſhillings to buy bread with, for herſelf and her children. I gave it as treaſurer to a benevolent ſociety. Her huſband took it away, and went to one of thoſe collectors of inſurances and laid it out, and they were obliged to go to the overſeer of the poor to get relief that night, otherwiſe they would have been ſtarved. There is another inſtance of a young woman now at Botany-bay. She had inſured three numbers which ſhe had dreamt about, and ſhe procured money by improper means which led her to her fate. I knew her before ſhe lived with the perſon whom ſhe robbed.—*Rev. W. Gurney, Rector of St. Clement's Danes, and Miniſter to the Free Chapel in Weſt-ſtreet, St. Giles's.*

With reſpect to the evil of inſurance, there is no calculating the miſery that it entails upon the people; a man of the name of Lear, a baker at Walworth, two years ago had loſt every thing he had by inſuring, and at that time he had a bill of 15l. out, which he relied upon paying, by getting what is called "a hit" in the lottery; he got nothing, and hung himſelf directly. The bill purported to be ſigned by ſomebody elſe. Another unhappy man, who kept the White-Conduit Houſe at Pentonville, a man of great property, poſſeſſing the land all about his houſe, he loſt every ſhilling he had, and within theſe two years, I think, came to

to the workhouſe; about two years ſince, I ſaw him in a wretched condition, with ſcarcely any clothes to his back. He was guilty of no other vice or extravagance that I ever heard of. A poor woman, who lived in one of the handſome ſtreets leading down to the Thames, and kept a houſe handſomely furniſhed, that ſhe uſed to let out in lodgings, loſt to the laſt ſhilling, and is now in an alms-houſe. This circumſtance has happened within two or three years, or leſs. But the general evil is to the very poor working people; among whom women ſometimes pawn their huſbands' clothes, ſo that they have not had a thing to put on on Sunday when they came home. A woman, whom I attended at Hatton-garden, before Mr. Baker and the magiſtrates there the other day, ſaid ſhe had ſix children, and that her huſband would murder her when ſhe got home, becauſe ſhe had been inſuring in the lottery.—*Mr. Robert Holloway.*

Inſurances now go on, and to a very great extent; but ſince the offices have been put a ſtop to, it is more private, and in its conſequence more deſtructive, becauſe a woman, when ſhe begins to inſure, is under the neceſſity of keeping it a ſecret. She feels it is a crime; ſhe is therefore obliged to go ſtep by ſtep, and, as ſhe proceeds, ſhe will be tempted to purloin what ſhe can. If ſhe is a ſervant, ſhe takes what ſhe can out of the houſe. They have been known to go to diſtant places, where they could pawn property of the family, and then tear the duplicate, that it may not be diſcovered. Inſtances have occurred in Spital-fields, of inſurances lately to ſuch an extent, that women, after pillaging all the furniture they had that the pawnbrokers would take, even, when ſo reduced, they will club a penny a-piece, to raiſe the ſum of a ſhilling, to inſure a number for a day.

I knew an inſtance about three years and a half ago: a man by his induſtry had ſaved enough to purchaſe half a hundred in the conſols, and he went to the particular drawer where he kept it, and to his ſurpriſe it was gone. Looking further, his linen was gone: and when he queſtioned his wife about it, ſhe was obliged to confeſs that ſhe had loſt a great part of it in the lottery. The money being gone, he went away, and ſhe was turned off from her work. If we find our work-people are dabbling in the lottery, in ſhares and inſurances, we know the temptation is ſo great, that we do not continue them; for, let us be as careful as poſſible, they can rob us of 2s. to 4s. per day, and if we know they are guilty, we turn them out of employ directly.

The butchers, the bakers, and other tradeſmen dealing in the neceſſaries of life, who depend for their ſubſiſtence on the money which is laid out by the labouring poor, this order of perſons take leſs money every week during the time that the lottery is drawing including one week before it begins, and two or three weeks afterwards; and even the publicans find this.

Do you believe that there is ſuch a propenſity to gambling among the lower claſſes of the people of this country, with which you are acquainted, as to lead you to ſuppoſe, that if the lottery were entirely

entirely done away they would have recourſe to ſome other mode of gaming?—By no means. The labouring poor will go to a public-houſe, where they may have a game at bowls, and play for a halfpenny or a penny a game; but they do not loſe 6d. a night. But the inſurance has been much more deſtructive among the women. They have opportunities of doing it privately, ſo that their huſbands can get no knowledge of it; and when they are embarked, their poverty will be diſcovered; and they are tempted to go further to bring back what they have loſt.

There is no circumſtance which conduces ſo much as the lottery to make the lower orders of the people bad wives, bad huſbands, bad children, and bad ſervants. I know no one thing which has been productive of ſo many evils, and of ſo much ſuicide as the lottery.

A brother of a perſon in Wapping is clerk to a merchant in London-wall, and has been in the habit of collecting debts for his maſter. This man choſe to try his fortune in the lottery; and after ſpending all he had, he was tempted to take part of the money with which he was entruſted. This was in the laſt lottery; his maſter found it out, and on looking over his accounts, they were minus 150l., and the man was ſent to the Poultry Compter. The perſon in Wapping, and an elder brother and ſiſter were obliged to pay fifty pounds each, to prevent his ſuffering as for a capital offence.

I have converſed with ſeveral perſons who have had to do with parochial concerns, and they all agree in the beggary produced from this cauſe. I have thought a great deal of it; and I am convinced that, independently of the depravity and guilt it occaſions, there is more loſt than gained by the lottery to government.

When I conſider the number of poor parents and their children which are a clog upon us, the families which are ruined, ſome expoſed to beggary, others to the workhouſe, and the numerous evils and loſſes I have ſpoke of from the lottery, I cannot avoid drawing the concluſion.

The women of the town are great inſurers in the lottery, and their miſery is much aggravated by it. We frequently have females come to us, when the head of the family has lived in comfort and reputation, and all of a ſudden they are in ruin, the huſband gone, the children in rags. If you aſk the reaſon, they can aſſign no reaſon. We have now and then had an inſtance of a man who would candidly own that his wife had inſured, that ſhe had pawned every thing; but that is what they will not often do. If you come to conſider the number of paupers, and the great loſſes of tradeſmen, of butchers, bakers, and others, the loſs is on the whole very conſiderable. They look upon the lottery as one of the greateſt calamities, and they would think it one of the greateſt bleſſings to get rid of it. There is not a place where I have inquired in which I have not heard of one, two, or three inſtances of the miſery reſulting from inſurance. I heard only laſt night, from a baker, of an example of the kind: a gentleman was a reſpectable clerk in a

houſe

houſe of trade, his wife has gone and inſured, and ſhe is between 50l. and 60l. in debt.—*Mr. William Hale, Treaſurer to the Poor's Rates, Spitalfields.*

I hope I ſhall not be obliged to mention the names; I have known the plate of the family come into my hands, and they could not renew the payments; and I have been informed, that they were obliged to loſe all.

It is a lady; ſhe was ſo infatuated that ſhe would perſevere, ſaying ſhe hoped to get her own back, and it has unfortunately been the reverſe. I recollect ſome few years back, (five years ago) a perſon, whoſe wife had made away with almoſt every thing. He was collector of the various taxes in Clement's Inn, and from the diſtreſs he was driven to by the miſconduct of his wife, he threw himſelf into the New River.

Do you apprehend that the Little Goes are regulated by the lottery chances, and that they are only employed during the lottery?—I believe not, but the officers in Bow-ſtreet know.

During the time of the drawing of the lotteries, do you find your buſineſs increaſe?—Always.

Is it a buſineſs of that deſcription that it does not increaſe at other periods?—Pretty near the regular quarter-days we have an increaſe, after that we have an influx of money.

Are the pledges made during the period of the drawing of the Lottery of a deſcription different from thoſe of other periods?—We get ſuch goods then as we do not ſee all the year round.

What ſort of goods?—Superior goods, as coming from better families; and I do think the Lottery has been the occaſion of it.

We have a perſon inſane in our mad-houſe, from the exceſſes ſhe had gone to in the Lottery; ſhe had made away with all that could be moved. The huſband forgave her, and on account of this forgiveneſs, a lenity ſhe did not expect, ſhe became inſane.—*Mr. Hector Eſſex, Pawnbroker, in the Strand.*

When I have put the queſtion to malefactors, "What firſt drove you to crime?" the anſwer has been, "It was the poverty from buying and inſuring in the Lottery."—*Rev. Brownlow Ford, Ordinary of Newgate.*

SUPPRESSION OF INSURANCE.

It appears to me almoſt impoſſible entirely to ſuppreſs the illegal inſurance by any laws which can be framed for that purpoſe, ſo long as Lotteries exiſt; and I cannot ſuggeſt any additional regulations or puniſhments in addition to thoſe contained in the Act of the 47 Geo. III. which are likely to produce a better effect; and I am ſatisfied that nothing will ſo effectually tend to keep it in ſubjection as the drawing the Lottery in a ſhort period of time.—*Edm. Eſtcourt, Solicitor to Stamp-Office.*

AN ACCOUNT OF THE PRICES OF TICKETS, WITHIN THE RESPECTIVE PERIODS, &c.

Year.	Tickets.	Price. £. s. d.	Profit.
1802	100,000	14 11 0	555,000
1803	80,000	13 3 1	352,333
1804			
— 1	25,000	14 15 6	119,375
— 2	25,000	15 16 0	145,000
— 3	30,000	15 13 6	170,250
			£434,625

1805

Year.	Tickets.	Price.	Profit.
1805		£. s. d.	
— 1	25,000	17 2 9	178,437
— 2	25,000	18 3 0	203,750
— 3	25,000	17 18 9	198,437
			£580,624
1806			
— 1	20,000	16 12 0	132,000
— 2	25,000	16 14 3	167,812
— 3	25,000	16 10 0	162,500
— 4	20,000	16 19 0	139,000
			£601,312
1807			
— 1	20,000	17 13 6	153,000
— 2	25,000	17 4 0	180,000
— 3	25,000	16 10 6	163,125
			£496,125

Third Report from the Committee, appointed to examine and consider what Regulations and Checks have been eſtabliſhed, in order to controul the ſeveral Branches of the PUBLIC EXPENDITURE *in Great Britain and Ireland; and how far the ſame have been effectual; and what further Meaſures can be adopted for reducing any part of the ſaid Expenditure, or diminiſhing the Amount of Salaries and Emoluments, without detriment to the Public Service.—Ordered to be printed 29th June*, 1808.

The houſe having, by an inſtruction of the 7th of July 1807, directed the attention of your committee to all penſions, ſinecures, and reverſionary grants paid out of the public revenue, or out of any funds applicable to the public ſervice; it has been judged proper to lay ſeparately before the houſe, the reſult of their enquiries upon ſubjects of ſuch importance. —Allowances paid out of public money to perſons not actually performing ſervice, have at various times attracted the notice of parliament.—Towards the cloſe of the American war, when the burden of expenſe preſſed with extraordinary weight upon the reſources of the country, and when application was made to parliament to diſcharge the debts of the civil liſt, a more vigorous and decided ſtep was taken than had characterized any former interpoſition of parliament; and in the attempt to "regulate the civil liſt, and to prevent the ſame from being in arrear for the future," by 22 Geo. 3. c. 82. this growing branch of expenditure was not overlooked.—It was endeavoured to obviate the exceſs of ſuch grants by limiting their amount, and their abuſe, by giving publicity to them: it was accordingly enacted, "That no penſion, exceeding the ſum of 300*l.* a year, ſhould be granted for the uſe of any one perſon, and that the whole amount of the penſions granted in any one year ſhould not exceed 600*l.*; a liſt of which, together with the names of the perſons to whom the ſame were granted, ſhould be laid before parliament in twenty days after the beginning of each ſeſſion, until the whole penſion-liſt ſhould be reduced to 90,000*l.* which ſum it ſhould not be lawful to exceed by more than 5000*l.* in the whole of all the grants; nor ſhould any penſion to be granted after the ſaid reduction, to or for the uſe of any one perſon, exceed the ſum of 1,200*l.* yearly, except to his majeſty's royal family, or on an addreſs of either houſe of parliament."—The efficiency

ciency of this measure did not entirely correspond with the expectations which were entertained of it, and it was found necessary to bring the subject again before parliament some years afterwards, when the annual provision for the civil list became insufficient for the charges to which it was liable.—The regulations which the civil list act contained, were not ill calculated to effectuate their object; it was highly expedient to bring all pensions under one head; to have them paid at the same office, and to prohibit the diffusing of them over various departments, where they might be more likely to escape notice, than if they were distinctly classed with allowances of their own denomination.

PENSIONS.

The pensions considered by the board of treasury as coming under the operation of the 17th clause of the civil list act, are contained in Appendix No. 1.; and your committee have the satisfaction of remarking, that their total amount, being 89,067*l.* (which includes 7,085*l.* of contingent or floating grants, and not at this time in a course of payment) is within the sum allowed. In 1804 the total amount of pensions, having reference to this clause, was 82,237*l.* as appears by the list printed at length in the Journals, vol. 59, and recapitulated p. 717.

A list of all other pensions paid at the Exchequer out of the civil list, or any other funds, is given in No. 2.

The pensions payable by treasury warrants out of the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. duty, which are included in No. 2, stand upon a different footing from the others; because that part of the hereditary revenue not having been given up to the public at the commencement of his majesty's reign, (Finance Rep. 23, pp. 11, 43), has been considered as continuing in the absolute disposal of the crown; but as this fund augments the general stock, which is applicable to royal bounty under the direction of government, it is fit, in that point of view, not to be omitted. The amount is 15,331*l.* including two contingent pensions of 1,500*l.* and 3,000*l.* not now in a course of payment.

No. 3 and 4 give lists of other pensions paid out of the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., duty, by the husband, amounting, in the year 1807, to 20,896*l.* besides which it is charged with two contingent pensions of 615*l.* each, not now in a course of payment.—In the 59th vol. of Journals, p. 766, 767, are accounts of the produce, for three years, of this duty, to 1st Jan. 1804, and the charges thereon, together with the sums paid into the Exchequer.

No. 5, shows the pensions granted in the war-office, chiefly by his majesty's authority, through the secretary at war; the whole amount of which is 5,640*l.*, and they are all granted to those who have been formerly employed in the business of that office. This sum is now covered in the annual vote of the establishment of the war-office; but it deserves consideration, whether, in future, the salaries and pensions paid in this department ought not to be distinguished

guiſhed in the annual eſtimates from the current expences.

The Compaſſionate-liſt, and other allowances paid at the war-office, are contained in No. 6; the annual amount is £. 5,163.

No. 7. Penſions to officers' widows, including paymaſter's poundage - - £. 36,672.

No. 8. Penſions paid out of the revenues of the Iſle of Man, amounting to - £. 560.

No. 9, out of the revenues of Gibraltar - - £. 692.

Out of the revenues of Ceylon, 480*l.* paid to the widow of an officer, and to a retired civil officer of the Dutch Eaſt-India Company.

Out of the revenues of Lower Canada (according to the journals of the houſe of aſſembly of that province, printed at Quebec 1807) —penſions for ſervices performed, or to widows, &c. purſuant to orders from the ſecretary of ſtate, or lords of the treaſury £. 2,537.

No. 10, contains a liſt of allowances granted by treaſury minutes, and payable out of the civil liſt and other funds, but not included in either of the former returns: the amount is £. 3,150.

It appears by Journal, vol. 59, p. 677, that allowances to retired officers of the treaſury, which are now charged on the Fee fund, were formerly made in the ſhape of penſions out of the civil liſt.

No. 11 & 12, exhibit allowances paid out of the Fee fund of the ſecretary of ſtate, foreign department; the ſubſiſting charge upon which, in caſe no parts of the payments were ſuſpended, is £. 2,515.

No. 13, belongs to the ſame department, containing the minute of council, granting a penſion of 1000*l.* charged upon the eſtabliſhment, and included in No. 11.

No. 14, gives the ſame account for the colonial department, amounting to 1,625*l.*; including one floating penſion, not now in a courſe of payment, of 600*l.*

One penſion of 550*l.* included alſo in the above ſum, is granted out of a fund, ſtyled extra-contingent, which is annually voted, to prevent overburthening the civil liſt; for which ſervice, in the laſt year (1807) 15,000 was allotted, beſides 12,000*l.* for extra meſſengers.

No. 15, exhibits the ſame for the home department.—It is to be obſerved, that more of theſe penſions appear to have the direct ſanction of the board of treaſury than thoſe in the other two departments. The annual amount is - - - £. 2,172.

No. 16, contains an account of penſions payable on the ordinary eſtimate of the navy, or granted by his majeſty's ſign manual out of the ſale of old naval ſtores. A conſiderable proportion of theſe, being fixed allowances to ſea officers, or perſons connected with the naval ſervice, according to a regular order of ſuperannuation, your committee wiſh to diſtinguiſh from others which appear in the ſame liſt; noting only, for the ſake of the general view of the whole ſubject, their total amount, which is - - £. 62,884; viz.

To 25 rear-admirals, ſuperannuated, &c. according to a fixed rule -	£. 10,265
27 Captains, do. -	5,913
50 Eldeſt lieutenants, do.	5,475
2 Phyſicians and one principal ſurgeon -	798
89 Maſters, 68 ſurgeons, 26 purſers	

26 purſers, 90 boatſwains, 100 gunners, 105 carpenters, 32 cooks - £. 21,405

To officers who have received wounds in the ſervice; viz.

2 Admirals, 17 captains, 38 lieutenants, 2 maſters, 3 ſurgeons, 2 pilots, 22 officers of royal marines 10,696

Mothers, widows, and children - - 1,465

Do. determinable on ſome contingency - - 4,515

Widows of lieutenants 500

Do. of officers of marines, and of ſubalterns in the navy - - 1,852

£. 62,884

Penſions in the nature of ſuper-annuations, to perſons employed in the civil line of this department, ſuch as clerks to ſecretaries of the admiralty, clerks of the navy, victualling and ſick and hurt offices, and clerks in the ſeveral yards - - £. 5,906

The ſame to maſter attendants, maſter ſhipwrights, ſail-makers, maſtmakers, caulkers, boatbuilders, and a variety of artificers, ſtorekeepers, and meſſengers employed in the yards £. 6,306

Penſions to perſons retiring from office, on the ordinary eſtimate, £. 4,150

Contingent penſions on do. 1,000

Penſions to ſome of the ſame perſons on the produce of old ſtores, 1,817*l.*—Total of penſions on old ſtores, including the above 1,817*l.* - - £. 5,456

Contingent penſions on do. 3,851

£. 9,307

Your committee conceive that it may tend to encourage abuſe, if ſuch allowances as ſome of theſe ſhould continue to be covered under the ordinary eſtimate of the navy; and that the mode of giving allowances out of the fund produced by the ſale of old ſtores, in ſome caſes to the very ſame perſons who receive penſions on the ordinary eſtimate, requires, if not correction, at leaſt conſtant attention and ſuperintendence.

No. 17, ſhows the application of 85,115*l.* received in the year ending December 1806, from the ſale of old ſtores and ſhips in his majeſty's ſeveral dock-yards.

Liſt of bills aſſigned on the treaſury of the navy £.	43,432	18	4
Payments by ſign manual, in aid of the ſalaries of the offices of firſt lord of the admiralty, treaſurer of the navy, and paymaſter of widows' penſions -	8,820	0	0
Penſions to officers of the navy, their widows, and near relatives -	7,059	0	0
Miſcellaneous allowances to officers on whom honours have been conferred, to pay the fees thereon, to others to defray the table or other charges of military or diplomatic perſons whom they have conveyed to or from the ſeveral ſtations of their public ſervice	13,802	16	0
Balance in hand, 31 Dec. 1806	12,599	13	4
£.	85,115	17	2

Your committee cannot view without jealouſy the fund ariſing from the ſale of old ſtores, which, in the year ending 31 Dec. 1806, amounted to 85,115*l.*; and they ſuggeſt, that it would be more advantageous to the public, if thoſe penſions, which have been uſually granted out of this fund, ſhould be aſſigned only on the ordinary of the navy, and that the treaſurer of the navy ſhould be made debtor for the produce of old ſtores, under the head of voluntary account; by which means he would become accountable for the arrears to the exchequer, according to the practice which prevails with regard to old ſtores in the ordnance.

No. 18. Tax-office:—To ſuper-annuated officers - £. 1,900

No. 19. Office of maſter of the horſe:—The higheſt of theſe penſions is 30*l.* - £. 902

No. 20. Lord ſteward's office:—Annual bounty - £. 1,661
Quarterly do. - 1,781

£. 3,442

No. 21. Tranſport office:—A penſion for relinquiſhing an office in 1778, paid at the treaſury out of the civil liſt, but not included in No. 12. - £. 100

No. 22. Exciſe:—A penſion in the nature of a compenſation for an office in the ſalt duties £. 148
Another on the ſame account, - - 428
3 others on ditto; together - - 1,019

£. 1,595

The penſions granted out of the hereditary revenues of exciſe, by Charles 2, and William 3, are omitted.

No. 23 & 24. Muſter-maſter-general's office.—Penſions granted, by virtue of letters from the ſecretary at war, to commiſſaries, &c. ſuppreſſed, in the nature of compenſations - £. 1,966

No. 25. A penſion of 100*l.* in lieu of a place in the ſalt-office; which does not appear in the exciſe liſt, nor in that of the ſtamp-office, returned to the committee.

No. 26. Pay-office:—Four penſions to widows of accountants, &c. granted by treaſury letters; together - - £. 1,100

No. 27. Poſt-office:—Penſion to a late ſurveyor of the cuſtoms, aboliſhed - - £. 511
Another penſion, on relinquiſhing the office of poſtmaſter of Portſmouth - 80

£. 590

No. 28. Stamps:—Penſion as a compenſation to the clerk of wine licences - £. 50

The following are paid and included in the bill of incidents, in obedience to treaſury warrants: To ſuper-annuated officers and perſons employed in the perfumery duty, and other duties which have been repealed, or transferred to other management - 3,080

£. 3,130

The amount of penſions payable out of the land revenue of England, and compriſed under the denomination of "perpetual penſions," is contained in the 12th report of the commiſſioners of the woods, foreſts, and land revenues of the crown, p. 66 to 69; and thoſe out of the revenue of North and South Wales, are in the ſame report, p. 151 and 153. They are ancient

ancient charges upon thoſe revenues, and have been ſubject to no alterations ſince the date of that report, except by the governments of Conway and Ludlow Caſtles being now vacant (to the former of which a ſalary of 23*l.* and to the latter a ſalary of 30*l.* was attached), and by the ſtewardſhip of Cantermellenith, held by the Earl of Oxford, having been granted, without the ſalary of 100*l.* ſince 1795, when the late Earl of Oxford died.

The ſalary of 400*l.* payable annually to the auditor for Wales, was transferred from the civil liſt to the land revenue, by treaſury warrant, in 1804 or 1805; and other annual ſums, to the amount of 10,168*l.* have alſo been transferred, under the ſame authority, from the civil liſt to the land revenue; the particulars of which are contained in No. 29; and it appears that theſe payments properly belong to the foreſts, parks, or and revenue of the crown.

ORDNANCE ESTABLISHMENT.

Gratuities for length of ſervice to ſundry officers on the above eſtabliſhment, eſtimated and voted this year, 8,565*l.*: the particulars of which are placed oppoſite to the names in the return of the eſtabliſhment, endorſed No. 751, among the papers of your committee.

No. 30. The pay of ſuperannuated and diſabled men, half-pay of reduced officers for good ſervices, purſuant to his Majeſty's warrants, according to the eſtimate of this year (1808), voted by the houſe, amounts to - - - - 60,805*l.*

PENSIONS.—SCOTLAND.

Nos. 31, 32, and 33, contain an account of the total amount of penſions paid out of the civil eſtabliſhment of Scotland, in the year 1807, being - - - 38,588*l.*

—together with a liſt of ſuch of the above penſions as were granted in the ſame year, amounting to 2,834*l.*

Alſo, a liſt of penſions paid in 1806, amounting to - 36,880*l.*

—together with a liſt of contingent penſions, amounting to 2,600*l.*

Alſo an account of the total amount of penſions in 1805, excluſive of contingent penſions, being - - - - - - - 36,086*l.*

Of the ſame in 1804, being 34,679*l.*

It appears from an account ordered to be printed 18th June 1801, that the amount of penſions was, in 1801 - - - - - 24,864*l.*

And from 30th Report Committee of Finance, appendix (A. 22.)

In 1797 - - - - 23,862*l.*

And in 1761 - - - 5,940*l.*

The revenues out of which theſe payments are made, and the authority as well as the general circumſtances under which they are granted, require ſome obſervation.

The Civil Liſt acts paſſed at the commencement of the laſt and preſent reign 1 Geo. 2. c. 1, 1 Geo. 3. c. 1, by which the hereditary revenues were ſurrendered in conſideration of a fixed annuity, expreſsly reſerved to his Majeſty the ſeveral duties and revenues which had been antecedently payable to the crown in Scotland, "in the ſame manner only and ſubject to the like charges as the ſame were ſubject to" in the immediately preceding reigns.—Theſe revenues conſtituted, antecedently to the Union, a fund applicable to the payment of the general charges of the civil eſtabliſhment of Scotland; but laws were

paſſed immediately after (7 Anne, c. 11. s. 10. and 10 Anne, c. 26. s. 108.) providing that the revenues of cuſtoms and exciſe ſhould be ſpecially charged with the ſupport of the courts of ſeſſion, juſticiary, and exchequer; on the profeſſed ground, that, "ſince the Union, the expenſe of keeping up the ſaid courts could be no otherwiſe provided for."

The cuſtoms and exciſe are alſo charged with the expenſes of the privy ſeal, and of the great ſeal, although they are not mentioned in the acts referred to. The 20th Geo. 2. c. 43. s. 29, which aboliſhed heritable juriſdictions, gave authority to grant competent ſalaries to the ſheriffs, but without ſpecifying the fund out of which they ſhould be defrayed. (No. 38.) Theſe ſalaries have alſo been charged upon the cuſtoms and exciſe, though they ſeem more properly to belong to the reſerved revenues, ſince the offices to which they are annexed make a part of the general civil eſtabliſhment. By 26 Geo. 3. c. 47. the ſalaries of the chief officers of the court of admiralty, and of the commiſſary court, whoſe emoluments before the paſſing of that act depended on fees of office, then aboliſhed, were directed to be paid out of the ſame fund; 30th Report Finance Committee, Appendix (A. 5.)

No. 34. Theſe reſerved revenues conſiſt of new ſubſidy of cuſtoms, which of courſe increaſes with the progreſs of commerce; of the hereditary and temporary revenues of exciſe, which depend on the quantity of beer and ale brewed in Scotland; of the ſeizures of cuſtoms; the fines and forfeitures of exciſe; and of the crown rents and caſualties, all of which are ſubject to fluctuation. Their total net amount in three years, ending 10th Oct. 1807, was 209,371*l.* being on an average yearly 69,790*l.*

Nos. 35 and 36. Their total groſs amount in the ſame three years was - - - 259,319*l.*

No. 37. The difference between the groſs and net amount of theſe revenues aroſe from bounties, drawbacks, and other legal managements, as well as charges of repayment.

No. 38. Their total groſs amount for the three years 1761, 1762, and 1763, was 119,504*l.*

Average 39,834*l.*

No. 39. The charges to which they were liable in the year ending 10th Oct. 1807, were—1ſt. That of the penſion liſt, being then £36,506

2nd. Certain payments for the civil eſtabliſhment of Scotland, unconnected with the courts of juſtice 8,762

And, thirdly, payments for miſcellaneous ſervices 8,575

£53,843

No. 40. In the year ending 10th Oct. 1806, the ſum of 30,000*l.* being a ſurplus of this revenue, was transferred to his Majeſty's civil government in England (No. 41.) by a warrant for that purpoſe, and was applied (with the exception of 1000*l.*) to various purpoſes of the civil liſt.

Your committee perceiving that ſo large and increaſing a proportion of theſe reſerved revenues has been applied to penſions, and that under the preſent ſyſtem there is no ſecurity againſt their further extenſion, have thought it their duty to direct their particular attention

tention to this ſubject; which had likewiſe attracted the notice of the committee of finance in 1798 (30th Report, p. 15.) who adverting to the great increaſe of penſions on the civil eſtabliſhment of Scotland, even at that time, 'and to the comparatively ſmall duties performed by many of the perſons holding ſome of the offices,' thought it 'an object well deſerving conſideration, whether, inſtead of their being granted, as in ſome inſtances they appeared to have been, the emoluments thereof ſhould not, as future occaſions and as inſtances might offer, be applied in favour of perſons who might have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by great public ſervice, or in eaſe of the funds applied to the penſion liſt, if the exiſting charges thereon, on a due examination, ſhould be found neceſſary.'—The amount of penſions, which is already equal to more than two fifths of the allowed penſion liſt of England, ought clearly to be conſidered, in connection with the emoluments of ſinecure places and offices performed by deputy in Scotland, which amount to near 30,000*l.* a ſubject which will come under more immediate conſideration in a further part of this report. By the articles of union, it was ſtipulated that certain branches of the ancient eſtabliſhment of Scotland ſhould remain; but although the duties of ſome of theſe offices have ceaſed, and thoſe of others have been diminiſhed, the ancient ſalaries and emoluments continue to be annexed, and in one inſtance (that of the privy ſeal) an addition of 1,500*l.* per annum was made in 1804, which is, however, profeſſedly in the nature of an annuity, and to continue only ſo long as the preſent poſſeſſor ſhall continue to hold the office of keeper of the privy ſeal; being in ſubſtance an augmentation of the penſion liſt, to which it has been added in the foregoing account. It is payable out of a part of the reſerved revenues called land rents and caſualties; and the warrant has been already printed by order of the houſe, 5th March 1805. As it appears from the foregoing ſtatements, that the penſions granted by the crown in this part of the united kingdom, as well as the reſerved revenues out of which they are paid, have been conſiderably increaſed, your committee are of opinion that they ſhould not have acquitted themſelves of the duty impoſed upon them, if they had not pointed out theſe ſubjects as matters which will well deſerve the conſideration of parliament, whenever the expenditure of the civil liſt ſhall again become the ſubject of inveſtigation; and if not precluded by the terms of the civil liſt act, from interfering in any manner at preſent with the application of the reſerved revenues, your committee would ſuggeſt, that it might become the adviſers of the crown to refrain from recommending any further increaſe of the penſions charged upon thoſe revenues until occaſion ſhall have been given for ſuch inveſtigation. The number of perſons receiving penſions in 1761 was 19; in 1797 it had increaſed to 185; and it now amounts to 331, excluſive of 24 contingent penſions. The preſent penſions, however, are for the moſt part ſmall, and about two-thirds are granted to females. The committee of finance in 1798, remark

on the delicacy with which a fund ſhould be touched, which concerns the munificence of the ſovereign, as applied either to the encouragement of learning and religion, to the remuneration of national ſervices in the rewarding of public merit, or in the ſupport of thoſe branches of noble and reſpectable families, 'which the policy and principles of the Britiſh conſtitution cannot ſuffer to fall into indigence,' 30. p. 12. Your committee by no means wiſh to repreſs the munificence of the crown as applied to the three firſt of theſe objects, nor even to exclude the laſt-mentioned conſideration; but the undefined ſtate of the reſerved revenues appears to have encouraged a growing facility in granting penſions, which it may be, on a future occaſion, important to reſtrain. It is obvious that a too general application of them 'to the ſupport of the' (remoter) 'branches of noble and reſpectable families,' even though the individuals who receive them ſhould not be affluent, may ſerve to ſpare the funds of the opulent at the expenſe of the public, and may create an undue dependence upon thoſe, in whoſe hands the diſtribution of royal munificence is veſted.

No. 42, preſents a return of the convention of royal burghs in Scotland to an order, for an account of public money placed at the diſpoſal of the convention, in purſuance of the civil liſt act, ſec. 16. together with a ſtatement of the application of the ſame. The lords of trade and police in Scotland being aboliſhed by that ſtatute, it was enacted, 'that all ſums under their management ſhould be placed at the diſpoſal of the convention of royal burghs; it appears however that no ſuch ſums have been received, that conſiderable difficulty and delay occurred in procuring information, nearly five years having elapſed before the balance in the hands of the caſhier to the late board (amounting in July 1783 to 858*l.*) was aſcertained, that a demand to deliver up the records of the board, and to pay this balance, was reſiſted, on the ground that the act gave no power to receive ſuch papers, nor to call on the caſhier to account for his intromiſſions with the ſums received by him during the exiſtence of the board; that the board of police alſo repreſented that the ſame act authoriſed the commiſſioners of the treaſury to grant annuities equal to the legal emoluments of the perſons whoſe offices ſhould be ſuppreſſed; (the expreſſion of the act is, 'who have diligently and faithfully executed the offices;') and that the caſhier having been uſed to derive emoluments from the money in his hands, he could not continue to enjoy a compenſation equal to his accuſtomed and legal emoluments, if the balance in his hands ſhould be taken from him during his life; that the convention commenced an action againſt the caſhier in 1789 for his ſaid balance, but relinquiſhed it in 1791, from an unwillingneſs to incur expenſe in proſecuting a claim which might not be eſtabliſhed. The return further ſtates, that 600*l.* per annum, formerly granted by the commiſſioners of the treaſury to the board of police, which the convention claimed, conceiving it to have been the only fund at their diſpoſal, has, ſince the paſſing of the act, been granted to officers of the board, in compenſation

ſation for the emoluments of the offices ſuppreſſed, of which 250*l.* only continue to be paid to four perſons, of whom this caſhier is one. (No. 43.) This payment having been for purpoſes purely local, ſeems to be a charge originally belonging more properly to the hereditary Scotch revenue than to the civil liſt. Your committee ſubmit, that ſo very unſatisfactory a return may require the attention of the commiſſioners of his Majeſty's treaſury; and that the balance due from the caſhier ought to be paid forthwith, or if it ſhould be irrecoverable, that the annual payment to him of 100*l.* ought immediately to ceaſe.

PENSIONS.—*Ireland.*

The total of penſions on the civil liſt of Ireland were, in the year ended 5th Jan. 1808, according to the annual printed finance account page 91 - - - - 89,639*l.*

They were for the year ended 5th Jan. 1807 - - - 93,250*l.*

An account was laid before the houſe, made up to June 1801 (and printed 16th June), with the names of the penſioners; the amount of which was - - - 112,166*l.*

There were alſo two additional accounts printed 22nd Feb. 1805, of - - - - - - - - 1,200*l.* and 6th Feb. 1807, of - 1,650*l.*

In the 59th vol. of the Journals, p. 718, is a liſt of all penſions granted on the eſtabliſhment of Ireland, up to the 1ſt Jan. 1804, ſpecifying the date and continuance of each grant; to which your committee are obliged to refer for particulars, not having received a return to their repeated orders, of the preſent ſtate of the penſion liſt. The amount on 1ſt Jan. 1804, according to that liſt, was 104,258*l.* excluſive of 104*l.* under the head of charity, and 3,832*l.* in military penſions. The civil liſt act, 33 Geo. 3. c. 34. directed the gradual reduction of the penſion liſt to 80,000*l.*; but as it allowed an annual grant of penſions to the extent of 1,200*l.* in every year, there ſtill continues an exceſs above the limited ſum. In 1793, when the act paſſed, the total was 124,000*l.*

No. 44, contains a liſt of all additions and diminutions in the penſions on the civil eſtabliſhment of Ireland, ſince 6th June 1801, of which the former amount to 8,400*l.* and the latter to 32,353*l.* making upon the whole a diminution of 23,953*l.* to be ſubtracted from the total given in the printed account for 1801; which would leave, as the total of the preſent penſion liſt, 88,163*l.* but by the finance papers above referred to, the total was, on 5th Jan. 1808 - 89,639*l.*

No. 46. Out of the cuſtoms for the year ended 5th Jan. 1807, 17,705*l.*

The greater number of theſe are in ſums not exceeding 20*l.*

In the printed finance papers for the year ended 5th Jan. 1808. p. 13, the ſalaries, penſions, and gratuities in the cuſtoms, excluſive of ſalaries on the eſtabliſhment, are ſtated at - - - - 41,662*l.*

No. 48. Out of the exciſe for the year ended 5th Jan. 1807, 5,993*l.*

Theſe penſions have been increaſed by 300*l.* or rather more, in each of the three laſt years. They are in general in ſums under 52*l.* and are all granted by the board, with the approbation of the lord lieutenant and lords of the treaſury. In the printed finance papers

pers for this year, ended 5th Jan. 1808, p. 14, the ſalaries, penſions, and gratuities, payable out of the exciſe (excluſive of ſalaries on the eſtabliſhment) amounted to 15,277*l.*

No. 49. Penſions out of the poſt-office - - - - - 1,334*l.*

No. 50. Ditto, out of the ſtamp duties - - - - - - 1,496*l.*

No. 51. Under acts paſſed in 1799 and 1800, penſions were granted to perſons inſtrumental in ſuppreſſing the rebellion, to be named by the lord lieutenant; which amount at this time, ſubject to diminution by the extinction of lives, to - - - - - 2,700*l.*

645. Penſion contingent to Thomas Lord Manners, now lord chancellor of Ireland - 4,000*l.*

Penſion to John Lord Redeſdale, late ditto - - - 4,000*l.*

Penſion to Right Hon. George Ponſonby, ditto - - 4,000*l.*

The deſcription of penſions contained in Nos. 11. 14. 15. and in 13, are of an objectionable nature, inaſmuch as they are neither paid nor entered at the exchequer under the head of penſions; and in caſe of any deficiency in the fee fund, they fall directly upon the civil liſt. Theſe allowances are in ſome caſes conferred by the head of an office upon perſons in that office itſelf, without any other apparent controul; and even where they have been granted by his Majeſty in council, although the inſtrument becomes more formal, all objection is not removed. They tend to confound two things, which ought always to be kept perfectly diſtinct, the neceſſary expenſe incurred for tranſacting the buſineſs of the executive government, and gratuities paid where no duty is annexed; they become indirectly a burden upon the civil liſt; and by eſcaping notice, under the general title of eſtabliſhment, may tend to divert a fund, which was wiſely formed under the ſanction of parliament out of the fees of office, for the purpoſes of economy, into a ſource of patronage. This fund was conſtituted in the year 1795, out of the fees and gratuities received in the offices of the three ſecretaries of ſtate; and it has relieved the civil liſt from the burden of the fixed eſtabliſhment of thoſe offices, which was previouſly charged upon it (with the exception of ſuch deficiencies as are now occaſionally made up by the civil liſt); in conſequence of which arrangement, a material ſaving has been obtained for the public, and the ſalaries in thoſe offices, which were before liable to great fluctuations, have been fixed at a preciſe ſum, conſiderably below the average of their former amount. In No. 28, it has been obſerved, that penſions to certain perſons formerly employed in the ſtamp office, are paid and included in the bill of incidents, in purſuance of warrants from the board of treaſury. Your committee conceive that annual allowances ought not to be granted generally, and without ſpecial reaſons, to perſons retiring from official ſituations either by their own choice, or upon any new arrangement in the mode of conducting buſineſs; and that ſuch grants become more particularly objectionable, if the practice ſhould be allowed to continue of charging any allowances, beyond ſuch as are ſuperannuations in the ſtricteſt ſenſe, among the ſalaries or incidents of any department, inſtead

of

of claſſing and entering them as penſions, ſo that they may be kept entirely diſtinct from the ſalaries paid for tranſacting the current buſineſs of the office. Even when a meritorious officer has ſerved for a number of years, he ought not to receive remuneration as a mere matter of courſe upon retiring, without taking into conſideration the emoluments of the office, and the fortune which he may have had the means of acquiring in that ſervice, as well as the particular circumſtances of his caſe: but with regard to ſuch as may be inefficient or uſeleſs (otherwiſe than in conſequence of age or infirmity) ſpecial circumſtances alone can juſtify the propriety of rewarding them, when it becomes convenient for the public ſervice, that their ſituations ſhould be filled by perſons better qualified to diſcharge the duties. Your committee cannot but diſcountenance the principle of granting compenſation for offices ſuppreſſed or aboliſhed, the poſſeſſors of which have not either had an intereſt in them for life, or by the cuſtom of ſuch offices have been juſtly conſidered as having ſuch a tenure in them. With regard to the allowances made to thoſe who were formerly employed in the collection of duties either repealed, or transferred to other management, it is impoſſible not to animadvert upon ſuffering perſons to remain a permanent burden upon the public, if there has been any opportunity of placing them in other offices, where their qualifications and habits of buſineſs might render them uſeful, and deſerving of ſalary. The warrants for moſt of theſe grants were in fact very properly drawn only 'during the pleaſure of the commiſſioners of the treaſury, or until the parties are reſpectively otherwiſe provided for.' The ſcale of all offices has neceſſarily been ſo much extended ſince the repeal or tranſer of thoſe duties, that little difficulty ſeems likely to have occurred in giving employment to all thoſe individuals; and their ſituation would probably have been more frequently preſented to the notice of the executive government, if the allowance had appeared in the ſhape of penſion, inſtead of being included among the incidents of the eſtabliſhment. Since offices ought to be regarded as created ſolely for public utility, and not the benefit of the individuals who happen to hold them, there muſt exiſt a perfect right in thoſe who adminiſter the affairs of the public, to regulate, alter, and control their functions; it becomes a duty to aboliſh ſuch as appear ſuperfluous, and to abridge the emoluments of all which can be conducted to the ſame advantage, but at a cheaper rate. Without the conſtant ſuperintendance and vigilance of the houſe, irregularities in the granting of compenſations and ſuperannuations may from time to time creep in; but your committee conceive that it may be ſome check againſt this ſort of expenditure, if all ſuch grants, beſides being brought as it were into one focus, where they may be viewed collectively, and diſtinctly, ſhould alſo paſs, without exception, under the review of the commiſſioners of the treaſury, who being conſtitutionally reſponſible for all matters of expenditure, ſhould be intruſted with a general control over every article of it, and armed with

with powers to prevent in every department any improper accumulation of charge. The committee on finance (22.), having obſerved, that it may materially conduce to the ends of public economy, if parliament ſhould think fit to require annual accounts of every increaſe and diminution which may have taken place in the courſe of each preceding year in the ſalaries, emoluments, and expenſes of all public offices, your committee recommend that it ſhould be made an order of the houſe, that ſuch an account ſhall be produced within twenty days after the commencement of every ſeſſion, and alſo an account of all additional penſions and allowances paid for ſervices not performed.

COMPENSATIONS.

Compenſations for the loſs of offices, which it has been judged expedient to aboliſh or regulate, afford another claſs of allowances paid for ſervice not now executed; they exhibit a ſum continually decreaſing, as the lives of thoſe entitled to them gradually fall in.—The compenſations printed in the report upon the civil liſt, were, for the year 1803, 11,663*l.*; but there were included in that ſum the annual and quarterly bounty in the lord ſteward's office, and ſmall penſions in the office of maſter of the horſe, which are here claſſed with the penſions; and among the penſions and allowances enumerated in this report, many will be found which might perhaps be claſſed, with equal propriety, under the title of compenſations.—The liſt of compenſations granted in Ireland on account of the union, with the particular periods during which the ſeveral offices were held by the perſons receiving compenſations, is printed in the 59th vol. of the Journals, p. 773.

The accounts of compenſation are from No. 53 to No. 62, in the Appendix.

In examining the ſeveral liſts, the obſervation of the houſe will naturally be attracted, in the firſt place, to the magnitude of the ſum derived through various channels to the uſe of perſons not actually performing any ſpecies of public ſervice. It is true, that conſiderable portions of theſe payments are to be regarded in the nature of remuneration for ſervices which have been rendered to the public, either by the perſons themſelves, or their near relatives; and to ſuch as ſtrictly belong to this claſs, where the duty has been diligently and faithfully done, and for an adequate period of time, and where the perſons are ſo circumſtanced as to have ſtrong claims upon the public, no impediment is intended to be objected. But though inſtances may occur of perſons whoſe claims upon the public are not equally apparent, or eaſy to be traced, your committee do not conceive that it is their province to deſcend into the invidious taſk of examining particular caſes, being deſirous of carrying their retroſpect no further than may be ſufficient to lay a foundation for future reform and regulation. The words with which this part of the ſtatute, ſec. 19, is prefaced, that 'it is no diſparagement for any perſons to be relieved by the royal bounty in their diſtreſs, but on the contrary, it is honourable on juſt cauſe to be thought worthy of reward,' point out the grounds upon which the objects of bounty ſhould be ſe-

lected,

lected, and ſhow that it was not intended to allot ſo large a ſum to be diſtributed through favour, without regard to juſt cauſe and deſert. But the practice which has been animadverted upon, of granting and charging penſions under the general expences of ſeparate departments, tends to elude the limitation which was meant to be impoſed, and by rewarding in this manner a conſiderable proportion of the claims of official merit and long ſervice, to leave a larger amount than was intended for gratuitous diſpoſal.—It muſt not be overlooked, that in caſes of diſtinguiſhed merit, parliament has ever been ready to exempt the civil liſt from any additional burden; and as inſtances of this honourable deſcription have, fortunately for the country, never occurred more frequently than within theſe latter years, ſo the liberality of the nation has been called forth to a larger extent than in any former period.—A further conſideration is, that although moſt of the grants are nominally during pleaſure, they are generally regarded as equivalent to an intereſt for life; and that examples rarely occur where a change in the circumſtances of the grantees has occaſioned thoſe who have the legitimate controul to aboliſh, or induced thoſe by whom they are held, voluntarily to ſurrender them. The footſteps towards royal bounty are viſible in all directions, but few traces of return are diſcoverable.—Under all theſe circumſtances, your committee do not heſitate in ſubmitting to the houſe, that all allowances in the nature of penſions, which are not ſtrictly ſuperannuations, ſhould be claſſed under their proper head, and paid at the exchequer; preſerving at the ſame time entries of ſuch penſions, together with the circumſtances under which they have been granted, on the eſtabliſhment of the offices in which the ſervices have been performed.—It may be alſo expedient to limit the ſums in which allowances may be applied to caſes of ſuperannuation, ſo as not to exceed a certain proportion of the former ſalary.—The regulations under which ſuperannuations are granted in the cuſtoms, No. 67, deſerve the attention of the houſe, as uniting a due conſideration towards long and meritorious ſervice, with a juſt attention to economy. By a reſolution of the houſe of commons of Ireland, 7th April 1784, no yearly allowance was permitted to be placed on incidents in caſes of ſuperannuation, except for officers who ſhall have ſerved forty years without cenſure; or officers who ſhall have received a wound or hurt in the ſervice, amounting to a total diſability; or for widows of officers who ſhall have loſt their lives in the ſervice of the revenue: but by a ſubſequent reviſion of that reſolution, 26th July 1793, twenty-five years were ſubſtituted inſtead of the term of forty years, as being ſufficient to anſwer the purpoſes of the ſaid reſolution, reſpecting the placing on incidents any yearly allowance for ſuperannuated officers of the revenue, who have already ſerved, or ſhall have ſerved the ſaid term of twenty-five years without cenſure.—Theſe general unqualified expreſſions have been perhaps liable to miſconſtruction, as if they were calculated to convey a ſort of right of ſuperannuation after twenty-five

years

years of ſervice; whereas, it is to be preſumed that it never could have been the intention of the houſe of commons to countenance a new claim on the part of the officers, but, on the contrary, to impoſe a reſtraint upon the executive government, from granting any ſuch allowances even to ſuperannuated officers, unleſs where they had ſerved meritoriouſly the preſcribed number of years, or had otherwiſe been incapacitated in the public ſervice, as deſcribed in the reſolution.—The 18th ſection of the civil liſt act makes an exception in favour of perſons who have ſerved the crown in foreign courts, and continues to his majeſty the power of granting at his pleaſure ſuch proportion of their former appointments as may ſeem expedient, after the expiration of their ſervice. The names of all thoſe who now receive allowances upon this account, are contained in No. 63, and the nature and extent of their ſeveral ſervices are particularized in No. 64.—The circumſtances attending the preſent war make this liſt unuſually large, at a period when ſo little of friendly intercourſe ſubſiſts between this country and the continental powers: the charge therefore amounts to 51,589*l.*; beſides which, an additional liſt is contained in No. 65, of recommendations from the ſecretary of ſtate for further allowances, to the amount of 6,000*l.*—Your committee conceive, that the true principles which ought to regulate this ſpecies of remuneration, can be no other than duration of ſervice, and the importance of the miſſion, except in very ſpecial caſes.—It is deſirable unqueſtionably, both for the purpoſes of economy, and for the better execution of the duties of foreign miniſters, that a ſelection ſhould generally be made from among thoſe already upon the liſt; but it is not intended abſolutely to recommend any invariable rule; thoſe who have gone before, may be unwilling to undertake, or ill qualified to execute miſſions of particular delicacy and importance; and circumſtances may ariſe where appointments of individuals, to whom ſuch buſineſs is entirely novel, ought not to be aſcribed to motives of mere patronage or private emolument. Your committee obſerve, with ſatisfaction, that according to the laſt return, all allowances have been withdrawn in caſes of appointments to foreign courts, where ſervice was not, or could not be performed. No. 66.—With regard to the ſalary and emoluments of each ſeparate department, the public ought unqueſtionably to be ſerved as cheaply as is conſiſtent with being ſerved with integrity and ability: but it muſt be recollected, that what makes office deſireable, in the higher departments, is not the ſalary alone, but the conſequence and conſideration attached to it, the power of obliging friends, and of creating dependants; and, in the lower degrees, the chance of gaining advancement by induſtry and talent. The principle of gradually increaſing ſalaries after certain periods of ſervice, and at fixed intervals, if they are not made too ſhort, is highly to be approved, as holding out a due encouragement to diligence and fidelity. In all caſes of ſuperannuation, duration of ſervice ſhould be an eſſential requiſite: and even then, regard ſhould be had to the condition of each

each individual, as to his ability of continuing the official labours, and to his ſituation in life from other cauſes.—In many inſtances, where allowances have been granted as compenſation for the loſs of office, or upon the plea of ſuperannuation, the perſons who have obtained them have, at ſubſequent periods, been appointed to other offices: in both which caſes, it is obvious, that the allowances ought to have ceaſed. The true principle applicable to all offices is, that public money ſhould not be granted without reference to duty; and all exceptions whatever ought to be juſtified upon the ſpecial circumſtances attending ſuch particular caſe.

SINECURES, AND OFFICES EXECUTED WHOLLY OR CHIEFLY BY DEPUTY.

Next in order to penſions, comes an ambiguous and middle claſs, partaking of the nature of penſions, inaſmuch as no ſervice is performed, but ſtill ranking under the head of offices, from the name of official buſineſs having been continued after the functions are become extinct or obſolete. Of theſe there ſtill remain ſpecimens in various departments, although the labours of parliament have been not fruitleſſly employed in ſuppreſſing many of them, particularly by the 38 Geo. 3. c. 86. and 47 Geo. 3. c. 12. relating to the cuſtoms, by the former of which 196 places, of the annual value of 42,655*l.*, were ſuppreſſed in England, and by the latter 38 places of a ſimilar deſcription in Ireland; and alſo by an act of the preſent ſeſſion for abolifhing the office of ſurveyor of ſubſidies and petty cuſtoms in the port of London.—It being difficult to aſcertain, without a long and minute examination of evidence, the exact nature of ſeveral offices to which active and efficient duties are not annexed, or to draw the limit between ſuch as are ſinecures and ſuch as are wholly or chiefly executed by deputy, your committee have thrown together all which they conſider as belonging to either of thoſe claſſes in the annexed liſt, ſubmitting it as giving a general view of the ſeveral offices therein enumerated; although they cannot anſwer but that ſome inaccuracies may be diſcovered in it, being aware that ſome of the offices do not diſtinctly range under either deſcription, while they very much partake of the nature of both. No. 68 to 76, Appx.—The committee on finance, in the remarks upon this ſubject, with which their 22nd report concludes, obſerve, 'That ſinecure offices of 'high rank in ſome of the ancient 'eſtabliſhments of the ſtate, may be 'uſefully employed in particular in'ſtances, as either to accompany a 'peerage given for the reward of 'perſonal ſervices, or to ſecure an 'honourable retreat to perſons who 'are entitled to marks of public fa'vour, by the long and meritorious 'diſcharge of the duties of high of'fice, or who have ſacrificed lucra'tive profeſſional ſituations on en'gaging in the public ſervice, by 'veſting ſuch office in the perſons 'themſelves, or in their immediate 'deſcendants.'—Since the date of that report, his majeſty has been empowered by the ſtatute 39 Geo. III. c. 10. to make proviſion for life for thoſe who have ſacrificed lucrative profeſſional ſituations, ſo far as relates to chancellors and judges, on retiring from office; which

which must be remarked, in passing, as extending the power of granting pensions, and as fairly to be set off against some of the retrenchments proposed. In the peerages subsequently created, your committee cannot discover that any such application of the sinecures, as was suggested in that respect, has taken place, but that the annexing of pensions by authority of parliament has been not unfrequent.—The view which your committee take of this subject corresponds in principle, and differs only in degree from that of the former committee; but it is their anxious wish to guard against suffering the subject to escape notice, without being acted upon, while the information is fully brought under observation. If the opinion should prevail, that a legislative measure ought to be no longer deferred with regard to offices of this description, your committee submit that, leaving untouched all places of honour and distinction connected with the personal service of his majesty and of his royal family, it may be expedient considerably to reduce the emoluments of some, and to abolish others. At the same time, regarding it as a fundamental part of the constitution of this country, and of the reason of state in every country, that there must be means of rewarding public service, and that those means will be incomplete, and indeed wholly insufficient for that purpose, if there should be no further reward for that service than the daily wages it receives during the pleasure of the crown, your committee are of opinion that such sinecures as the house in its wisdom may think fit to retain, should always in future be applied to recompense the faithful discharge of the duties of efficient office; or in the event of the house preferring to abolish generally all such offices, they conceive that it will become proper to substitute some other mode, by which the crown may be enabled to reward public servants in a manner proportioned to the nature and length of the duties performed.

OFFICES EXECUTED BY DEPUTY.

Offices executed wholly or chiefly by deputy, should be arranged with as much regard to economy as the public service will admit; and any offices that have not duty annexed in proportion to the salary should be reformed, and the salary suited to the responsibility and labour of the office. The list of such offices is extracted from the returns in as complete a state as the examination of them can render it; but it may probably be still defective, for the same causes as have been mentioned under the former head. In applying the principle of retrenchment to this class, your committee desire to be understood, as recommending it with the same exceptions with which they have accompanied their recommendation in the case of sinecures. Some of the great offices in the exchequer (which are indeed, as far as regards the principals, purely sinecures) being probably among the fittest to be retained, 'for the reward of personal 'services, or to secure an honour-'able retreat to persons who are 'entitled to marks of public favour, 'by the long and meritorious dis-'charge of the duties of high office, 'or who have sacrificed lucrative 'professional situations on engaging 'in the public service.' Finance Rep. xxi.

Rep. xxi. 19.—It ſhould alſo be conſidered, that ſome of the lucrative offices in our courts of juſtice, which are in the diſpoſal of the chiefs of the courts, conſtitute a conſiderable part of the valuable appendages to thoſe ſituations, which it concerns the eſſential intereſts of the ſtate, ſtill more than its dignity, to have filled by perſons who are the moſt eminent and beſt qualified in their profeſſions.

REVERSIONS.

The laſt general head is that of places granted in reverſion; a power which appears to have been exerciſed by the crown with regard to particular departments, for a very long period, without any fixed rule or principle which is diſcoverable, as guiding its diſcretion in the original ſelection: the right, therefore, reſts upon uſage, and the extent is limited by no written law.—But although no reaſon can be aſſigned for a practice which, perhaps, muſt be referred only to accident or temporary accommodation, it becomes obvious that it can never have obtained with regard to efficient offices, without conſiderable riſk of ultimately producing the effect of converting them, ſo far as reſpects the principals, into ſinecures, or into offices to be executed wholly by deputy.—The chief objections to this method of conveying contingent intereſts are, that in the firſt inſtance of every ſuch grant, a diminution muſt take place in the permanent prerogative, equal to the difference in value between expectancy and poſſeſſion; that the appointment of fit and ſufficient perſons to hold offices, is leſs likely to be regarded when it is to take effect at a diſtant and uncertain period, than when a certain notoriety attaches upon the manner in which each vacancy is filled; and it can hardly be diſputed that incapacity from age, ſex, or natural diſability, may be diſregarded, in the former caſe, which could not be tolerated in the latter. It may be further urged, that anticipations of this ſort tend to perpetuate inefficient places, and to render any alterations and regulations leſs effectual, and more diſtant, which the wiſdom of parliament may think fit to adopt with regard to them. On the other hand, reverſionary grants may be defended as a cheap and economical mode of conferring favours, of paying ſervices by expectation, rather than by actual office or penſion; and of enabling the crown to draw diſtinguiſhed talents and eminent characters into the public employ, who, without ſome proſpect of permanent proviſion for their families, might be unwilling to give up their time and labour, and above all their profeſſional emoluments, upon the hazard of the ſhort and uncertain duration of two things, ſo precarious in their nature, as office and life.—It muſt be admitted, that the prerogative will be abridged during the ſuſpenſion of the power of making ſuch grants, ſo far as relates to the value of the reverſionary right in theſe particular offices; and no farther.—It is alſo contended, that grants of this ſort have neither been carried to exceſs, nor become chargeable with actual abuſe.—With the view of fairly ſtating this part of the caſe, your committee proceed to lay before the houſe the extent and amount of all ſubſiſting reverſions, ſome of which will be found

found to come distinctly within the class of those offices which they recommend to be regulated or suppressed; and with regard to the remainder, they see no cause to depart from their opinion, which was reported to, and adopted unanimously by the house, on the 24th March 1807, thinking it safer to invigorate and restore to an entire state this branch of the prerogative, than to allow that it should continue encumbered by any such anticipations. The right of the crown over its own demesne lands was formerly as complete as its power of conferring offices; and yet the use which was made of that part of its prerogative, occasioned parliament frequently to interpose; and particularly after the crown had been greatly impoverished, an act passed, whereby all future grants, for any longer term than 31 years, were declared void.—The misfortune is, as Mr. Justice Blackstone remarks, that the act was made too late, after every valuable possession of the crown had been granted away for ever, or else upon very long leases. It must not be passed altogether without notice, that reversionary grants have, in some instances, been applied to pensions on the civil list; and it is easy to see to what an extent such a practice might be carried, and how entirely it might exhaust the future means of bestowing the royal bounty, even upon the most deserving objects. Appendix, Nos. 77 to 79.

Upon the more general question relating to the prerogative of the crown, as connected with, and affected by, the proposed arrangements, your committee proceed to submit their sentiments to the judgment of the house, trusting that the same disposition which has so often been manifested by parliament, will never be wanting to correct the growth of such abuses as the lapse of time or alterations in the mode of transacting business, may have imperceptibly introduced into any of the departments of executive government.—The civil list in 1782, the acts for abolishing certain offices in the years 1798, and 1807, that already referred to of the present session, and many others, afford abundant examples of temperate and judicious retrenchment; nor could the beneficial objects, proposed by the institution of the committee of finance in 1797, have been attained, nor can those for which your present committee was appointed, be expected, without interfering, in some degree, with the patronage and influence of the crown.—The subjects which are detailed in this report, have been specifically brought under consideration by the direction of the house; in obedience to which, your committee now present them, in the full persuasion that the reforms, which they venture to recommend, may be made without detriment to the public service, and with advantage to the public revenue. No offices of any description were originally created for the mere purpose of giving lucrative appointments into the disposal of the crown; the fact is, that duties were formerly attached to many places, which a different manner of transacting business, or accidental alterations, have long rendered sinecures; and therefore the patronage of the crown has, in some

the patronage of the crown has, in ſome caſes, been unintentionally increaſed, by transferring to new offices the buſineſs of the old ones, without aboliſhing the latter, or the ſalaries attached to them.

Under the words directing 'the 'names and deſcriptions of the per-'ſons to be reported, by whom, and 'in truſt for whom, all offices, pen-'ſions, and emoluments, payable 'out of funds applicable to the pub-'lic ſervice, are held,' your committee conceive that the houſe may be deſirous to ſee at one view, which of theſe are poſſeſſed by their own members; and the ſubjoined liſt gives the names of all thoſe who appear ſo deſcribed, upon a careful inſpection of the returns. (See below.)—A more complete catalogue is alſo given of every office from which returns have been required, than it was poſſible to make out before the cloſe of the laſt ſeſſion, diſtinguiſhing thoſe from which none have been yet received: the preſent report, therefore, is intended to be ſubſtituted for that which was preſented in Auguſt 1807, and intitled 'the third.' Nos. 81, 82, 83.—Your committee, having ſelected ſuch parts of the papers before them as are immediately connected with the ſubject of this report, have only to lay before the houſe the remaining maſs of information which has been collected in conſequence of their precepts, conſiſting chiefly of all the civil and judicial eſtabliſhments of the united kingdom; many of which have been already printed in the reports from the committee of finance, without having received any material alterations ſince that period, which have not been noticed in the returns of increaſe and diminution of offices, preſented from time to time to the houſe.

EXTRACT FROM THE APPENDIX.

(No. 80.)

Liſt of Members of the Houſe of Commons holding Offices, &c. with the Annual Value of ſuch Offices.

Admiralty:—Lords commiſſioners,—Vice-Adm. Sir R. Bickerton, 1,000l.; Captain W. J. Hope, 1,000l; Robt. Ward, 1,000l; Viſcount Palmerſton, 1,000l; James Buller, 1,000l.; Hon. W. W. Pole, Secretary, 4,000l., ſubject to a deduction of ¼ during peace.—Alſo ſecretary to the commiſſioners of charity for poor widows, 160l.

Alienation Office:—Receiver-General,—Right Hon. Geo. Canning, 4821. *(Vide infra.)*

Auditor of the Land-revenue for Wales, Thos. Johnes; Lord-lieutenant of Cardiganſhire, and ſteward of ſeveral manors and lordſhips belonging to the crown in that county, 1,505l.

Lord Chamberlain'sOffice:—Secretary,—J. Calvert; appointed by the Lord Chamberlain, 1,389l.

Clerk of the Parliaments,—reverſion veſted in Geo. Henry Roſe, 3,278l. *(Vide infra.)*

Exchequer, teller of,—Hon W. F. E. Eden, 2,700l.

Governor of the Iſle of Wight,—viſcount Fitzharris, for life, 1,379l.

Groom of the bedchamber to his Majeſty,—Hon. Edw. Finch.

India Board, officers of the,—receiving ſalary from the Eaſt-India

Company only: Right Hon. Robert Dundas. *(Vide infra.)* Lord Lovaine; Right Hon. Thos. Wallace; Geo. Johnſtone is alſo a commiſſioner, but receives no ſalary. Secretary,—Geo. Holford; paid by the Eaſt India Company.

King's printer,—Andrew Straan; by patent, for 30 years, from 21ſt Jan. 1800. No ſalary annexed to this office; which is paid for the work done as printer.

Maſter of the Horſe:—office of firſt equerry,—Robert Manners, 736l.

Mint:—clerk of the irons and meltings,—Right Hon. Spencer Perceval, 114l. *(Vide infra.)*

Navy Office:—Comptroller,—Sir Tho. B. Thompſon, 2,000l.—And a penſion of 500l. on account of wounds in ſervice.

Navy Pay Office:—Right Hon. G. Roſe,—Treaſurer of the Navy, 4,324l; clerk of the parliaments, 3,278; and keeper of the records in the receipt of the exchequer, 400l.

Ordnance:—clerk, Hon. C. Aſhley Cooper, 1,958l; ſtore-keeper,—M. Singleton, 1,799l; treaſurer,—Jo. Hunt, 625l; and a penſion paid out of the ſale of old naval ſtores, 500l. Clerk of the deliveries,—Tho. Thoroton, 1,243l.

Pay Office:—joint-paymaſters, Right Hon. C. Long, 2,000l; and a penſion of 1,500l. ſuſpended on holding any office exceeding 2,000l.—Right Hon. Lord C. Henry Somerſet, 2,000l.—Joint deputy paymaſter,—Lord R. Edw. H. Somerſet, 500l.

Privy Seal:—principal clerk,—James Macdonald, 358l; appointed by the lord privy ſeal, for life. Popham, Sir Home Riggs, penſion, and after his death to wife 500l.

Secretary of State, foreign department,—Right Hon. G. Canning 6,000l. *(Vide ſupra.)*

Ditto, war department,—Lord Viſc. Caſtlereagh, 6,000l.

Under Secretary of State,—brigadier-general Hon. C. Stewart, 2,000l.

Ditto, home-department,—Hon. Cecil Cope Jenkinſon, 2,052l.

Lord ſteward's office:—treaſurer of the houſehold,—Viſc. Stopford, 1,200l. Comptroller of the houſehold,—Lord Geo. Thynne, 1,200l.

Treaſury:—Right Hon. Spencer Perceval, 1,600l. *(Vide ſupra et infra.)* And chancellor of the duchy of Lancaſter, 4,525l.—Hon. W. Brodrick, 1,600l., and penſion of 1,200l. of which 600l. is ſuſpended.—Hon. W. Elliot, 1,600.—W. Sturges Bourne, 1,600l.

Secretaries:—W. Huſkiſſon, 4,000l, and colonial agent for Ceylon, 700l. penſion of 1,200l. for life, ſuſpended.—Hon H. Welleſley, 4,000l.

Vice-chamberlain to his Majeſty,—Right Hon. Lord John Thynne.—Ditto to her Majeſty, Edw. Diſbrowe.

War-office:—ſecretary at war,—Right Hon. Sir James Pulteney, Bart. 2,480l.

Clerk of the ſupreme court, Jamaica,—Right Hon. Sir Evan Nepean, Bart.

Secretary and clerk of the inrolments, Jamaica,—Hon. Charles W. Wyndham.

Provoſt-marſhal, Barbadoes,—Thomas Carter.

Members of the Houſe holding Offices in Courts of Juſtice.

Attorney-general,—Sir V. Gibbs.

Gibbs. No return of annual value.

Clerk of the declarations, king's bench, 187l.—Held in truſt for W. Lee Antonie, by grant from W. Lee, formerly chief clerk.

Chancellor of the court of exchequer,—Right Hon. Spencer Perceval, 2,605l. *(Vide ſupra.)*

Clerk of the juries, common pleas,—Sir Thomas Turton, Bart. 96l.

Maſter of the rolls,—Right Hon. Sir W. Grant, 4,603l.

Maſter in chancery, J. Simeon, appointed by the Lord Chancellor, for life, 2,149.—Ditto Edward Morris, 2,083l.

Lord treaſurer's remembrancer, —Snowdon Barne, 340l.

Surveyor of green wax,—Viſc. Mahon, 260l. And keeper of records in Birmingham tower. *(Vide infra.)*

Judge of the conſiſtory court, —Right Hon. Sir W. Scott, 170l. —vicar-general, and maſter of the faculties; alſo commiſſary and official of Canterbury. And, judge of the high court of admiralty, 6,524l.

Judge-advocate general,—Right Hon. R. Ryder, 2,500l. — And joint regiſtrar of the conſiſtory court, 180l.

Chief-juſtice in eyre, S. of Trent,—Right Hon. T. Grenville, 2,316l.—Ditto N. of Trent,—Right Hon. J. C. Villers, 2,250l.

Judge of great ſeſſions, Denbigh and Montgomery,—Fra. Burton, 850l.

King's advocate-general,— Sir John Nicholl. No return of annual value.—Salary, 20l.

King's profeſſor of civil law, Oxford, for life,—Dr. French Laurence, 147l.

Prerogative court, Charles Moore, joint regiſter, 3,670l.—And principal regiſtrar of the faculty office, 440l; appointed by the archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Judge of great ſeſſions, Merioneth, Caernarvon, and Angleſey,—Hugh Leyceſter, 770l.

Solicitor-general,—Sir Thomas Plumer.—And juſtice of great ſeſſions for Merioneth, Caernarvon, and Angleſea, 750l.—And king's ſerjeant, duchy of Lancaſter.

Members of the Houſe holding Offices in Scotland.

Keeper of the ſignet,—Right Hon. Rob. Dundas, 2,069l.

King's remembrancer, court of exchequer,—Sir P. Murray, Bart. 500l.

Preſenter of ſignatures, court o exchequer,—Sir James Montgomery, 789l.

Lord advocate, — Archibald Colquhoun, 1,500l.

Solicitor-general,--David Boyle, 600l.

Members of the Houſe holding Offices, &c. in Ireland.

Treaſury: — Right Hon. J. Foſter, 3,101l.—Annuity for life, by Iriſh act, 40 Geo. III. 3,038l. —Sir G. F. Hill, 1,200l.—Annuity, by ſaid act, of 2,265l; and recorder of Londonderry, 60l. —J. Barry, 1,200l.—C. Vereker, 1,200l. — Hon. T. H. Foſter, 1,200l.—Secretary to chancellor, —J. Leſlie Foſter, 433l.

Chief ſecretary,—Right Hon. Sir Arthur Welleſley, K. B. 6,566l.

Muſter-maſter-general, jointly with Marquis of Drogheda,—W. Bagwell; ſalary 4,107l, fees ſuſpended, 641l.

Vicar-general, Armagh, appointed by primate, for life,—Patr. Duiguenan, L L. D. 1081; and judge of the prerogative court.

Conſiſtory-court, Dublin:—official chancellor, &c.—Patr. Duiguenan, L L D. 349l. Appointed by archbiſhop of Dublin, for life.

Keeper of records in Birmingham tower, by patent, for life,—Viſc. Mahon, 431l; and ſurveyor of green wax. *(Vide ſupra.)*

Prothonotary's office: — Lord Robert Seymour,—joint-keeper of the writs, &c. for life, by patent, 12,511l.

Crown-office: — Lord Robert Seymour, — Ditto, jointly with Lord H. Seymour, 427l.

Filazer's-office: — Lord Robert Seymour,—Ditto, 1,105l.

Keeper of the ſignet,—Right Hon. C. Abbot, ſpeaker, 1,500l.

Quarter-maſter-general,—Brig. Gen. W. H. Clinton, 2,507l.

Chief remembrancer, court of exchequer,—Hon. W. W. Pole, jointly with Marquis Welleſley, 4,201l; and ſec. to the admiralty. *(Vide ſupra.)*

Teller of the exchequer,—R. Neville, 2,195l.

Right Hon. Geo. Ponſonby, as late lord high-chancellor, penſion of, 4,000l.

One of the joint ſolicitors in Great Britain, — W. Fremantle, 391l.

Tranſlation of the Chop which the Tſontoe of Canton addreſſed to the Senior Commander, Captains, Officers, Petty Officers, and others, belonging to the Engliſh Ships at the Port of Whampoa, and which was delivered to the ſaid Senior Commander, Captain Milliken Craig of the Elphinſtone, by the Mandarins, deputed by the Tſontoe, under a Canopy of State, ſurrounded by Chineſe Guards under arms, erected for the occaſion on French Iſland, on the ſide of a hill, having a Chineſe Camp on each ſide on hills each about one mile diſtant, and all in view from the Van Ships of the Hon. Company's Fleet, moored in Line of Battle within Gun-ſhot.*

I, the Mandarin Vu, by favour of my prince, tſontoe of the two provinces of Quang-tong and Quang-ſi, member of the tribunal of war, &c. direct this letter to the captains, officers, paſſengers, and others belonging to the Engliſh ſhips, to warn you, that being certain that your bad kingdom is ſituated on an iſland of the ſea, and that you originally employed yourſelves in making watches to enable you to pay your taxes; afterwards, by the eſpecial and profound goodneſs of our great emperor, who was deſirous of benefiting you, he granted you permiſſion to come to this empire to trade. Behold what exalted and profound virtue belong to him!!! Notwithſtanding this, the admiral of your kingdom, regardleſs of the laws, has brought here for the firſt time foreign ſoldiers, and without leave

* In Nov. and Dec. 1808, there were at Whampoa 13 of the hon. company's ſhips, each of 1200 tons, and one of 800 tons, the commodore, capt. M. Craig, of the Elphinſtone; the tonnage 16,400 tons; mounting 494 guns, and carrying 2080 men; there were alſo 17,350 tons of country ſhips, mounting 228 guns, and carrying 2075 men. The eſtimated value of theſe ſhipping and their cargoes, was upwards of 6 millions ſterling, and the Chineſe in Canton were in poſſeſſion of as much more property belonging to the Eaſt India Company and Britiſh ſubjects.

intro-

introduced them into Macoa, and your chief ſupra-cargo uniting with him, they are, with one accord, making diſturbances. This being the caſe, I informed the emperor, from whom I have juſt received a decree, in virtue of which I again ſend mandarins deputed to inform them, that if they perſiſt in retaining the ſoldiers, a great many troops ſhall be immediately diſpatched to deſtroy and extinguiſh them, and to terminate this buſineſs, for the conſequences of which the admiral and chief ſupra-cargo will be reſponſible, but you captains, officers, paſſengers, and others, people of the ſhips, ſhall be free from all reſponſibility, if you remain quietly in the obſervance of the laws; and after the ſoldiers of your nation ſhall be entirely withdrawn, I ſhall feel it my duty to inform the emperor, praying him to have the goodneſs to permit you to carry on your trade as formerly. But if you, giving ear to and obeying the admiral and chief ſupra-cargo, unite yourſelves to them to create diſturbances, when afterwards our innumerable ſoldiers ſhall arrive, who ſhall deſtroy and burn you, even if you are as hard as ſtone or jaſper, I ſhall then not be able to uſe you with any indulgence nor free you from the net of the law in which you will be enſnared; and in order that you may be obedient and diſcreet, I direct this chop to you. In the 13th year of the Emperor Kia King, on the 17th day of the 10th Moon, (3d Dec. 1808.)

Memorandum.—Received, on the 4th December, 1808, from the hands of the mandarins delegated by the tſontoe, who were, the military brigadier mandarin Chang, and the quangchou-foo (governor of the city of Canton) Fu.

Anſwer to the foregoing.

To his Excellency the Viceroy of Quang-tong and Quang-ſi.

May it please your Excellency,

WE the underſigned, commanders of the Hon. Engliſh Eaſt-India Company's ſhips at Whampoa, for ourſelves, our officers, and our men, have the exalted honour to acknowledge the receipt of your excellency's moſt gracious letter, delivered to us on French Iſland, on the 4th Dec. 1808, by the two mandarins, whom we are informed it was your condeſcending pleaſure to ſend for that purpoſe.

Our object in viſiting this country is purely commerce, to continue in the ſame manner that friendly and uſeful intercourſe which has exiſted for centuries, and now become, from its magnitude, of the very firſt importance to both our vaſt empires.

We are taught in our own country, that obedience to our laws is the firſt eſſential to the well-being of the ſtate; the ſame principle muſt apply to all countries, and we are therefore ordered, and endeavour, to venerate and obey yours; but ſuch is the nature of our own laws and conſtitution, that we dare not, even in a foreign country, depart from allegiance to our own country, nor to thoſe who are dignified with its moſt exalted repreſentation.

We underſtand that our admiral, who is an officer of high rank, at the requeſt of the Portugueze, landed ſome troops at Macoa, to help them to defend it, againſt attacks from the French. This wicked

wicked nation, ever ſince they murdered their ſovereign, have waged war upon all nations within their reach, and we underſtand are now marching by land to make war upon the celeſtial empire, as the Britiſh navy prevent them by ſea.

We, of courſe, wiſh to have no concern with any diſturbances in the celeſtial empire, and we therefore moſt humbly implore your excellency to order the trade to be opened, that we may thereby find employment in the quiet habits of induſtry, which we conceive would prevent our ſervices being required for other purpoſes, but which, if called for our laws and our honour, would compel us to obey, whatever might be the conſequences.

With ſentiments of the moſt profound veneration, and prayers for your excellency's welfare, we beg leave to ſubſcribe our names.

Hon. Company's Ship Elphinſtone, Whampoa, 7th Dec. 1808.

(Signed) M. Craig, Sen. Officer.
C. E. Prescott,
Wm. Moffat,
H. Meriton,
J. Locke,
Wm. Dunsford,
R. H. Brown,
J. J. Williamson,
C. B. Gribble,
Luke Dodds,
F. Armitage, (Chief Officer) for W. A. Montague,
J. Strachan (Chief Officer) for Rich. Nebbitt,
J. Lochner,
Wm. Patterson.

The Tſontoe's Reply.

I, Tſontoe, &c. in reply to your letter, have to inform you that I firſt thought that you, like your merchants, came to carry on trade, and that you would not have joined with your ſuperiors, I mean the admiral and chief, to make diſorders. Under this idea I ſent you a chop. But ſeeing now that you do not think proper to alter your way of thinking, taking as a pretence the protection of the Portugueſe, I plainly know that you have joined your opinions with thoſe of the above ſuperiors remaining in the ſame vain hope. I, the Tſontoe, have repeatedly ſent my chops declaring that as long as there remained a ſingle ſoldier at Macoa, and you would not obey my orders, I abſolutely will not conſent to your continuing to carry on your trade. If you do not wiſh to trade, you may take away your ſhips as you think proper; but if you are deſirous of purſuing your mercantile negociations, it is neceſſary to remain peaceable and to obey the laws, relying with certainty that after your troops ſhall have entirely evacuated Macoa, that your trade ſhall be granted you as formerly: as your letter declares that you muſt of courſe obey the laws of the imperial dynaſty, this ſhews that you have reſpect and veneration for them, therefore, I have directed to you this chop with all the efficacy poſſible, to open yet a way for you: but after this diſpatch, if your admiral and you all will not change your ſentiments, and ſend any more letters, I have given orders that they ſhall not be received.

In the 13th year of Kia King, 21ſt day of the 10th Moon, (7th Dec. 1808.) Received 9th Dec. 1808.

A GENERAL

A GENERAL BILL

OF

CHRISTENINGS AND BURIALS,

From DECEMBER 15, 1807, to DECEMBER 13, 1808.

Chriſtened	Males 10,189	In all, 19,906	Buried	Males 10,228	In all, 19,954
	Females 9717			Females 9726	

Whereof have died under	2 years 6075	50 and 60	1690
between 2 and	5 2466	60 and 70	1499
5 and	10 847	70 and 80	1200
10 and	20 643	80 and 90	504
20 and	30 1200	90 and 100	65
30 and	40 1792	100	1
40 and	50 1971	102	1

Increaſed in Burials this Year, 1620.

DISEASES.							
ABORTIVE, and Still-born ..	462	Cow Pox	1	Mortification ..	200	Bit by Mad Dogs	3
Abſceſs	49	Croup	76	Palſy	98	Bruiſed	1
Aged 1554		Diabetes	2	Piles	1	Burnt	51
Ague	5	Dropſy	870	Pleuriſy	17	Drowned	123
Apoplexy and Suddenly	229	Evil	8	Purples	1	Exceſſive Drinking	7
Aſthma and Phthiſic	586	Fevers of all kinds 1168		Quinſey	3	Found dead	17
Bedridden	3	Fiſtula	1	Rheumatiſm ..	7	Fractured	2
Bleeding	28	Flux	10	Scurvy	2	Frighted	1
Burſten and Rupture	26	Gout	33	Small Pox 1169		Frozen	2
Cancer	54	Gravel, Stone, and Strangury	18	Sore Throat	9	Killed by Falls, and ſeveral other Accidents	77
Canker	2	Grief	5	Sores and Ulcers	5		
Chicken Pox ..	3	Headmouldſhot, Horſe-ſhoe-head, and Water in the Head	193	Spaſm	15		
Childbed	172			St. Vitus's Dance	1		
Colds	11	Jaundice	39	Stoppage in the Stomach ...	12	Killed themſelves	36
Colick, Gripes, &c.	19	Jaw-locked ..	2	Teeth	319	Poiſoned	3
Conſumption ..5220		Inflammation ..	765	Thruſh	48	Scalded	5
Convulſions 4164		Lethargy	1	Tumour	1	Starved	2
Cough and Hooping-Cough ..	326	Liver-grown ..	14	Worms	3	Suffocated	4
		Lunatic	172	Venereal	28	Total	335
		Meaſles 1386		CASUALTIES.			
		Miſcarriage	2	Bit by a Mad Cat	1		

There have been executed in the city of London and county of Surrey 5; of which number none have been reported to be buried (as ſuch) within the Bills of Mortality.

PRICES

PRICES of STOCKS for 1808. N.B. The higheſt and loweſt Prices of each Stock in the courſe of each Month, are ſet down in that Month.

1808.	Bank Stock.	3 p.ct red.	3 p.ct cons.	4 p.ct. cons.	5 p.ct. Navy.	5 p ct 1797.	Long Ann.	India Stock.	India Bonds.	S. Sea Stock.	Old Ann.	New Ann.	Exch Bills.	Omn.	Iriſh 5 p.ct	Imp. 3 p.ct.	Lottery Tickets.
Jan.	226	64	64 3/8	82 1/4	98 3/4	100 1/8	18	172 3/4	par.	67 3/4	63 7/8	63 1/8	3 pr.	2 3/4 pr.	93 7/8	63 1/4	20l. 19s.
	224 3/4	62 3/4	62 3/4	80 7/8	96	99 7/8	17 7/8	172	3 dis.		63 1/8	62 1/2	2 dis.	1 1/4 pr.	93 3/4	62 1/4	
Feb.	234	64 3/8	63 7/8	82 3/4	97 1/8	—	18 3/8	172 1/2	par.	69	64 3/8	63 3/8	3 pr.	3 pr.	94 1/2	63 3/4	21 0
	227 1/2	64	63 1/4	82 1/4	96 3/8	—	18 1/4	169 3/4	3 dis.	68 5/8	63 7/8	63 1/8	2 dis.	2 3/8	93 3/4	63 1/4	
March	233	64 5/8	64 5/8	83	97 3/4	100 7/8	18 3/8	173 1/2	3 pr.	69 1/2	64 1/2	64	5 pr.	—	96	64 1/8	21 0
	231 1/2	64 1/2	63 3/4	82 3/4	96 3/8		18 1/4	172 1/4	2 dis.		64 3/8	63 3/4	2 dis	—	95 5/8	63 5/8	
April	234 1/2	65 7/8	66 3/4	83 1/8	98 5/8	—	18 1/2	180 1/2	2 pr.	72 1/2	65 5/8	66 5/8	10 pr.	—	95 1/4	64 3/8	31 10
	232 3/4	65 1/4	64 1/2	82 7/8	96 3/4	—	18 1/4	175	2 dis.	69 1/2	65	64 1/4	1 pr.	—	94	64 1/4	21 8
May	240	67 5/8	68 1/2	85 1/8	100 1/8	—	18 3/4	182 1/4	5 pr.	73 5/8	67 1/2	68 1/8	10 pr.	—	96 3/4	66 1/2	20 19
	235	65 7/8	66 1/2	83	98 1/2	—	18 3/8	177	2 dis.	73	66 3/4	66 3/8	2 pr.	—	95	65 5/8	
June	244	69	70 3/8	86	—	—	19	182 3/4	2 pr.	—	69	67 7/8	6 pr.	4 pr.	97 1/4	68	21 10
	239	66 7/8	67 1/4	83	—	—	18 1/2	177 1/2	1 dis.	—	68 1/8		2 pr.	1 1/2 pr.	96 1/8	66 1/4	21 0
July	243 1/2	70	70 3/8	86	99 7/8	100 1/4	19	186 1/4	5 pr.	74 3/4	69	68 1/2	8 pr.	3/4 pr.	98 1/2	68 1/4	22 6
	241	68 1/4	68 1/2	84 1/8	99	100	18 3/8	185	3 dis.		68	68	3 dis.	2 1/4 pr.	96	67 1/8	21 10
August	243 1/2	68 3/4	68 1/8	85 1/8	99	—	19	185	6 pr.	73 3/4	68 5/8	67 5/8	5 pr.	2 1/4 pr.	98	67 1/4	22 6
	239	66 1/2	66	82 5/8	97 3/4	—	18 1/2	176 3/4	2 pr.		66 5/8	65 5/8	2 pr.	2 dis.	97 1/4	64 3/4	
Sept.	240 3/4	67 3/8	66 3/4	83	98 5/8	—	18 5/8	179	5 pr.	72 1/2	66 1/2	66 5/8	5 pr.	1 pr.		66 3/8	—
	239 1/2	66 1/2	65 1/2	82 3/4	97 1/2	—	18 3/8	177 3/4	2 dis.	70 3/4	65 3/4	65 5/8	2 dis.	2 3/4 dis.	97 1/2	63 1/4	—
Oct.	236	66 1/4	67	81 3/4	99 1/2	—	18 5/16	180 1/2	5 pr.	72	65 7/8	66 5/8	7 pr.	1 dis.	95 1/4	66	21 15
	232	65 1/4	65 3/4	79 7/8	97 3/4	—	17 11/16	176 1/2	3 dis	71	65 1/8	65 3/4	1 dis.	3 dis.	95	65 5/8	
Nov.	238	67	67 3/8	83	100	—	18 5/16	182 3/4	7 pr.	73 1/8	66 1/2	67 5/8	8 pr.	par.	95 3/8	65 5/8	21 15
	236	65 3/8	65 7/8	81 1/2	99 1/2	—	17 7/8	180 1/4	4 pr.		65 3/4	67 1/8	5 pr.	1 1/2 dis.	95 1/8	64 1/8	
Dec.	236	66	67 1/8	82	—	—	18 1/16	181 1/2	10 pr	—	66 1/8	66 1/8	8 pr.	1 dis.		65	35 0
	234 1/4	65 1/4	66 1/8	81 5/8	—	—	17 11/16		4 pr.	—	65 1/4	65 1/4	2 pr.	1 1/2 dis.	95 3/8	64 1/4	21 15

METEOROLOGICAL TABLE FOR 1808.

	Six's Thermometer without.			Thermometer without.			Thermometer within.			Barometer *.			Hygrometer.			Rain.
	Greateſt Height.	Leaſt Height.	Mean Height.	Greateſt Height.	Leaſt Height.	Mean Height.	Greateſt Height.	Leaſt Height.	Mean Height.	Greateſt Height.	Leaſt Height.	Mean Height.	Greateſt Height.	Leaſt Height.	Mean Height.	
	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Inches.
1808.																
January - -	53	18	38,8	52	18	39,2	56	46	51,1	30,51	28,90	29,84	74	53	65,1	1,059
February - -	53	18	38,3	52	20	38,5	57	45	51,4	30,72	29,23	30,10	73	53	63,3	0,710
March - -	52	26	39,2	52	27	39,4	60	50	53,1	30,48	29,51	30,12	73	47	60,4	0,167
April - - -	64	27	45,2	64	29	45,6	62	50	54,7	30,29	29,15	29,86	73	43	59,2	1,646
May - - -	82	42	60,0	81	46	60,6	69	54	62,5	30,28	29,55	29,93	65	46	55,9	1,123
June - - -	76	48	61,1	75	49	61,4	67	60	63,4	30,26	29,63	29,97	65	47	55,0	0,640
July - - -	93,5	50	68,3	92	54	69,1	78	63	69,4	30,20	29,48	29,95	77	45	56,1	2,458
Auguſt - -	80	51	65,5	78	53	66,0	71	63	67,2	30,21	29,55	29,87	70	45	56,7	1,215
September -	71	39	57,9	71	39	57,8	67	57	63,0	30,34	29,30	29,56	73	50	61,2	3,780
October - -	63	35	48,0	62	35	48,7	60	53	56,9	30,31	29,18	29,73	75	50	61,8	3,199
November -	56	31	45,7	56	32	46,0	59	51	55,5	30,29	28,74	29,82	73	53	64,6	1,745
December -	53	19	37,6	53	20	37,7	57	43	50,2	30,35	29,07	29,76	76	55	66,2	0,738
Whole Year.			50,5			50,8			58,2			29,87			60,5	18,475

* The quickſilver in the baſon of the barometer is 81 feet above the level of low water ſpring tides at Somerſet-houſe. Magnetic needle, June 1808. Variation, 24° 10′—Dip, 70° 1′.

METEOROLOGICAL TABLE *for the laſt twelve months at* CARLISLE.

	Thermometer.			Barometer.			Rain.
	High.	Low.	Mean.	High.	Low.	Mean.	Inches
January	50	17	37,4	30,50	28,74	29,704	2,10
February	52	24	37,	30,86	29,20	30,07	1,57
March	51	27	37,43	30,54	29,55	30,20	,20
April	56	25	41,51	30,28	28,82	20,82	1,20
May	72	47	55,4	30,23	29,44	29,86	2,86
June	76	48	59,	30,34	29,60	29,96	,82
July	84	46	64,	30,23	29,60	29,951	3,90
Auguſt	71	40	61,2	30,27	29,37	29,838	4,48
September	67	30	53,92	30,36	29,38	29,842	1,84
October	58	31	47,92	30,43	28,77	29,632	3,95
November	57	25	41,46	30,40	28,76	29,82	3,06
December	52	17	36,53	30,35	28,93	29,804	1,48
Annual Mean.			47,4	Annual Mean.		29,875	27,86 Total.

In the neighbourhood of London, the greateſt cold was on January 22; and the greateſt heat, July 14; and of the 366 days, 162 were reckoned very brilliant; on 119, there was rain, in leſs or greater quantities; and on 18, there was ſnow or hail. The wind has blown from N. NW. and NE. 147; from S. SW. SE. 113; from the W. 52, and from the E. 54.

At Carliſle, there was falling weather, or rain, ſnow, &c. 202 days, and the wind was W. SW. S. SE. 190, and E. NE. NW. 176.

Average ſtate of the Atmoſphere for ſeven years, near LONDON.

Years.	Average height of the Barometer	Average height of the Thermometer.	Depth of rain in inches.
1802	29,766	50,38	23,35
1803	29,778	50,31	26,39
1804	29,873	50,65	34,00
1805	29,864	48,00	25,00
1806	29,815	51,77	42,00
1807	29,746	51,66	26,00
1808	29,724	50,60	30,55
Average for ſeven years.	29,786	50,48	29,613

The mean ſtate of the Thermometer and Barometer, and the quantity of rain for the laſt eight years at CARLISLE.

	Thermometer annual mean.	Barometer annual mean inches.	Barometer annual range inches.	Rain, annual quantity of inches.
1801	48,3	29,796	1,78	31,466
1802	47,54	29,817	1,89	28,504
1803	47,456	29,895	2,10	27,52
1804	48,656	29,862	2,02	35,845
1805	47,965	29,859	2,20	26,355
1806	48,944	29,770	2,29	31,54
1807	46,464	29,819	2,04	27,75
1808	47,4	29,875	2,12	27,86
Mean for the whole 8 years.	47,8406	29,836	2,055	29,605

An Account of the Quantities of all Corn and Grain exported from, and imported into, England *and* Scotland, *with the Bounties and Drawbacks paid, and the Duties received thereon, for the Year ended the 5th of* January, 1809.

EXPORTED.

ENGLAND.	Quantities. Quarters.	Foreign. Quarters.	Bounties and Drawbacks.
Wheat	1327	5878	
Rye	377	265	
Barley	1924	687	
Oats	17738	1118	
Beans	5859	540	
Peaſe	3506		
Malt	6312	1180	Nil.
Indian Corn		210	
	cwt. qrs.	cwt. qrs.	
Wheat Flour	192518 3	40172 1	
Rye Meal	215	85	
Barley Meal	1000		
Oatmeal	6979 2		
Gritts	305 2		
SCOTLAND.			
Wheat	1288		
Rye	250	3014	
Barley	184		
Oats	2403		
Beans	119		
Peaſe	49		
Gritts	2		Bounties. £. s. d. 107 10 7½
	cwt. qrs.	cwt. qrs.	
Barley Hulled	559 3		
Barley Meal		206 2	
Oatmeal	1503 3		
Wheat Flour	7539	1521 2	
Biſcuit	2302	3	
Indian Corn		997 2	

IMPORTED.

IMPORTED.

ENGLAND.	Quantities.	Duties.	Bounties.
	Quarters.		
Wheat	69363		
Rye	2251		
Barley	19812		
Oats	297523		
Beans	10527		
Peas	11690	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Indian Corn	4100	3631 11 7	4404 2 9
	cwt. qrs.		
Wheat Flour	21796 1		
Rye Meal	3		
Barley Meal	542		
	Bolls.		
Oatmeal	12520		
SCOTLAND.			
Wheat	5851		
Rye	2919		
Barley	11363		
Oats	173960		
Beans	211		
Peas	1191		
Barley Meal	219	£. s. d.	
Bear or Big	889	189 2 7¼	Nil.
Indian Corn	206		
	cwt. qrs.		
Wheat Flour	143 3		
Barley Meal	216 1		
	Bolls.		
Oatmeal	41655		

The average Price of Corn in England and Wales, by the ſtandard Winchester Buſhel, for the Year 1808.

Wheat.		Rye.		Barley.		Oats.		Beans.		Peas.		Oatmeal.	
s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
9	10½	6	6½	5	3	4	2½	7	7	8	3	6	1

WILLIAM DOWDING,
Receiver of Corn Returns.

A Liſt

List of Public Acts passed in the second Session of the fourth Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.—48th of George III.

An act for regulating the issuing and paying off of exchequer bills.

An act for continuing to his majesty certain duties on malt, sugar, tobacco, and snuff, in Great Britain; and on pensions and offices in England; and for repealing so much of certain acts as relate to certain duties of sixpence and one shilling respectively on offices and pensions, and for regranting the said duties of sixpence and one shilling respectively, and the said other duties, for the service of the year 1808.

An act for empowering the governor and company of the bank of England to advance the sum of three millions, towards the supply for the service of the year 1808.

An act to authorise the advancing, for the public service, upon certain conditions, a proportion of the balance remaining in the bank of England for payment of unclaimed dividends, annuities, and lottery prizes; and for regulating the allowances to be paid for the management of the national debt.

An act for repealing an act made in the 47th year of his present majesty, intituled, "An act for suspending the operation of an act of the 36th year of his present majesty, for the further support and maintenance of curates within the church of England, and for other purposes in the said act mentioned, so far as relates to the avoidance of benefices by the incumbents thereof having accepted augmented curacies.

An act for raising the sum of 10,500,000*l.* by exchequer bills, for the service of Great Britain for the year 1808.

An act for permitting the importation of goods from the Portuguese territories on the continent of South America in Portuguese ships.

An act to amend and continue, until the 25th of March, 1809, so much of an act of the 47th year of his present majesty as allows certain bounties on British plantation raw sugar exported.

An act for settling and securing a certain annuity on viscount Lake, and the two next persons to whom the title of viscount Lake shall descend, in consideration of the eminent services of the late general viscount Lake.

An act for making perpetual several laws relating to permitting the exportation of tobacco pipe clay from Great Britain to the British sugar colonies in the West Indies; the importation of salt from Europe into Quebec in America; and the prohibiting of foreign-wrought silks and velvets.

An act to continue several laws relating to the granting a bounty on the importation into Great Britain of hemp, and rough and undressed flax, from his majesty's colonies in America; and to the more effectually encouraging the manufacture of flax and cotton in Great Britain until the 25th of March, 1810; and for granting a bounty upon certain species of British and Irish linens exported from Great Britain, and taking off the duties on importation into Great Britain of foreign raw linen yarns made of flax, until the 25th of March, 1811.

An act for further continuing, until three months after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace,

peace, an act made in the 44th year of his preſent majeſty, for permitting the importation into Great Britain of hides and other articles in foreign ſhips.

An act to prohibit, until the end of the next ſeſſion of parliament, the exportation of Jeſuits' bark and cotton wool from Ireland.

An act to extend the proviſions of an act, made in the 45th year of his preſent majeſty's reign, for preventing the counterfeiting of certain ſilver tokens to certain other tokens which may be iſſued by the governor and company of the bank of Ireland, and to promote the circulation of the ſaid laſt-mentioned tokens.

An act to prohibit, until the end of the next ſeſſion of parliament, the exportation of Jeſuits' bark from Great Britain.

An act to prohibit, until the end of the next ſeſſion of parliament, the exportation of cotton wool from Great Britain.

An act for impoſing, until the end of the next ſeſſion of parliament, a duty on cotton wool, the growth of the Britiſh colonies, exported from Great Britain.

An act for making valid certain orders in council, and warrants of the commiſſioners of the treaſury, for the entry and warehouſing of certain goods imported in neutral veſſels, and for indemnifying all perſons concerned therein; for the remitting of forfeitures in certain caſes; and for enabling his majeſty to allow, during the continuance of hoſtilities, and until two months after the commencement of the next ſeſſion of parliament, the importation of goods from countries from which the Britiſh flag is excluded, in any veſſels whatever.

An act to grant to his majeſty certain duties and taxes in Ireland, in reſpect of carriages, dogs, fire hearths, horſes, male ſervants, and windows, in lieu of former duties and taxes, in reſpect of the like articles.

An act to prevent the exportation of wood to Ireland, before bond given for the due landing thereof.

An act for quitting poſſeſſions and confirming defective titles in Ireland, and limiting the right of the crown to ſue in manner therein mentioned; and for the relief of incumbents in reſpect of arrears due to the crown during the incumbency of their predeceſſors

An act for accelerating the making up, examination, and audit, of the accounts of the paymaſter general of his majeſty's forces.

An act to ſuſpend the granting of offices in reverſion, or for joint lives with benefit of ſurvivorſhip, for one year after the paſſing of this act, and from thence until ſix weeks after the commencement of the then next ſeſſion of parliament.

An act for raiſing the ſum of three millions of exchequer bills, for the ſervice of Great Britain for the year 1808.

An act for raiſing the ſum of 1,500,000*l.* by exchequer bills, for the ſervice of Great Britain for the year 1808.

An act for repealing the duties of aſſeſſed taxes, and granting new duties in lieu thereof, and alſo for repealing the ſtamp duties on game certificates, and granting new duties in lieu thereof.

An act for amending the law with regard to the courſe of proceeding on indictments and informations in the court of king's bench in certain caſes: for authoriſin

riſing the execution in Scotland of certain warrants iſſued for offences committed in England; and for requiring officers taking bail in the king's ſuit to aſſign the bail bonds to the king.

An act for enabling his majeſty to ſettle an annuity on her royal highneſs the ducheſs of Brunſwick Wolfenbuttel.

An act for repealing an act paſſed in the 1ſt year of king James the 1ſt, intituled, "An act concerning tanners, curriers, ſhoemakers, and other artificers occupying the cutting of leather;" and alſo for repealing and amending certain parts of ſeveral other acts of parliament relating thereto.

An act to continue, until the end of the next ſeſſion of parliament, an act of the 45th year of his preſent majeſty, for appointing commiſſioners to inquire into the public expenditure, and the conduct of the public buſineſs in the military departments therein mentioned.

An act to amend an act made in the 46th year of his preſent majeſty, for enabling his majeſty to accept the ſervices of volunteers from the militia of Ireland.

An act for enforcing the reſidence of ſpiritual perſons on their benefices in Ireland.

An act for granting an additional duty on copper imported into Great Britain, until the 5th of April, 1811, and from thence to the end of the then next ſeſſion of parliament.

An act to provide that the Britiſh ſhips which ſhall be captured by the enemy, and ſhall afterwards become the property of Britiſh ſubjects, ſhall not be intituled to the privilege of Britiſh ſhips.

An act to amend ſo much of two acts of this ſeſſion of parliament, for carrying into execution certain orders in council, as relates to the duties on goods exported from the warehouſes in which they have been ſecured on importation, and on certain prize goods imported into Great Britain or Ireland.

An act for providing ſuitable interment in church yards or parochial burying grounds in England for ſuch dead human bodies as may be caſt on ſhore from the ſea, in caſes of wreck or otherwiſe.

An act for raiſing the ſum of 10,500,000*l.* by way of annuities.

An act to enable his majeſty to veſt the right of appointment of maſter of the free ſchool of Londonderry, in the city and county of Londonderry, in the biſhop of Derry for the time being.

An act to regulate the trade between Great Britain and the United States of America, until the end of the next ſeſſion of parliament.

An act for repealing the rates and taxes taken by licenſed hackney coachmen, and for eſtabliſhing others in lieu thereof; and for amending ſeveral laws relating to hackney coaches.

An act to reſtrain the negociation of promiſſory notes and inland bills of exchange, under a limited ſum, in England.

An act for enabling the commiſſioners appointed to examine accounts of public expenditure in the barrack office more ſpeedily and effectually to inveſtigate the ſaid accounts.

An act to enable the commiſſioners for auditing public accounts, and the commiſſioners for the affairs of barracks reſpectively,

to ſend and receive letters and packets on the buſineſs of their offices free of poſtage.

An act to repeal ſo much of an act, made in the 47th year of his preſent majeſty, for charging the ſum of 12,200,000*l.* raiſed for the ſervice of Great Britain for the year 1807, upon the duties of cuſtoms and exciſe granted to his majeſty, during the continuance of the preſent war, as relates to money iſſued for charges of management of ſtock redeemed.

An act to repeal ſo much of an act of the 1ſt year of king James I. as relates to the penalties on ſhooting at hares; and alſo to repeal an act of the 3d year of king George I. relating to game-keepers.

An act for repealing ſo much of an act made in the parliament of Scotland, in the fourth ſeſſion of the firſt parliament of Queen Anne, intituled, "Act for preſerving the game," as relates to the ſhooting of hares.

An act for the better care and maintenance of lunatics, being paupers or criminals in England.

An act for further extending the proviſions of ſeveral acts, for eſtabliſhing the bank of Ireland; and for empowering the governor and company of the ſaid bank to advance the ſum of 1,250,000*l.* Iriſh currency, towards the ſervice of the year 1808.

An act to remedy the inconvenience which has ariſen, and may ariſe, from the expiration of acts, before the paſſing of acts to continue the ſame.

An act for enabling his majeſty to eſtabliſh a permanent local militia force, under certain reſtrictions, for the defence of the realm.

An act for raiſing the ſum of 500,000*l.* by treaſury bills for the ſervice of Ireland for the year 1808.

An act for raiſing the ſum of ſix millions, by exchequer bills, for the ſervice of Great Britain for the year 1808.

An act to prohibit the diſtillation of ſpirits from corn or grain, for a limited time.

An act for regulating the charging of the duty on ſpirits imported into Great Britain according to the ſtrength thereof.

An act for reducing the duty of cuſtoms on coffee imported into Great Britain when taken out of warehouſe for home conſumption.

An act for the diſcharge of debtors in execution for ſmall debts from impriſonment, in certain caſes.

An act to render valid certain marriages ſolemnized in certain churches and public chapels in which the banns had not uſually been publiſhed before or at the time of paſſing an act made in the 26th year of the reign of his late majeſty king George II. intituled, "An act for the better preventing of clandeſtine marriages."

An act to repeal ſo much of an act paſſed in the 8th year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, intituled, "An act to take away the benefit of clergy from certain offenders for felony," as takes away the benefit of clergy from perſons ſtealing privily from the perſon of another; and for more effectually preventing the crime of larceny from the perſon.

An act to extend the proviſions of an act, paſſed in the 45th year of his preſent majeſty, for the encouragement of ſeamen and better manning his majeſty's navy, to

caſes

caſes ariſing in conſequence of hoſtilities commenced ſince the paſſing of the ſaid act.

An act for enlarging the times appointed for the firſt meetings of commiſſioners and other perſons for putting in execution certain acts of this ſeſſion of parliament.

An act to amend the laws relating to the marking of bags and pockets of hops.

An act to amend and enlarge the powers of an act of the 46th year of his preſent majeſty, for conſolidating and rendering more effectual the ſeveral acts for the purchaſe of buildings, and further improvement of the ſtreets and places near to Weſtminſter-hall, and the two houſes of parliament.

An act for the more effectual adminiſtration of the office of a juſtice of the peace, and for the more effectual prevention of felonies within the diſtrict of Dublin metropolis.

An act to amend the acts relating to the duties of aſſeſſed taxes, and of the tax upon the profits of property, profeſſions, trades, and offices, and to regulate the aſſeſſment and collection of the ſame.

An act for enabling the commiſſioners for the reduction of the national debt to grant life annuities.

An act for the more effectual protection of oyſter fiſheries and the brood of oyſters in England.

An act for enabling his majeſty to grant annuities to the judges of the court of ſeſſion, juſticiary, and exchequer in Scotland, upon the reſignation of their offices.

An act for granting to his majeſty a certain ſum of money out of the conſolidated fund of Great Britain, and for applying certain monies therein mentioned for the ſervice of the year 1808; and for further appropriating the ſupplies granted in this ſeſſion of parliament.

An act for repealing the ſtamp duties on deeds, law proceedings, and other written or printed inſtruments, and the duties on legacies and ſucceſſions to perſonal eſtates upon inteſtacies, now payable in Great Britain; and for granting new duties in lieu thereof.

An act for enabling his majeſty to eſtabliſh a permanent local militia force in Scotland, under certain reſtrictions, for the defence of the realm.

An act concerning the adminiſtration of juſtice in Scotland, and concerning appeals to the houſe of lords.

PUBLIC INCOME ADN EXPENDITURE OF GREAT BRITAIN FOR THE YEAR ENDED THE 5th OF JANUARY, 1808.

PUBLIC INCOME.

HEADS OF REVENUE.	Gross Revenue.			Net Produce.			Payments into Exchequer.		
ORDINARY REVENUES.									
Permanent and Annual Taxes.	*L.*	*s.*	*d.*	*L.*	*s.*	*d.*	*L.*	*s.*	*d.*
Customs	9,573,060	6	3	7,462,380	4	10¾	6,476,942	6	4
Excise	19,621,076	15	9	17,896,145	14	2	17,575,683	0	0
Stamps	4,543,971	17	5½	4,458,738	14	0¾	4,274,555	5	9
Land and assessed taxes	6,909,190	12	9¾	7,073,530	10	8¾	6,384,750	14	1
Post-office	1,493,490	11	9	1,277,538	11	4½	1,082,000	0	0
s. in the *L.* on pensions & salaries	61,057	2	1	62,685	5	8	60,544	6	1
d. in the *L.* on pensions & salaries	72,207	12	2¼	71,353	0	5¼	71 352	0	0
Hackney coaches	28,751	15	0	26,455	2	5½	26,084	0	0
Hawkers and Pedlars	13,231	0	4	10,325	9	5	9,950	1	0
Total permanent & annual duties	42,316,037	13	7½	38 339,152	13	2½	35,961,861	12	3
Small Branches of the Hereditary Revenue.									
Hanaper							2,000	0	0
Alienation fines	8,088	13	4	8,274	2	9	2,634	10	8
Post fines	963	7	5½	5,004	0	1½	-	-	-
Seizures	2,645	16	1	2,645	16	1	2,645	16	1
Compositions	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0
Proffers	550	3	7	550	3	7	550	3	7
Crown-lands	45,510	1	10	74,946	12	1	966	13	4
Extraordinary Resources.									
Customs	3,065,904	14	2½	2,730,792	14	6½	2,730,702	14	6
Excise	6,320,553	17	11¾	6,273,570	18	10½	6,232,543	0	0
Property tax	10,131,344	7	3¾	9,864,189	4	10	9,864,189	4	10
Arrears of income duty	23,697	16	9¾	23,072	19	0	23,072	19	0
Arrears of taxes collected under the Aid and Contribution Act	2,966	15	9½	2,888	11	2¼	2,888	11	2
Lottery, net profit, 1-3d for Ireland	797,500	0	0	774,694	11	0	774,694	11	0
Monies paid on account of the interest of loans raised for the service of Ireland	1,967,677	14	0	1,967,677	14	0	1,967,677	14	0
On account of the commissioners appointed by act 35 Geo. III. for issuing exchequer bills for Grenada	33,800	0	0	33,800	0	0	33,800	0	0
Fees of regulated exchequer offices	40,545	0	2	40,545	0	2	40,545	0	2
Interest on stock transferred by instalments for the redemption of the Land Tax	5,000	0	0	5,000	0	0	5,000	0	0
Monies paid on account of the surplus revenue of the Isle of Man	2,210	11	0	2,210	11	0	2,210	11	0
Imprest money paid by the public accountants	33,442	7	8	33,442	7	8¼	33,442	7	8
Other monies paid to the public	6,954	12	2	6,954	12	2	6,954	12	2
Total independent of loans	64,805,395	13	0¼	60,189,414	12	5½	57,688,472	1	0
Loans paid into the exchequer, including 1,500,000*l.* for the service of Ireland	15,357,211	19	3	15,257,211	19	3	15,257,211	19	3
GRAND TOTAL	80,062,607	12	3¼	75,446,626	11	6	72,946,684	0	3

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE.

		L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.
I. Interest and Charges on the permanent Debt of Great-Britain		-	-		-	-		30,478,174	8	9¾
II. The Interest on Exchequer-bills		-	-		-	-		1,574,361	18	5
III. The Civil List		-	-		958,000	0	0			
IV. Other Charges on the Consolidated Fund, viz.	Courts of Justice	-	-		57,558	17	2¼			
	Mint	-	-		11,576	2	0			
	Allow. to Roy. Fam	-	-		290,171	4	9½			
	Sals. & Allowances	-	-		74,453	7	0			
	Bounties	-	-		202,402	8	9			
								1,594,161	19	9
V. Civil Government of Scotland		-	-		-	-		85,359	3	3½
VI. Other Payments in Anticipation, Bounties for Fisheries, Manufactures, Corn, &c.		-	-		438,991	13	8½			
Pensions on the Heredit. Revenue		-	-		27,700	0	0			
Militia and Deserters Warrants, &c.		-	-		208,197	10	0¾			
								674,889	3	9
VII. Navy—Salaries to the Offices		130,000	0	0						
For Wages, Bounty, Flag-pay, Half-pay, and Pensions		2,809,712	19	0						
For Dock-yards, Building of Ships, Stores, Pilotage, &c.		6,361,755	0	8						
For Marine Service on Shore		412,100	0	0						
					9,713,547	19	8			
The Victualling Department		-	-		4,932,777	19	9			
Transport do. for Transports, Prisoners of War, Sick and Wounded Seamen, &c.		1,829,435	9	10						
Miscellaneous Services		300,000	0	0						
					2,129,435	9	10			
								16,775,761	9	3
VIII. Ordnance		-	-					4,190,748	6	6
IX. Army—Ordinary Services, viz. For Regulars. Fencib. Milit. Invalids, and Volunteer Corps		8,614,625	1	1						
Barracks		256,549	8	2						
Staff-officers & Offic. of Garrisons		144,596	6	9						
Half-pay		198,343	3	0						
Widows' Pensions		21,500	0	0						
Chelsea Hospital		550,023	7	7						
Exchequer Fees		77,468	0	10						
Pay of Public Offices		93,578	6	0						
					9,956,683	13	5			
Extraordinary Services		-	-		5,431,867	0	11			
								15,388,550	14	4
X. Loans, Remittances, and Advances to other Countries—Ireland		-	-		-	-		3,681,251	3	4
XI. Miscellaneous Services										
At Home		-	-		1,049,205	7	8⅔			
Abroad		-	-		178,177	13	0			
								1,227,383	0	8¾
								75,670,641	8	2
Deduct Loan, &c. for Ireland								3,681,251	3	4
							£.	71,989,390	4	10

An Account, ſhewing how the Monies remaining in the Receipt of the Exchequer on the 5th Day of January, 1807, together with the Monies paid into the ſame during the year ended the 5th of January, 1808, have been actually applied; ſo far as relates to Miſcellaneous Services.

SERVICES AT HOME.	£.	s.	d.
To be paid to the officers of the houſes of lords and commons, 1806-7	7,428	12	4
For defraying the charge of the ſuperintendance of aliens, 1805-6-7	7,040	0	0
For the royal military college, 1806-7	31,345	2	11
For the uſe of the officers and ſeamen who ſerved under the late vice-admiral lord viſcount Nelſon, at the battle off Cape Trafalgar, on the 21ſt October, 1805-6	12,500	0	0
For defraying the charge of the works and repairs of the roads and bridges in the Highlands of Scotland, 1806	10,250	14	0
For confining, maintaining, and employing convicts at home, 1806-7	48,166	2	6¼
For printing journals of the houſe of commons, for printing and delivering votes, and for printing reports, bills, &c. 1806	18,291	14	4
For printing 1,750 copies of the 58th volume of journals, 1806	4,000	0	0
For printing and ſtationary for the two houſes of parliament, for 1806-7	30,682	15	6
For the French clergy and laity; Touloneſe, Corſican, and Dutch emigrants; and American loyaliſts, 1806-7	133,119	2	7
Towards defraying the expence of the public office, Bow-ſtreet, 1806-7	12,701	18	5
For the royal military aſylum at Chelſea, for 1806	12,808,	16	11
For his majeſty's foreign and other ſecret ſervices, 1806-7	*Vide Services Abroad.*		
For carrying on the building of a new mint, 1806-7	58,033	2	0
Extraordinary expences of proſecutions relating to the coin of this kingdom, 1806-7	2,722	16	1
For the extra charge of meſſengers of the three ſecretaries of ſtate, 1806-7	10,500	0	0
For do. - of contingencies, - Do. 1806-7	9,000	0	0
For the miniſters of the Vaudois churches, for 1806-7	1,828	5	4
To ſheriffs, for conviction of felons and overpayments, 1806	6,700	0	0
For defraying law charges, 1806-7	13,000	0	0
Proteſtant Diſſenting miniſters in England, and for the relief of the poor French Proteſtant clergy and laity, for 1806-7	9,370	5	0
For printing, by order of the commiſſioners of public records, 1806	3,596	5	10

For

	£.	s.	d.
For printing returns relative to the expence and maintenance of the poor, 1806 - - - -	393	1	0½
For the royal college of ſurgeons, to erect a building for the reception of Dr. Hunter's collection, and a theatre for the delivery of public lectures on anatomy and ſurgery - - - - - -	4,000	0	0
For an allowance to the commiſſioners of naval inquiry, 1806 - - - - - -	294	16	8
Towards the ſupport of an inſtitution called the Veterinary College, for 1806 - - - -	1,500	0	0
For the deficiency of the grant, 1806, for the relief of the ſuffering clergy and laity of France, Touloneſe, Dutch, and Corſican emigrants, and American loyaliſts, 1807 - - - - - -	1,432	13	6
For the deficiency of the grant, anno 1806, for the Proteſtant Diſſenting miniſters in England, and for the relief of the poor French Proteſtant clergy and laity, 1807 - - - - - -	377	8	6
To defray bills of the uſher of the court of exchequer for ſtationary, &c. for 1807 - - - -	1,214	4	3
For works done at the two houſes of parliament, and at the houſe of the ſpeaker - - - -	27,900	0	0
For the deficiency of the grant of 1806, for do. 1807	11,800	0	0
For the works and repairs of the military roads in North Britain, 1807 - - - - -	4,993	5	0
For purchaſing buildings and ground in and near Palace Yard, Weſtminſter, 1807 - - - -	11,750	14	6
Ditto - - - Ditto -	29,000	0	0
For deficiency of printing, &c. for the two houſes of parliament - - - - - -	9,789	11	8¼
For printing and delivering votes of the houſe of commons, and printing bills, reports, &c. 1807 -	16,168	3	3
For deficiency of the grant for ditto, anno 1806 -	14,881	16	2
For deficiency of the grant of 1806, for printing 1,750 copies of the 58th volume of journals of the houſe of commons, 1807 - - - - -	459	2	4
For defraying the expence of printing articles of impeachment, minutes of the evidence, and copies of the trial of lord viſcount Melville, 1807 - -	2,046	6	0
For defraying the expences incurred in the department of the lord chamberlain of his majeſty's houſehold, on the trial of lord viſcount Melville, 1807 -	8,556	9	11½
For expence of making an inland navigation from the Eaſtern to the Weſtern Sea - - - -	25,000	0	0
For paying fees on paſſing public accounts, 1807 -	5,000	0	0
To ſatisfy an award made by Dr. Swabey and Maſter Griffulhe, for the loſs of the ſhip Dunkirk on the coaſt of Denmark, 1807 - - - -	11,538	14	6

For

	£.	s.	d.
For the captors of the second Swedish convoy, and for the balance due to the owners of the said ships, 1807	10,306	18	5
To the trustees of the British Museum, for the purchase of the MSS. belonging to the late marquis of Lansdowne, 1807 - - - - -	4,925	0	0
Towards the repair of Henry the Seventh's Chapel, 1807	2,000	0	0
Further reward to Dr. Jenner, for promulgating his discovery of the vaccine inoculation, 1807 -	20,000	0	0
For enabling the trustees of the British Museum to carry on the trusts reposed in them by parliament, 1807	5,556	5	0
For erecting buildings for a naval asylum, and towards the maintenance of the said institution, 1807 -	30,000	0	0
For salaries to the officers, and incidental expences of the commissioners for reducing the national debt -	2,328	18	0
To the representatives of William Young, esq. for expences attending the execution of an act for the redemption and sale of the land-tax - -	1,849	18	3
For salaries and expences of American commissioners	2,611	0	0
To the bank of England, for discount on prompt payments on loan 20,000,000*l.* - - -	251,672	4	1
To - Do. - for receiving the above loan	16,115	16	8
To - Do. - for discount on prompt payments on lotteries, 1806-7 - - -	2,571	4	8
To - Do. - for receiving contributions to lotteries - - - - -	5,000	0	0
Principal and interest of American and East Florida orders, for relief to such persons as have suffered during the late unhappy dissentions in America -	476	7	6¼
To the commissioners for preparing and drawing lotteries, 1806-7 - - - - -	15,500	0	0

To replace to his Majesty's Civil List Revenues the Sums issued thereout, pursuant to Addresses of the House of Commons; viz.

For rewards to persons employed under the commissioners for carrying into execution the measures recommended by the house of commons respecting the public records - - - -	1,085	3	0
To the clerk assistant of the house of commons, sessions 1806 - - - - -	980	2	8
To the second clerk assistant to the house of commons, in ditto - - - - -	1,085	4	0
To Edward Colman, esq. late serjeant-at-arms, attending the house of commons - - -	250	0	0
To the deputy serjeant-at-arms, to make up his allowance equal to 500*l.* for the session 1806 - -	332	3	0
To George Whittam, esq. for making an index to the votes in session 1806 - - - -	350	0	0

To

	£.	s.	d.
To H. Alexander, esq. as chairman of the committee of ways and means, session 1806 - - -	1,300	5	0

To make good to his Majesty's Civil List Revenues Monies issued thereout, for Public Services; viz.

For salaries of the additional commissioners for auditing the public accounts - - - - -	5,397	2	0
To J. Johnson, architect, for carrying on the building of the new mint - - - - -	5,000	0	0
For additional allowance to clerks in the office for auditing public accounts - - - -	4,252	1	1
To Dr. Clarke, for his trouble and attendance relative to an act for enforcing the residence of the clergy	731	11	11
To Peter lord Gwydir, deputy great chamberlain, for expences attending the trial of lord viscount Melville	1,216	17	10
To Joseph Kaye and John Winter, jun. solicitors to the managers of the impeachment against lord viscount Melville - - - - - -	7,549	0	2
To W. G. Rose, esq. and other officers of the house of commons, for their attendance on various committees in session 1806 - - - - -	233	10	0
To E. Stracey, esq. as a compensation for his services as counsel to the chairman of the committee of the house of peers, session 1806 - - -	762	10	0
For defraying the expences of a plan for the more perfect security of the shipping in the port of London	649	12	0
To H. Cowper, esq. clerk-assistant to the house of lords, for additional trouble during the trial of lord viscount Melville - - - - -	224	12	0
To W. Chinnery, esq. as a compensation to persons attending during the trial of lord viscount Melville	974	3	6
To J. Meheux, esq. assistant-secretary to the commissioners for the affairs of India, for the purchase of the lease of a house in Downing-street for an office for the said commissioners - - - -	272	5	4
For defraying the expences of a plan for the establishment of a horse-patrol for the public roads leading to the metropolis - - - - -	3,172	18	0
To W. Chinnery, esq. to pay a bill drawn by sir Eyre Coote, for bounties on fish - - - -	535	9	0
To the secretary to the commissioners of military enquiry, for expences incurred by them - -	2,637	13	6
To the secretary to the West India commissioners, for the expences of their office - - -	1,622	19	6
To sir I. Heard, for extra expences incurred at the funeral of the late lord viscount Nelson - -	71	4	0
To William Chinnery, esq. for books of science and chemical articles for the settlement of New South Wales	114	11	0

To

	£.	s.	d.
To J. Clementſon, eſq. for one year's rent of a houſe, in lieu of apartments he reſigned at the houſe of commons - - - - - -	219	14	0
To W. Chinnery eſq. to pay bills drawn by Mr. commiſſary Laidlaw, for bounties on fiſh - -	271	12	6
To T. Nettleſhip, eſq. for publiſhing the average price of brown ſugar - - - -	434	17	0
To the ſecretary to the commiſſioners of naval enquiry, for contingent expences - - -	1,060	19	0
To W. Watſon, eſq. ſerjeant-at-arms to the houſe of lords, for his ſervices during the ſeſſion 1806 -	1,623	0	0
To lord Walſingham, chairman of the committees of the houſe of lords, for his attendance in ſeſſion 1806 -	2,698	13	0

SERVICES ABROAD.

For his majeſty's foreign and other ſecret ſervices, 1806-7 - - - - -	90,338	18	0
For repairing and maintaining Britiſh forts and ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa - - -	18,000	0	0
To pay bills drawn from New South Wales, 1807 -	14,420	0	0
For the civil eſtabliſhment of Upper Canada, 1807 -	8,280	0	0
——— Nova Scotia, 1807 -	5,373	15	0
——— New Brunſwick, 1807	4,650	0	0
——— St. John's, 1807 -	3,100	0	0
——— Cape Breton, 1807 -	2,040	0	0
——— Bahamas, 1807 -	4,400	0	0
——— Bermuda, 1806-7 -	870	0	0
——— New South Wales, 1807	12,705	0	0
——— Sierra Leone, 1807 -	14,000	0	0
	£.1,227,383	0	8¾

DISPOSITION OF GRANTS.

An Account, shewing how the MONIES, *granted for the* SERVICE *of the Year* 1807, *have been disposed of; so far as relates to* IRELAND.

SERVICES.	Sums Granted.			Sums Paid.			Remains.		
FORCES.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Army, with garrisons and their incidents (1,078,362*l.* 7*s.* 5*d.* British, part of 4,051,623*l.* 0*s.* 6*d* Br.)	1,168,225	18	1						
Foreign corps (243,792*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* Br. part of 832, 540*l.* 19*s.* 9. Br.)	264,108	2	8½						
Allowance to non-commissioned officers and private men of the regulars, for small beer, and while on a march (69,428*l.* 11*s.* 11½*d.* Br. part of 467,273*l.* 3*s.* 11*d.* Br.)	75,214	6	3½						
Recruiting and contingencies (124,481*l.* 15*s.* 3*d* Br. part of 277,249*l.* 0*s.* 10*d.* Br.)	134,855	4	10½						
				1,268,528	14	10¼	373,874	17	1¼
Militia, pay, &c. (849,081*l.* 7*s.* 7*d.* Br. part of 2,493,644*l.* 7*s.* 5*d.* Br.	919,838	3	3						
Allowance to non-commissioned officers and private men for small beer, and while on a march, (57,844*l.* 11*s.* 11½*d.* Br. a further part of 467,273*l.* 3*s.* 11*d.* Br.)	62,664	19	7½						
Contingencies (22,153*l.* 17*s.* 0*d.* Br. part of 62,153*l.* 17*s.* 0*d.* Br.)	24,000	0	0						
				881,835	9	0	124,667	13	10½
Volunteer corps, (830,301*l.* 4*s.* 8*d.* Br. part of 1,490,301*l.* 4*s.* 8*d.* Br.)	899,493	0	0	268,073	12	6	631,419	7	6
General and staff officers, and officers of the hospitals, serving with the forces (57,594*l.* 14*s.* 0*d.* Br. part of 190,529*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* Br.).... ...	62,394	5	2	62,304	10	7	89	14	7
Full-pay to supernumerary officers of his majesty's forces, (1,029*l.* 19*s.* 5*d.* part of 34,418*l.* 11*s.* 0*d.* Br)	1,115	16	1	986	12	6	129	3	7
The principal officers of several public departments, their deputies, clerks, and contingent expences (8,897*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.* Br. part of 221,200*l* 18*s.* 5*d.* Br.)	9,638	15	4½	9,466	14	8¼	172	0	8¼
Half-pay to reduced officers of his majesty's land forces, (26,982*l.* 1*s.* 9*d.* Br part of 186,982*l.* 1*s.* 9*d.* Br.)	29,230	11	11	24,482	4	8	4,748	7	3
Military allowances to reduced officers of his majesty's land forces, (533*l.* 1*s.* 2*d.* Br. part of 5,533*l.* 1*s.* 2*d.* Br.)	577	9	7	318	8	10¼	259	0	8¼

In

	Sums Granted.			Sums Paid.			Remains.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
In and out penſioners of the royal hoſpital near Kilmainham, and expences of ſaid hoſpital (46,977*l.* 9*s.* 4*d.* Br. part of 406,383*l.* 7*s.* 5*d.* Br.)	50,892	5	1½	40,315	13	4¾	10,576	11	8¾
Penſions to widows of officers of the land forces, and expences attending the ſame, (6,200*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* Br. part of 43,258*l.* 7*s* 6*d.* Br.).....	6,500	0	0	4,628	15	5¼	1,871	4	6¾
General hoſpital expences of his majeſty's forces in Ireland, including medicaments, for general and regimental hoſpitals, and the charge of the royal military infirmary, Dublin, for ſick and wounded ſoldiers (18,461*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.* Br.) ..	20,000	0	0	13,062	5	8½	6,937	14	3
Retired and officiating chaplains of his majeſty's forces (3,208*l.* 15*s.* 11*d.* Br. part of 18,208*l.* 15*s.* 11*d.* Br.)	3,476	3	11	2,033	6	11¾	1,442	16	11¼
Barrack Department in Ireland (469,450*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* Br.)	508,571	10	2½	371,134	0	3	137,437	9	11½
Extraordinary ſervices of the army in Ireland (600,000*l* 0*s* 0*d.* Br.)....	650,000	0	0	463,524	5	2½	186,475	14	9½
ORDNANCE:									
Office of ordnance in Ireland, for the year 1807 (479,246*l.* 19*s.* 7*d.* Br.)	519,184	4	6½	519,184	4	6½			
PUBLIC OFFICERS for ſeveral SERVICES:									
S. Moore, eſq. acc. gen. for his extraordinary trouble and expence in preparing and ſtating the public accounts of Ireland, laid before parliament, in 1807	340	0	0	340	0	0			
J. Smart, eſq. dep. acc. gen. for his extraordinary trouble in preparing the public accounts of Ireland, for the year ending 5th Jan. 1807....	240	0	0	240	0	0			
P. Le Bas, eſq examinator of corn bounties, for his trouble in keeping the accounts of ſaid office	200	0	0	200	0	0			
R. Marſhall, eſq. inſpector gen. of imports and exports, for his expence and trouble in preparing the accounts of the imports and exports of Ireland, for parliament, for one year ending 5th Jan. 1807	250	0	0	250	0	0			
Hugh B Hautenville, eſq. firſt clerk in the office of the inſpector general of imports and exports in Ireland, for his extraordinary trouble in preparing accounts for parliament	200	0	0	200	0	0			
Geo. Hatton, eſq. examinator of exciſe, for his extraordinary trouble									

and

	Sums Granted.			Sums Paid			Remains.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
and expence in preparing accounts for parliament	200	0	0	200	0	0			
Sam. Hood, esq assistant examinator of excise, for his extraordinary trouble in preparing accounts for parliament	150	0	0	150	0	0			
Tho. Haffield, esq. clerk in the office of the auditor of the exchequer, for his extraordinary trouble in preparing accounts for parliament	200	0	0	200	0	0			
MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES from 5th Jan. 1807 to 5th Jan. 1808.									
Expence of civil buildings	25,000	0	0	25,000	0	0			
Expence of printing and binding 250 copies of the acts of the 47th of his present majesty	1,200	0	0	1,058	16	11½	141	3	0½
Expence of publishing proclamations and advertisements in the Dublin gazette, and other newspapers	10,500	0	0	10,500	0	0			
Charge of printing, stationery, and other disbursements of the chief and under secretaries offices and apartments, and other public offices, in Dublin castle, &c. and for the riding charges and other expences of the deputy pursuivants and extra messengers attending said offices	21,208	0	0	21,208	0	0			
Expence of criminal prosecutions, and other law expences of government	25,000	0	0	25,000	0	0			
Expence of apprehending public offenders in Ireland	2,500	0	0	1,925	17	5½	574	2	6½
Support of the non-conforming ministers in Ireland	9,429	18	0	9,429	18	0			
Expence of pratique, in the port of Dublin	1,047	10	2	1,047	10	2			
Expenditure at his majesty's gold mine at Croaghan, in the county of Wicklow	600	0	0	600	0	0			
Charge of the incidents of the treasury in Ireland	6,000	0	0	6,000	0	0			
Charge for clothing his majesty's heralds, pursuivants at arms, and state trumpeters, for three years, from the 17th March 1807	1,086	0	0	1,086	0	0			
Charge of clothing the battleaxe guards, for eighteen months, commencing 1st June 1807	740	0	0	740	0	0			
To enable his majesty to make some allowance to the commissioners appointed to enquire into the fees, gratuities, perquisites, and emoluments received in certain public offices in Ireland (22,500 British)	24,375	0	0	24,375	0	0			
Expence attending the several commissions for taking and receiving evidence in petitions against returns to parliament, in the year 1807	3,408	0	0	3,408	0	0			

Salaries

	Sums Granted.			Sums Paid.			Remains.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Salaries of the commiſſioners for granting lottery licences, their ſecretary and clerks, and the comptroller and inſpector of lottery offices in Ireland, for two years to 24 June 1807, and for paying the ſalaries of the commiſſioners for certifying outſtanding lottery prizes, for 22 months ending 24 June 1807	6,330	0	0	6,292	4	1	37	15	11
Erection and completion of a pier in Dundrum bay on the coaſt of the county of Down	7,771	16	0	7,771	16	0			
PUBLIC BOARDS: from 5th Jan. 1807, to 5th Jan. 1808.									
The truſtees of the linen and hempen manufactures, for one year to the 5th January 1807	21,600	0	0	21,600	0	0			
The board of firſt fruits; for building new churches, and re-building old churches, in ſuch pariſhes as no public ſervice has been performed in for 20 years paſt, and for the encouragement of building glebe houſes	5,000	0	0	5,000	0	0			
The Dublin ſociety, for promoting huſbandry and other uſeful arts in Ireland, 2000*l.* whereof to be applied in aid of the funds of the inſtitution at Cork, for the application of ſcience to the common purpoſes of life, and the remaining 10,000*l.* for completing additional buildings, ſupporting the botanic gardens, promoting huſbandry and uſeful arts, and the other objects of ſaid ſociety	12,000	0	0	12,000,	0	0			
Expence of the farming ſociety of Ireland	5,000	0	0	5,000	0	0			
Paving, cleanſing, and lighting the ſtreets of Dublin	10,000	0	0	10,000	0	0			
Commiſſioners for making wide and convenient ſtreets in Dublin.....	4,500	0	0	4,500	0	0			
PUBLIC HOSPITALS and SCHOOLS, from 5th Jan 1807, to 5th Jan. 1808.									
Charge of the incorporated ſociety in Dublin, for promoting Engliſh Proteſtant ſchools in Ireland ..	23,270	0	0	23,270	0	0			
Expence of the foundling hoſpital in Dublin	22,500	0	0	22,500	0	0			
Charge of the Hibernian marine ſociety in Dublin	1,609	0	0	1,609	0	0			
Expence of the Hibernian ſchool for ſoldiers children	11,626	0	0	11,626	0	0			
Charge of the female orphan houſe, near Dublin	1,306	0	0	1,306	0	0			
Expences incurred by the aſſociation									

	Sums Granted			Sums Paid.			Remains.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
for diſcountenancing vice, and promoting the knowledge and practice of the Chriſtian religion	1,262	0	0	1,262	0	0			
Towards ſupporting the Weſtmoreland Lock-hoſpital in Dublin	7,957	0	0	7,957	0	0			
Towards the charge of ſupporting the houſe of induſtry and penitentiary in Dublin	25,997	0	0	25,997	0	0			
Expence of maintaining 80 patients in the houſe of recovery and fever hoſpital in Cork Street Dublin....	3,092	0	0	3,092	0	0			
Charge of the lying-in hoſpital, Dublin	2,533	0	0	2,533	0	0			
Charge of the office of the commiſſioners of charitable donations and bequeſts.....	400	0	0	400	0	0			
Charge of the Roman Catholic ſeminary in Ireland	13,000	0	0	13,000	0	0			
Towards defraying the expence of Dr. Stevens's hoſpital	503	0	0	503	0	0			
Expence of building the intended hall for the royal college of ſurgeons in Ireland	9,517	0	0	9,517	0	0			
For finiſhing ſir Patrick Dunn's hoſpital, and defraying the expence of a temporary eſtabliſhment and maintenance of patients	6,204	0	0	6,204	0	0			
To the Commiſſioners for paving the ſtreets of Dublin	137,000	0	0	137,000	0	0			
£.	5,883,833	0	11	4,402,978	1	10	1,480,854	19	1

Public Income of IRELA

Heads of Revenue.	Gross Receipt within the Year.			Total Receipt to be accounted for.			Re-payments, Drawbacks. Discounts, &c.			Charges of nagemen	
Ordinary Revenues:	*L.*	*s.*	*d.*	*L.*	*s.*	*d.*	*L.*	*s.*	*d.*	*L.*	*s*
Customs	2,452,765	17	1½	5,772,065	19	8⅛	181,778	4	8	239,121	5
Excise	2,306,455	4	11⅜				67,980	15	2	185,539	5
Stamps	594,754	10	0¼	720,076	0	11	16,226	14	11¾	30,279	3
Post-office	158,749	6	3	177,257	18	2½	17,477	9	1	73,723	15
Poundage fees	26,934	14	4¼	26,934	14	4¼	.....			.....	
Pells fees	5,386	19	1¾	5,386	19	1¾	.....			.....	
Duty on wrought plate	2,8[illegible]8	12	4½	2,8[illegible]8	12	4½	.....			.....	
Casualties	4,324	11	0	4,324	11	0	.....			.....	
Total Ordinary Revenues	5,551,669	15	11⅝	6,708,944	15	8⅛	283,463	3	10¾	528,663	10
Extraordinary Resources.											
Gain by exchange on sums received from Great Britain	15,973	10	4½	15,973	10	4½	.....			.....	
Commissioners of the navy on account of advances by collectors in Ireland, for seamen's wages, &c.	39,459	2	8¼	39,459	2	8¼	.....			.....	
From Great Britain, on account of the profit of lotteries	224,904	10	3¼	224,904	10	3¼	.....			.....	
From several county treasurers, paid to several revenue collectors, on account of advances made by the treasury for enrolling the militia	2,925	6	9	18,405	17	6	.....			.....	
From several county treasurers, paid to several revenue collectors, on account of deficiences in the army of reserve	140	0	0	9,115	8	5	.....			.....	
Other monies paid to the public	49,120	3	3¾	49,120	3	3¾	.....			.....	
Appropriate Duties for Local Objects.											
Linen manufacture	1,600	0	8	3,529	15	10½	774	9	6	.....	
Improvement of Dublin	9,518	18	0	10,476	11	1	12	2	0	.....	
Repairs of the Royal Exchange and Commercial Buildings	1,652	5	0	2,071	19	2	.....			.....	
Lagan navigation	3,476	2	10	3,614	11	0¾	1,321	18	4	107	14
Inns of court	1,111	10	0	1,111	10	0	.....			.....	
Total, independent of the loans	5,901,551	5	10⅜	7,086,727	15	5⅛	285,571	13	8¾	528,771	4
Loans paid into the exchequer, in the year ended the 5th of January 1808	2,977,747	4	9	2,977,747	4	9	.....			.....	
Grand Total	8,879,298	10	7⅜	10,064,475	0	2⅛	285,571	13	8¾	528,771	4

be Year ended the 5th of January 1808.

l Payments it of the 's Revenue.			Net produce, applicable to National Objects, and to Payments into the Exchequer.			Payments on account of Militia, Deserters, straggling Seamen, Army of Reserve, and Fortification Compensation.			Bounties for promoting the Fisheries, Linen Manufacture, &c.			Total Payments out of the Net Produce.			Payments into the Exchequer.		
£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
399	9	10½	5,097,646	9	4⅝	.....			25,940	0	9	25,940	0	9	1,976,961	6	1¾
520	0	5				76,886	2	2	101,345	5	6¾	178,231	5	4¾	1,765,466	4	2½
505	18	9¼	673,570	2	1¾	.....			.....			.....			564 624	15	10
201	4	10½	86,056	13	4	.....			.....			.....			71, 92	17	2
.....			26,934	14	4¼	.....			.....			.....			26,934	14	4¼
.....			5,386	19	1¾	.....			.....			.....			5,386	19	1¾
.....			2,898	12	4½	.....			.....			.....			2,898	12	4½
.....			4,324	11	0	.....			.....			.....			4,324	11	0
126	13	11¼	5,896,818	1	8⅞	76,886	2	2	127,285	4	1¾	204,171	6	3¾	4,417,950	0	2¾
.....			15,973	10	4½	.....			.....			.....			15,973	10	4½
.....			39,459	2	8¼	.....			.....			.....			39,459	2	8¼
.....			224,904	10	3¼	.....			.....			.....			224,904	10	3¼
.....			18,405	17	6	.....			.....			.....			1,007	13	0
.....			9,115	8	5	.....			.....			.....			4,700	1	4½
.....			49,120	3	3¾	.....			.....			.....			49,120	3	3¾
774	9	6	2,755	6	4½	.....			.....			.....			1,745	15	4½
12	2	0	10,464	9	1	.....			.....			.....			10,226	2	2
.....			2,071	19	2	.....			.....			.....			1,535	17	0
429	12	6½	2,184	18	6¼	.....			.....			.....			1,413	8	1
.....			1,111	10	0	.....			.....			.....			1,111	10	0
342	17	11¾	6,272,384	17	5⅔	76,886	2	2	127,285	4	1¾	204,171	6	3¾	4,769,187	13	10⅔
.....			2,977,747	4	9	.....			.....			.....			2,977,747	4	9
342	17	11¾	9,250 132	2	2⅜	76,886	2	2	127,285	4	1¾	204,171	6	3¾	7,746,934	18	7½

STATE PAPERS.

The King's moſt gracious Speech to Parliament on the opening of the Seſſion, January 21ſt.

THIS day parliament aſſembled purſuant to his Majeſty's proclamation, when the Commiſſioners, appointed to open the ſeſſion, read the following ſpeech:

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"We have received his Majeſty's commands to aſſure you, that in calling you together at this important conjuncture of affairs, he entertains the moſt perfect conviction that he ſhall find in you the ſame determination with which his Majeſty himſelf is animated, to uphold the honour of his crown, and the juſt rights and intereſts of his people. We are commanded by his Majeſty to inform you, that no ſooner had the reſult of the negociations at Tilſit confirmed the influence and controul of France over the powers of the continent, than his Majeſty was appriſed of the intention of the enemy to combine thoſe powers in one general confederacy, to be directed either to the entire ſubjugation of this kingdom, or to the impoſing upon his Majeſty an inſecure and ignominious peace. That for this purpoſe, it was determined to force into hoſtility againſt his Majeſty, ſtates which had hitherto been allowed by France to maintain or to purchaſe their neutrality; and to bring to bear againſt different points of his Majeſty's dominions the whole of the naval force of Europe, and ſpecifically the fleets of Portugal and Denmark. To place theſe fleets out of the power of ſuch a confederacy became therefore the indiſpenſable duty of his Majeſty. In the execution of this duty, ſo far as related to the Daniſh fleet, his Majeſty has commanded us to aſſure you that it was with the deepeſt reluctance that his Majeſty found himſelf compelled, after his earneſt endeavours to open a negociation with the Daniſh Government had failed, to authoriſe his commanders to reſort to the extremity of force, but that he has the greateſt ſatisfaction in congratulating you upon the ſucceſsful execution of this painful, but neceſſary, ſervice.—We are further commanded to acquaint you, that the courſe which his Majeſty had to purſue with reſpect to Portugal was, happily, of a nature more congenial to his

his Majeſty's feelings. The timely and unreſerved communication by the Court of Liſbon, of the demands and deſigns of France, while it confirmed to his Majeſty the authenticity of the advices which he had received from other quarters, entitled that Court to his Majeſty's confidence, in the ſincerity of the aſſurances by which that communication was accompanied. The fleet of Portugal was deſtined by France to be employed as an inſtrument of vengeance againſt Great Britain. That fleet has been ſecured from the graſp of France, and is now employed in conveying to its American dominions the hopes and fortunes of the Portugueſe monarchy. His Majeſty implores the protection of Divine Providence upon that enterpriſe, rejoicing in the preſervation of a power ſo long the friend and ally of Great Britain, and in the proſpect of its eſtabliſhment in the new world with augmented ſtrength and ſplendour.—We have it in command from his Majeſty to inform you, that the determination of the enemy to excite hoſtilities between his Majeſty and his late allies, the Emperors of Ruſſia and Auſtria, and the King of Pruſſia, has been but too ſucceſsful; and that the Miniſters from thoſe powers have demanded and received their paſſports. This meaſure, on the part of Ruſſia, has been attempted to be juſtified by a ſtatement of wrongs and grievances which have no real foundation. The Emperor of Ruſſia has indeed proffered his mediation between his Majeſty and France. His Majeſty did not refuſe that mediation; but he is confident you will feel the propriety of its not having been accepted until his Majeſty ſhould have been enabled to aſcertain that Ruſſia was in a condition to mediate impartially, and until the principles of the baſis on which France was ready to negociate, were made known to his Majeſty. No pretence of juſtification can be alleged for the hoſtile conduct of the Emperor of Auſtria, or for that of his Pruſſian Majeſty. His Majeſty has not given the ſlighteſt ground of complaint to either of thoſe ſovereigns; nor even at the moment when they have reſpectively withdrawn their Miniſters, have they aſſigned to his majeſty any diſtinct cauſe for that proceeding.—His Majeſty has directed the copies of the correſpondence between his Majeſty's ambaſſadors and the Miniſter for foreign affairs of his Imperial Majeſty the Emperor of Ruſſia, during the negociations at Tilſit, and the official note of the Ruſſian Miniſter at this Court, containing the offer of his Imperial Majeſty's mediation between his Majeſty and France, together with the anſwer returned to that note by his Majeſty's command; and alſo copies of the official notes preſented by the Auſtrian Miniſter at this Court, and of the anſwers which his Majeſty commanded to be returned to them, ſhould be laid before you. It is with concern that his Majeſty commands us to inform you, that notwithſtanding his earneſt wiſhes to terminate the war in which he is engaged with the Ottoman Porte, his Majeſty's endeavours, unhappily for the Turkiſh empire, have been defeated by the machinations of France, not leſs the enemy of the Porte than of Great Britain. But while the influence of France has been

thus unfortunately ſucceſsful in preventing the termination of exiſting hoſtilities, and in exciting new wars againſt this country; his Majeſty commands us to inform you, that the king of Sweden has reſiſted every attempt to induce him to abandon his alliance with Great Britain; and that his Majeſty entertains no doubt that you will feel with him the ſacredneſs of the duty which the firmneſs and fidelity of the king of Sweden impoſe upon his Majeſty; and that you will concur in enabling his Majeſty to diſcharge it in a manner worthy of this country.—It remains for us, according to his Majeſty's command, to ſtate to you that the treaty of commerce and amity between his Majeſty and the United States of America, which was concluded and ſigned by commiſſioners duly authoriſed for that purpoſe, on the 31ſt of December, 1806, has not taken effect, in conſequence of the refuſal of the preſident of the United States to ratify that inſtrument. For an unauthoriſed act of force committed againſt an American ſhip of war, his Majeſty did not heſitate to offer immediate and ſpontaneous reparation. But an attempt has been made by the American Government to connect with the queſtion which has ariſen out of this act, pretenſions inconſiſtent with the maritime rights of Great Britain; ſuch pretenſions his Majeſty is determined never to admit.—His Majeſty, nevertheleſs, hopes that the American Government will be actuated by the ſame deſire to preſerve the relations of peace and friendſhip between the two countries which has ever influenced his Majeſty's conduct, and that any difficulties in the diſcuſſion now pending may be effectually removed.—His Majeſty has commanded us to ſtate to you, that, in conſequence of the decree by which France declared the whole of his Majeſty's dominions to be in a ſtate of blockade, and ſubjected to ſeizure and confiſcation the produce and manufactures of his kingdom, his Majeſty reſorted, in the firſt inſtance, to a meaſure of mitigated retaliation; and that this meaſure having proved ineffectual for its object, his majeſty has ſince found it neceſſary to adopt others of greater rigour, which, he commands us to ſtate to you, will require the aid of Parliament to give them complete and effectual operation. His Majeſty has directed copies of the orders which he has iſſued with the advice of his privy council upon this ſubject to be laid before you; and he commands us to recommend them to your early attention.

"Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons.

"His Majeſty has directed the eſtimates for the enſuing year to be laid before you, in the fulleſt confidence that your loyalty and public ſpirit will induce you to make ſuch proviſion for the public ſervice as the urgency of affairs may require. His Majeſty has great ſatisfaction in informing you, that, notwithſtanding the difficulties which the enemy has endeavoured to impoſe upon the commerce of his ſubjects, and upon their intercourſe with other nations, the reſources of the country have continued in the laſt year to be ſo abundant, as to have produced, both from the permanent and

nd temporary revenue, a receipt onſiderably larger than that of the preceding year. The ſatisfaction which his Majeſty feels aſſured you will derive, in common with his Majeſty, from this proof of the ſolidity of theſe reſources, cannot but be greatly increaſed, if, as his Majeſty confidently hopes, it ſhall be found poſſible to raiſe the neceſſary ſupplies for the preſent year without any material addition to the public burthens.

" My Lords and Gentlemen,

" We are eſpecially commanded to ſay to you, in the name of his Majeſty, that, if ever there was a juſt and national war, it is that which his Majeſty is now compelled to proſecute. This war is in its principle purely defenſive. His Majeſty looks but to the attainment of a ſecure and honourable peace: but ſuch a peace can only be negotiated upon a footing of perfect equality. The eyes of Europe and of the world are fixed upon the Britiſh parliament. If, as his Majeſty confidently truſts, you diſplay in this criſis of the fate of the country the characteriſtic ſpirit of the Britiſh nation, and face unappalled the unnatural combination which is gathered around us, his Majeſty bids us to aſſure you of his firm perſuaſion, that, under the bleſſing of Divine Providence, the ſtruggle will prove ſucceſsful and glorious to Great Britain.—We are laſtly commanded to aſſure you, that in this awful and momentous conteſt, you may rely on the firmneſs of his Majeſty, who has no cauſe but that of his people; and that his Majeſty reciprocally relies on the wiſdom, the conſtancy, and the affectionate ſupport of his Parliament."

Proteſt, reſpecting the ſeizure of the Daniſh fleet.

Die Jovis, 21° Januarii, 1808.

A motion was made to omit the fourth paragraph in the motion for an addreſs to the throne (viz. the paragraph reſpecting the ſeizure of the Daniſh fleet;) and the queſtion being put, " that the ſaid paragraph do ſtand part of the motion," the ſame was carried in the affirmative.

Diſſentient,

Becauſe no proof of hoſtile intention on the part of Denmark has been adduced, nor any caſe of neceſſity made out, to juſtify the attack upon Copenhagen, without which the meaſure is, in our conception, diſcreditable to the character and injurious to the intereſts of this country.

W. Frederick. Vaſſall Holland.
Rawdon. Norfolk.
Lauderdale. Sidmouth.
Grey.

Diſſentient, for the above reaſons, and for thoſe that follow:

Becauſe it has only been through the ſlow and painful progreſſion of many ages, that civilized nations have emerged from a ſtate of continual inſecurity and violence by the eſtabliſhment of an univerſal public law, whoſe maxims and precedents have been long acknowledged to be of the ſame force and obligation as the municipal conſtitutions of particular ſtates; a ſyſtem which has gradually ripened with the advancement of learning and the extenſion of commerce, and which ought to be held ſacred and inviolate by all

governments, as binding the whole civilized world under one politic and moral dominion.

Becauſe alleged departures from the principles and authority of this public law in the earlieſt ſtages of the French revolution were held out by the parliament of Great Britain as the origin and juſtification of the firſt war with revolutionary France; and becauſe in all its ſubſequent ſtages, the continuance of hoſtilities was uniformly vindicated in various acts of ſtate, as being neceſſary for the ſupport of the moral and political order of the world, againſt the avowed diſregard and ſubverſion of it by the different governments of France, by their groundleſs and unprovoked attacks upon the independence of unoffending nations.

Becauſe the people of Great Britain, on being repeatedly called upon by the king and parliament to ſupport the public law, thus alleged to have been violated, and to exhibit an example to the moſt diſtant ages of inflexible national virtue, ſubmitted to the heavieſt burthens, and ſacrificed the moſt eſſential advantages, rather than conſent to any peace, which was conſidered by their Government as an abandonment of their allies, or as an inadequate ſecurity for the rights and privileges of other nations: and becauſe it appears in many ſtate papers during the progreſs of the wars with the different governments of France, that it was the duty and the intereſt of Great Britain, and her pledge to the world, to maintain inviolate the acknowledged principles of public law, as the only foundation upon which the relations of peace and amity between nations could be ſupported.

Becauſe it is the firſt and moſt indiſpenſable maxim of public law, founded indeed upon the immutable principles of juſtice, that no violence ſhould be offered by one ſtate to another, nor any intruſion made upon the rights, property, independence, or ſecurity of its inhabitants, except upon an aggreſſion by ſuch ſtate, and the refuſal of adequate ſatisfaction; or in the rare inſtance of indiſpenſable neceſſity, involving national deſtruction, ſuch as in the caſe of an individual would juſtify homicide, or deſtruction of property, for ſelf-preſervation; and becauſe the obſervance of this rule ſhould, if poſſible, be held more ſacred by great and powerful nations, it being the very end and object of univerſal law to give perfect ſecurity to the weakeſt communities under the ſhadow of an impartial juſtice.

Becauſe the late attack upon Copenhagen, in a ſeaſon of profound peace with the crown and people of Denmark, and immediately following the ſolemn declaration of the Crown Prince, of his reſolution to maintain his neutrality, and to conſider any nation as an enemy which ſhould ſeek to diſturb it, would, without ſome juſt cauſe, which in this caſe is wholly unſupported by proof, be a moſt manifeſt and unprincipled departure from the whole ſyſtem of moral policy and juſtice, which the Britiſh Government had, as above, profeſſed to act upon; inaſmuch as any contempt or violation of public law by the Government of France, though it might releaſe Great Britain from all obſervance

ſervance of it, as far as regarded ſuch offending belligerent, could not poſſibly deſtroy or affect its protective ſanctions in her intercourſe with friendly and peaceable ſtates. On the contrary, it ought to have inveſted the law of nations with a more binding and ſacred obligation, ſince the profeſſed object and juſtification of our war with France at that very moment was to reſtore to a ſuffering world, the good faith and ſecurity which had been loſt by a contempt of its dominion.

Becauſe information of a projected confederacy between France and Denmark, aſſumed without evidence, to have been communicated to miniſters through channels which called, on their parts, for inviolable ſecrecy, might be a foundation for acquitting them from blame, if the queſtion before the houſe had been the propriety of their acquittal or condemnation; yet it cannot poſſibly juſtify, in the abſence of all proof, an addreſs to his Majeſty, pronouncing their attack upon Copenhagen to be an act of indiſpenſable duty; becauſe, giving credit to the declarations of miniſters, that they had information of ſuch projected confederacy, it is impoſſible for this houſe to know whether they ought to have been acted upon to ſo dreadful an extent, without having before it, moſt preciſely and diſtinctly, the ſpecific nature of ſuch communications, ſo as to be able to eſtimate the credit due to them, not only from the facts themſelves, but from the ſituations and characters of the perſons by whom they were made.

The conduct, beſides, of miniſters, in the whole tranſaction, is in manifeſt oppoſition to this principle of the attack. They made no ſuch charge upon Denmark when before Copenhagen, nor even pretended to have invaded her with a cauſe of war. Their language upon the ſpot, and even in the addreſs propoſed to his Majeſty, is the language of regret; a language utterly inconſiſtent with the vindication of a proceeding which would have been as mild and forbearing againſt an enemy, as it was barbarous and treacherous againſt a friend. The poſition alſo of Denmark, when the aſſault was made upon her, is the ſtrongeſt evidence to reſiſt the preſumption of an underſtanding with France. Her army was in Holſtein, which France was menacing, whilſt Zealand was left defenceleſs, and the ſhips diſmantled, at a moment when the conſciouſneſs of a treaty or confederacy muſt have ſuggeſted to all the contracting or confederating parties, the neceſſity of concentrating the whole force of Denmark to defend her capital, and to ſecure her fleet.

Becauſe no evidence whatever has been laid before the houſe to eſtabliſh any hoſtile confederacy between Denmark and France, nor any deſign on the part of the former to depart from the ſtricteſt neutrality; on the contrary, the above-mentioned ſolemn declaration of the Crown Prince to the Britiſh Miniſter ought to have been received by his Majeſty's ſervants as the pledge of a firm reſolution to maintain neutrality; and becauſe nothing ſhort of a hoſtile deſign in the Government of Denmark could juſtify the demand of her fleet, or the bombardment of

Copen-

Copenhagen to enforce the ſurrender of it.

Becauſe it was completely in the power of Great Britain to have protected the Daniſh fleet from any hoſtile attack of France, which deſtroys the pretence of ſuch an indiſpenſable neceſſity as could alone juſtify even the ſlighteſt treſpaſs upon a peaceable and unoffending ſtate.

Becauſe, ſtill aſſuming in the abſence of all evidence to the contrary, that the Government of Denmark was faithful to her neutrality, no ſpeculation of the probable fall of her fleet into the poſſeſſion or power of France could poſſibly juſtify its hoſtile ſeizure by Great Britain. Such a principle would be utterly ſubverſive of the firſt elements of public law, as being deſtructive of the independence of weaker ſtates, inaſmuch as it would create a juriſdiction in the ſtronger nations to ſubſtitute their own ſecurity and convenience for the general rule, and inveſt them alſo with the ſole privilege of determining the occaſions upon which they might conſider them to be endangered; and becauſe to juſtify the attack and plunder of a weak unoffending power, upon the aſſumption that a ſtronger belligerent might otherwiſe attack and plunder her, would be to erect a new public law upon the foundation of diſhonour and violence, making the tyranny of one nation a warrant for ſubſtituting the dominion of oppreſſion for the ſacred obligations of morality, humanity, and juſtice.

Becauſe, ſuppoſing it to have been not only probable, but even certain, that France could have ſucceeded in carrying away in the winter the ſhips and ſtores from Copenhagen, but without the conſent of Denmark, faithful to her neutrality, the iniquity of that act, in ſound policy, independently of all conſiderations of juſtice, ought to have been left to the French Government to perpetrate; becauſe the carcaſes of the ſhips would have been the only fruit of an act of the deepeſt atrocity, whilſt the indignation of a brave and generous people, now too juſtly directed againſt Great Britain, would then have been pointed againſt France; and Denmark, with the protection of our fleets, might have kept open the Baltic to our commerce, and extended our maritime means of reſtoring the tranquillity of the world.

Becauſe, until this attack upon Copenhagen ſhall receive vindication by proof of its juſtice, or condemnation, in the abſence of it, from the parliament of Great Britain, ſhe has loſt her moral ſtation in the world; ſince the very ſyſtem of wrong and violence, which ſhe has ſo long confederated Europe to deſtroy, at the expence of her blood and reſources, will have been eſtabliſhed and confirmed by her own example.

Becauſe a whole nation ought not in the mean time to be diſhonoured, nor its immemorial characteriſtic brought into queſtion, for the acts of Miniſters; and becauſe it is the duty of thoſe ſubjects, who, by the conſtitution of the Government, have the high privilege of perpetuating their ſentiments upon the public records of their country, to vindicate themſelves from the imputation of having acquieſced

quieſced in acts of the greateſt injuſtice.

ERSKINE.

Proteſt againſt the Bill prohibiting the Exportation of Cotton Wool.

Diſſentient,

1ſt, Becauſe, as this bill prohibits the exportation of all cotton wool, and the orders of council of the 11th and 25th of November, 1807, force into Britiſh ports the whole of that commodity ſent by America for the ſupply of foreign ſtates, the quantity brought by theſe and other means into the Britiſh market muſt be ſo great, in proportion to the demand, as to reduce the value of that commodity to a trifle.

When we conſider, therefore, that the uſual exportation of cotton wool from America is two hundred and fifty thouſand bags, amounting, at twelve pounds per bag to the value of three millions ſterling, we conceive that this is not only a groſs violation of the law of nations, but the moſt ſubſtantial injury ever inflicted on a friendly and independent ſtate.

2dly, Becauſe this reduction of the value of cotton wool will diſcourage the growth of it to a degree that, on the return of peace, when the demand for our cotton goods revives, muſt deeply injure this extenſive branch of our manufactures, by producing a deficiency in the ſupply, and conſequent dearneſs of the raw material.

3dly, Becauſe much as we regret the unwarrantable provocation given to the United States of America, and the injury thus inflicted on our manufactures, we feel with ſtill deeper affliction the evil with which this bill threatens the conſtitution of our country.

Whilſt it prohibits the exportation of cotton wool, it permits his majeſty, by licence under his ſign manual, to authoriſe any perſon to export from Great Britain any quantity of cotton wool, under ſuch regulations, reſtrictions, and ſecurities, as may be ſpecified in the licence; and thus confers on the crown a legal right to arrange and ſhare out the trade in a moſt valuable commodity; a principle which if extended to other articles, muſt create a new and alarming ſource of influence, almoſt boundleſs in the extent to which it may be carried.

Even when confined to the preſent inſtance of cotton wool, it appears to us a moſt dangerous extenſion of the patronage of the crown. We believe there is no intelligent merchant who muſt not think, that by the prohibition to export cotton wool the value of that article will ſuffer a diminution to the amount at leaſt of one million ſterling. It is plain, therefore, that if his majeſty can, by granting licences, ſupply the markets to which cotton wool went before this unwarrantable interruption of the trade—as the commodity, with the reſtoration of demand, muſt reſume its value—this immenſe ſum may be corruptly diſtributed by the executive government, by giving licences to perſons whoſe political conduct it may wiſh to influence.

4thly, Becauſe we think there is juſt reaſon to believe, that this meaſure is adopted with a view to create the undue influence with which

which it arms the executive government; for the following clauſe, which tends to do away the influence the bill confers, without deranging the ſyſtem it means to eſtabliſh, was rejected by the houſe.

"Provided always, that when his majeſty ſhall determine, by licence to authoriſe the exportation of any given quantity of cotton wool, the board of trade ſhall announce ſuch determination in the gazette, together with the regulations, reſtrictions, and ſecurities, intended to be ſpecified in the licence; and the name of every perſon who, within a week, ſhall ſtate in writing to the ſecretary of the ſaid board, his deſire to export the quantity of cotton meant to be exported under the conditions ſtipulated, ſhall be put into a glaſs jar; and at 12 o' clock in the ninth day after the advertiſement ſhall have been inſerted in the Gazette, the ſecretary of the board of trade ſhall, in the preſence of ſuch of the perſons deſirous of exporting cotton wool as may chooſe to attend, after mixing the names in a manner to preclude all ſuſpicion of preference, draw out of the ſaid jar one of the names therein contained, and his majeſty's licence ſhall forthwith be granted to the perſon whoſe name is ſo drawn."

5thly, Becauſe, recollecting that within theſe few days the two houſes of parliament have received an unanimous petition of the common council of the city of London, declaring "that the burdens borne by the people of this country have been conſiderably augmented by groſs abuſes in the management and expenditure of the public money, and by a profuſion of ſinecure places and penſions, which have not only greatly added to their ſufferings, but created a pernicious and dangerous influence, corrupting and undermining the pure and free principles of the Britiſh conſtitution," we dread that the paſſing of this bill muſt give riſe to ſerious and alarming diſcontent, when it is known that it may eventually arm the crown with the power of diſtributing a ſum equal in amount to the ſum allowed for defraying the expenditure of his majeſty's civil liſt, unaccompanied by any check to prevent its being uſed for the purpoſes of augmenting to an unparalleled degree that "pernicious and dangerous influence" which has ſo ſolemnly been ſtated to parliament by his majeſty's faithful and loyal ſubjects, the corporation of London, as "corrupting and undermining the pure and free principles of the Britiſh conſtitution."

Lauderdale, Albemarle.
King,

Proteſt againſt the Bill prohibiting the Exportation of Bark to France.

Diſſentient,

1ſt, Becauſe the jeſuits' bark, the exportation of which is prohibited by this bill, has been found by long experience to be a ſpecific for many dangerous diſeaſes which war has a tendency to ſpread and to exaſperate; and becauſe to employ as an engine of war the privation of the only remedy for ſome of the greateſt ſufferings which war is capable of inflicting, is manifeſtly repugnant to the principles of the chriſtian religion, contrary

contrary to humanity, and not juſtified by any practice of civilized nations.

2dly, Becauſe the means to which recourſe has been hitherto had in war have no analogy to the barbarous enactment of this bill; inaſmuch as it is not even contended that the privation to be created by it has any tendency whatever to ſelf-defence, or to compel the enemy to the reſtoration of peace; the only legitimate object by which the infliction of the calamities of war can in any caſe be juſtified.

3dly, Becauſe the only poſſible anſwer to theſe objections is, that the bill will not produce the privation which is held forth as its oſtenſible object, inaſmuch as the jeſuits' bark may be exported under licences from the crown; but ſuch an anſwer would only prove the bill to be wholly uſeleſs to its purpoſes, whilſt it would ſtill leave in its full operation the odious precedent of having reſorted, in cold blood, for the mere ſpeculative ſale of our manufactures, even to the poſſible infliction of miſeries not to be vindicated but by the view of ſelf-preſervation, or, in the extremities of war, directed to that juſtifiable object.

4thly, Becauſe, as no ſcarcity of the jeſuits' bark appears to exiſt in France, and as, in the contrary caſe, no poſſible exertion on the part of this country could effectually prevent its importation into the numerous ports under the dominion or controul of the French government, the bill appears to us to be groſsly vicious in principle, whilſt it is abſolutely nugatory in practice, and therefore, in every point of view, diſgraceful and abſurd.

5thly, Becauſe if it were even juſt, expedient, or practicable, to force the importation of our manufactures upon our enemies, by withholding the jeſuits' bark but upon condition of their permitting ſuch importation, that principle ſhould have been diſtinctly expreſſed in the bill, and the conditions ſpecifically declared in it, inſtead of veſting in the crown an arbitrary diſcretion to diſpenſe with the prohibition by licences; a power deſtructive of the equality of Britiſh commerce, and dangerous to the freedom of the Britiſh conſtitution.

Erſkine,
Cholmondely,
Upper Oſſory,
Bedford,
Ponſonby (earl of Beſborough),
Albemarle,
Ponſonby (of Imokilly),
Eſſex,
Carrington,
Grenville,
Roſslyn,
Lauderdale,
Clifton (earl Darnley).

Speech delivered in his Majeſty's Name on the Prorogation of Parliament. July 4.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

We have it in command from his Majeſty to expreſs to you the great ſatisfaction which he derives from being enabled, by putting an end to the preſent ſeſſions of parliament, to terminate the laborious attendance which the public buſineſs has required of you.

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The meaſures which you have adopted for the improvement of the military force of the country, promiſe to lay the foundation of a ſyſtem of internal defence, eminently uſeful, and peculiarly adapted to the exigence of theſe times. The ſanction which you have given to thoſe meaſures of defenſive retaliation, to which the violent attacks of the enemy upon the commerce and reſources of this kingdom compelled his Majeſty to reſort, has been highly ſatisfactory to his Majeſty. His Majeſty doubts not that in the reſult the enemy will be convinced of the impolicy of perſevering in a ſyſtem which retorts upon himſelf in ſo much greater proportion thoſe evils which he endeavours to inflict upon this country.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons, We are commanded by his Majeſty to return his moſt hearty acknowledgments for the cheerfulneſs and liberality with which the neceſſary ſupplies for the current year have been provided. His Majeſty directs us to aſſure you, that he participates in the ſatisfaction with which you muſt have contemplated the flouriſhing ſituation of the revenue and credit of the country, notwithſtanding the continued preſſure of the war: and he congratulates you upon having been enabled to provide for the exigencies of the public ſervice, with ſo ſmall an addition to the public burthens. His Majeſty commands us to thank you for having enabled him to make good his engagement with his allies; and to expreſs to you the particular gratification which he has derived from the manner in which you have provided for the eſtabliſhment of his ſiſter, her royal highneſs the ducheſs of Brunſwick.

My Lords and Gentlemen,—His Majeſty has great ſatisfaction in informing you, that, notwithſtanding the formidable confederacy united againſt his ally the King of Sweden, that ſovereign perſeveres, with unabated vigour and conſtancy, to maintain the honour and independence of his crown; and that no effort has been wanting on the part of his Majeſty, to ſupport him in the arduous conteſt in which he is engaged. The recent tranſactions in Spain and Italy have exhibited new and ſtriking proofs of the unbounded and unprincipled ambition which actuates the common enemy of every eſtabliſhed government and independent nation in the world. His Majeſty views with the livelieſt intereſt the loyal and determined ſpirit manifeſted by the Spaniſh nation in reſiſting the violence and perfidy with which their deareſt rights have been aſſailed. The Spaniſh nation thus nobly ſtruggling againſt the tyranny and uſurpation of France, can no longer be conſidered as the enemy of Great Britain; but is recognized by his Majeſty as a natural friend and ally. We are commanded to inform you that communications have been made to his Majeſty from ſeveral of the provinces of Spain, ſoliciting the aid of his Majeſty. The anſwer of his Majeſty to theſe communications has been received in Spain with every demonſtration of thoſe ſentiments of confidence and affection which are congenial to the feelings and true intereſts of both nations; and his Majeſty commands us to aſſure you, that he will

will continue to make every exertion in his power for the ſupport of the Spaniſh cauſe; guided in the choice and in the direction of his exertions by the wiſhes of thoſe in whoſe behalf they are employed. In contributing to the ſucceſs of this juſt and glorious cauſe, his Majeſty has no other object than that of preſerving unimpaired the integrity and independence of the Spaniſh monarchy. But he truſts that the ſame efforts which are directed to that great object may, under the bleſſing of Divine Providence, lead in their effects, and by their example, to the reſtoration of the liberties and the peace of Europe.

Convention between his Majeſty the King of England, &c. and the King of Sweden.

The conſequences of the treaty of Tilſit, between Ruſſia and France, unfolding themſelves more and more in ſuch a manner as to threaten Sweden with a ſpeedy invaſion, for the purpoſe of forcing her to accede to the French ſyſtem; and his Swediſh Majeſty finding himſelf therefore under the neceſſity of bringing forward, to reſiſt its effects, a greater force than he has at his ordinary diſpoſal;—his Britannic Majeſty, animated with the conſtant deſire of contributing to the defence and ſecurity of his ally, and of ſupporting him by every means in a war undertaken for the mutual intereſts of both ſtates, has determined to give to his Swediſh Majeſty an immediate aid in money, as being the moſt prompt and efficacious, to be paid from time to time at fixed periods: and their majeſties having judged it expedient that a formal convention, with regard to their reciprocal intentions in this reſpect, ſhould be concluded, they have for this purpoſe named and authoriſed their reſpective plenipotentiaries, who have agreed upon the following articles:

I. His Majeſty the king of the united kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland, engages that there ſhall be paid to his Majeſty the king of Sweden the ſum of 1,200,000*l.* ſterling, in equal inſtalments of 100,000*l.* ſterling each per month, beginning with the month of January of the preſent year incluſively, and to continue ſucceſſively in the courſe of each month, the firſt of which inſtalments ſhall be paid on the ratification of the preſent convention by his Swediſh Majeſty.

2. His Majeſty the king of Sweden engages, on his part, to employ the ſaid ſum in putting into motion and keeping on a reſpectable eſtabliſhment, all his land forces, and ſuch part as ſhall be neceſſary for his fleets, and particularly his flotilla, in order to oppoſe the moſt effectual reſiſtance to the common enemies.

3. Their ſaid majeſties moreover engage to conclude no peace, no truce, or convention of neutrality with the enemy, but in concert and by mutual agreement.

4. The preſent convention ſhall be ratified by the two high contracting parties, and its ratifications ſhall be exchanged at London within the ſpace of ſix weeks, after the ſignature of the ſaid convention, or ſooner if it can be done.

Separate

Separate Article.

The two high contracting parties have agreed to concert, as ſoon as poſſible, the meaſures to be taken, and the auxiliary ſuccours to be ſtipulated for, in the caſe of a war actually taking place between Sweden and the powers her neighbours; and the ſtipulations which may then reſult ſhall be conſidered as ſeparate and additional articles to this convention, and ſhall have the ſame force as if they were word for word inſerted therein.

In faith of which, we the underſigned plenipotentiaries of their ſaid majeſties, have ſigned the preſent convention, and this ſeparate article, and have cauſed the ſeal of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Stockholm, the 8th of February, in the year of redemption 1808.

EDW. THORNTON (L. S.)
F. EHRENHEIM (L. S.)

Treaty of Alliance and Subſidy, between his Majeſty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Majeſty the King of the Two Sicilies.—Signed at Palermo, March 30, 1808.

His Majeſty the king of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Majeſty the king of the Two Sicilies, being equally animated by a ſincere deſire of ſtrengthening more and more the ties of friendſhip and good underſtanding which ſo happily ſubſiſt between them, have judged that nothing could contribute more efficaciouſly to that ſalutary end than the concluſion of a treaty of alliance and ſubſidy. For this purpoſe their ſaid majeſties have named their reſpective plenipotentiaries, viz. his Britannic Majeſty, the right hon. William Drummond, one of his Majeſty's moſt hon. privy council, and his envoy extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary at the court of his ſaid Sicilian Majeſty; and his Majeſty the king of the Two Sicilies, the right illuſtrious and right excellent Thomas de Somma, marquis of Circello, his gentleman of the chamber, field-marſhal of his armies, knight of his royal order of St. Januarius, his councellor of ſtate, ſecretary of ſtate for the department of foreign affairs, and ſuperintendant general of the ports; who, after having communicated their reſpective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:—

Art. 1. There ſhall be a continuance of the ſincere and conſtant friendſhip between his Britannic Majeſty and his majeſty the king of the Two Sicilies, their heirs and ſucceſſors, which has always ſubſiſted up to the preſent time.

2. The two high contracting parties ſhall afford to each other, during the present war with France, every ſuccour and aſſiſtance, in proportion to their reſpective forces, and ſhall prevent by common conſent every thing that can cauſe them trouble or detriment.

3. His Majeſty the king of the Two Sicilies engages to grant to the troops of his Britannic Majeſty, ſtationed in the fortreſſes of Sicily, and to all Britiſh ſhips of war, an exemption from all duties belonging

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ing to him, upon every thing of which the Britiſh ſquadrons in the Mediterranean, and the troops of that nation may ſtand in need, and which the country can furniſh, in proviſions, food, and in military and naval ſtores.

4. His Sicilian Majeſty being deſirous of giving an additional proof of the ſentiments by which he is animated, alſo engages to exempt from all duties belonging to him upon ſuch proviſions as may be requiſite for the Britiſh ſhips of war at Malta, as well as all military ſtores which are to be found in the country, on condition, however, that each veſſel or veſſels of war be furniſhed with a requiſition from the governor of the ſaid iſland, which ſhall ſpecify the articles, and the quantity required.

5. His Sicilian Majeſty further engages in virtue of the preſent treaty, never to allow the enemies of Great Britain to bring into any of his ports during the preſent war, any Britiſh ſhips taken by the enemies of Great Britain.

6. His Sicilian Majeſty alſo engages to open the ports of the Two Sicilies during the preſent war to Britiſh ſquadrons, as well as to all merchant and other ſhips belonging to Britiſh ſubjects, without any reſtriction whatever, referring to the the third article, with reſpect to exemption from duties.

7. His Britannic Majeſty engages, in return, to defend during the preſent war the fortreſſes of Meſſina and Auguſta, and to maintain there for that purpoſe, at his charge and expence, a body of troops, which in the preſent war ſhall conſiſt of ten thouſand men, and to augment their number if the caſe ſhall require it. The diſpoſition of which troops in the ſaid fortreſſes ſhall be in ſuch manner and proportion as the commanding officer (to whom every requiſite facility ſhall be given) ſhall judge expedient: and his Britannic Majeſty ſtipulates, that the ſaid general officers ſhall have the power of exerciſing martial law in the above mentioned garriſons, with reſpect to their Britiſh troops, in the ſame manner, and according to the ſame rule, as are obſerved in other Engliſh garriſons. Quarters for the ſaid troops ſhall be provided in the above-mentioned fortreſſes by his Sicilian Majeſty.

8. His Britannic Majeſty further engages to pay to his Sicilian Majeſty, during the continuance of the preſent war, an annual ſubſidy of 300,000*l.* ſterling (to commence from the 10th of September, 1805, when the Britiſh and Ruſſian troops landed in the Neapolitan territory), payable at the rate of 25,000*l.* ſterling per month; which payment ſhall always be made one month in advance, computing from the date of the ſignature of the preſent treaty. His Sicilian Majeſty purpoſing to employ the ſaid ſubſidies for the uſe of his marine, and of his land forces, ſhall regulate the diſtribution of them in ſuch proportion as theſe two ſervices may require, for the defence of his ſtates and for operations againſt the common enemy; and an account ſhall be given every three months to the Britiſh government, of the manner in which his Sicilian Majeſty ſhall have employed the ſubſidies paid to him by Great Britain.

9. The two high contracting parties deſiring to ſtrengthen more

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and more the ties which unite the two nations, and to extend their mutual relations, will employ themſelves, as ſoon as poſſible, in concluding a treaty of commerce, the articles of which ſhall be equally advantageous to the ſubjects of both ſtates.

10. His Sicilian Majeſty engages not to conclude with France a peace ſeparate from England: and his Britannic Majeſty on his part alſo engages not to make a peace with France without comprehending and ſaving in it the intereſts of his Sicilian Majeſty.

11. The preſent treaty of alliance and ſubſidy ſhall be ratified by the two high contracting parties, and the ratification ſhall be exchanged in due form in London within the ſpace of four months, from the date of its ſignature, or ſooner if poſſible.

In witneſs whereof, We, the underſigned, furniſhed with full powers from our reſpective ſovereigns, have ſigned the preſent treaty, and have thereunto affixed the ſeal of our arms.

W. Drummond (L. S.)
Thomas de Sommo. (L. S.)

Done at Palermo, March 30, 1808.

ORDERS IN COUNCIL.

At the Court at the Queen's Palace, the 11th of November, 1807, preſent, the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty in Council.

Whereas certain orders, eſtabliſhing an unprecedented ſyſtem of warfare againſt this kingdom, and aimed eſpecially at the deſtruction of its commerce and reſources, were ſome time ſince iſſued by the government of France, by which "the Britiſh Iſlands were declared to be in a ſtate of blockade," thereby ſubjecting to capture and condemnation all veſſels, with their cargoes, which ſhould continue to trade with his majeſty's dominions:

And whereas by the ſame order, "all trading in Engliſh merchandize is prohibited, and every article of merchandize belonging to England, or coming from her colonies, or of her manufacture, is declared lawful prize:"

And whereas the nations in alliance with France, and under her controul, were required to give, and have given, and do give, effect to ſuch orders:

And whereas his Majeſty's order of the 7th of January laſt has not anſwered the deſired purpoſe, either of compelling the enemy to recall thoſe orders, or of inducing neutral nations to interpoſe, with effect, to obtain their revocation; but, on the contrary, the ſame have been recently enforced with increaſed rigour:

And whereas his Majeſty, under theſe circumſtances, finds himſelf compelled to take further meaſures for aſſerting and vindicating his juſt rights, and for ſupporting that maritime power which the exertions and valour of his people have, under the bleſſing of Providence, enabled him to eſtabliſh and maintain; and the maintenance of which is not more eſſential to the ſafety, and proſperity of his Majeſty's dominions, than it is to the protection of ſuch ſtates as ſtill retain their independence, and to the general intercourſe and happineſs of mankind;

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His Majeſty is therefore pleaſed, by and with the advice of his privy council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, that all the ports and places of France and her allies, or of any other country at war with his Majeſty, and all other ports or places in Europe, from which, although not at war with his Majeſty, the Britiſh flag is excluded, and all ports or places in the colonies belonging to his Majeſty's enemies, ſhall, from henceforth, be ſubject to the ſame reſtrictions in point of trade and navigation, with the exceptions hereinafter-mentioned, as if the ſame were actually blockaded by his Majeſty's naval forces, in the moſt ſtrict and rigorous manner:—And it is hereby further ordered and declared, that all trade in articles which are of the produce or manufacture of the ſaid countries or colonies, ſhall be deemed and conſidered to be unlawful; and that every veſſel trading from or to the ſaid countries or colonies, together with all goods and merchandize on board, and all articles of the produce or manufactures of the ſaid countries or colonies, ſhall be captured and condemned as prize to the captors.

But although his Majeſty would be fully juſtified, by the circumſtances and conſiderations above recited, in eſtabliſhing ſuch ſyſtem of reſtrictions with reſpect to all the countries and colonies of his enemies, without exception or qualification; yet his Majeſty, being nevertheleſs deſirous not to ſubject neutrals to any greater inconvenience than is abſolutely inſeparable from the carrying into effect his Majeſty's juſt determination to counteract the deſigns of his enemies, and to retort upon his enemies themſelves the conſequences of their own violence and injuſtice; and being yet willing to hope that it may be poſſible (conſiſtently with that object) ſtill to allow to neutrals the opportunity of furniſhing themſelves with colonial produce for their own conſumption and ſupply; and even to leave open, for the preſent, ſuch trade with his Majeſty's enemies as ſhall be carried on directly with the ports of his Majeſty's dominions, or of his allies, in the manner hereinafter-mentioned:

His Majeſty is therefore pleaſed further to order, and it is hereby ordered, that nothing herein contained ſhall extend to ſubject to capture or condemnation any veſſel, or the cargo of any veſſel, belonging to any country not declared by this order to be ſubjected to the reſtrictions incident to a ſtate of blockade, which ſhall have cleared out with ſuch cargo from ſome port or place of the country to which ſhe belongs, either in Europe or America, or from ſome free port in his Majeſty's colonies, under circumſtances in which ſuch trade, from ſuch free ports is permitted, direct to ſome port or place in the colonies of his Majeſty's enemies, or from thoſe colonies direct to the country to which ſuch veſſel belongs, or to ſome free port in his Majeſty's colonies, in ſuch caſes, and with ſuch articles, as it may be lawful to import into ſuch free port;—nor to any veſſel, or the cargo of any veſſel, belonging to any country not at war with his Majeſty, which ſhall have cleared out under ſuch regulations as his Majeſty may think fit to preſcribe, and ſhall be proceeding direct from ſome port or place in this kingdom, or from Gibraltar or Malta, or from any port belonging

to his majeſty's allies, to the port ſpecified in her clearance:—nor to any veſſel, or the cargo of any veſſel, belonging to any country not at war with his Majeſty, which ſhall be coming from any port or place in Europe which is declared by this order to be ſubject to the reſtrictions incident to a ſtate of blockade, deſtined to ſome port or place in Europe belonging to his Majeſty, and which ſhall be on her voyage direct thereto; but theſe exceptions are not to be underſtood as exempting from capture or confiſcation any veſſel or goods which ſhall be liable thereto in reſpect of having entered or departed from any port or place actually blockaded by his Majeſty's ſquadrons or ſhips of war, or for being enemies' property, or for any other cauſe than the contravention of this preſent order.

And the commanders of his majeſty's ſhips of war and privateers, and other veſſels acting under his majeſty's commiſſion, ſhall be, and are hereby inſtructed to warn every veſſel which ſhall have commenced her voyage prior to any notice of this order, and ſhall be deſtined to any port of France, or of her allies, or of any other country at war with his majeſty, or to any port or place from which the Britiſh flag as aforeſaid is excluded, or to any colony belonging to his majeſty's enemies, and which ſhall not have cleared out as is here-before allowed, to diſcontinue her voyage, and to proceed to ſome port or place in this kingdom, or to Gibraltar or Malta; and any veſſel, which after a reaſonable time ſhall have been afforded for the arrival or information of this his majeſty's order at any port or place from which ſhe ſailed, or which, after having notice of this order, ſhall be found in the proſecution of any voyage, contrary to the reſtrictions contained in this order, ſhall be captured, and together with her cargo, condemned as lawful prize to the captors.

And whereas countries, not engaged in the war, have acquieſced in theſe orders of France, prohibiting all trade in any articles the produce or manufacture of his majeſty's dominions; and the merchants of thoſe countries have given countenance and effect to thoſe prohibitions, by accepting from perſons ſtyling themſelves commercial agents of the enemy, reſident at neutral ports, certain documents, termed "certificates of origin," being certificates obtained at the ports of ſhipment, declaring that the articles of the cargo are not of the produce or manufacture of his majeſty's dominions, or to that effect:

And whereas this expedient has been directed by France, and ſubmitted to by ſuch merchants, as part of the new ſyſtem of warfare directed againſt the trade of this kingdom, and as the moſt effectual inſtrument of accompliſhing the ſame, and it is therefore eſſentially neceſſary to reſiſt it;

His Majeſty is therefore pleaſed, by and with the advice of his privy council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, that if any veſſel, after reaſonable time ſhall have been afforded for receiving notice of this his majeſty's order at the port or place from which ſuch veſſel ſhall have cleared out, ſhall be found to carry any ſuch certificate or document as aforeſaid, or any document referring to, or authenticating the ſame, ſuch veſſel ſhall be adjudged lawful prize to the captor, together

together with the goods laden therein, belonging to the perſon or perſons by whom, or on whoſe behalf, any ſuch document was put on board.

And the right honourable the lords commiſſioners, &c. are to take the neceſſary meaſures herein, as to them ſhall reſpectively appertain.

W. FAWKENER.

At the Court at the Queen's Palace, the 11th of November, 1807, preſent, the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty in Council.

Whereas articles of the growth and manufacture of foreign countries cannot by law be imported into this country, except in Britiſh ſhips, or in ſhips belonging to the countries of which ſuch articles are the growth and manufacture, without an order in council eſpecially authorizing the ſame:

His Majeſty, taking into conſideration the order of this day's date, reſpecting the trade to be carried on to and from the ports of the enemy, and deeming it expedient that any veſſel belonging to any country in alliance, or at amity with his Majeſty, may be permitted to import into this country articles of the produce or manufacture of countries at war with his Majeſty:

His Majeſty, by and with the advice of his privy council, is therefore pleaſed to order, and it is hereby ordered, that all goods, wares, or merchandizes, ſpecified and included in the ſchedule of an act, paſſed in the forty-third year of his preſent Majeſty's reign, intituled, "an act to repeal the duties of cuſtoms payable in Great Britain, and to grant other duties in lieu thereof," may be imported from any port or place belonging to any ſtate not in amity with his Majeſty, in ſhips belonging to any ſtate at amity with his Majeſty, ſubject to the payment of ſuch duties, and liable to ſuch drawbacks as are now eſtabliſhed by law upon the importation of the ſaid goods, wares, or merchandize, in ſhips navigated according to law; and with reſpect to ſuch of the ſaid goods, wares, or merchandize, as are authoriſed to be warehouſed under the proviſions of an act, paſſed in the forty-third year of his preſent majeſty's reign, intituled, "an act for permitting certain goods imported into Great Britain, to be ſecured in warehouſes without payment of duty," ſubject to all the regulations of the ſaid laſt mentioned act; and with reſpect to all articles which are prohibited by law from being imported in this country, it is ordered that the ſame ſhall be reported for exportation to any country in amity or alliance with his Majeſty.

And his Majeſty is further pleaſed, by and with the advice of his privy council to order, and it is hereby ordered, that all veſſels which ſhall arrive in any port of the United Kingdom, or at the port of Gibraltar or Malta, in conſequence of having been warned purſuant to the aforeſaid order, or in conſequence of receiving information, in any other manner of the ſaid order ſubſequent to their having taken on board any part of their cargoes, whether previous or ſubſequent to their ſailing, ſhall be permitted to report their cargoes for exportation, and ſhall be allowed to proceed upon their voyages to their original

ports of deſtination (if not unlawful before the iſſuing of the ſaid order), or to any port at amity with his Majeſty, upon receiving a certificate from the collector or comptroller of the cuſtoms at the port at which they ſhall ſo enter (which certificate the ſaid collectors and comptrollers of the cuſtoms are hereby authoriſed and required to give), ſetting forth that ſuch veſſels came into ſuch port in conſequence of being warned, or of receiving ſuch information as aforeſaid; and that they were permitted to ſail from ſuch port under the regulations which his Majeſty has been pleaſed to eſtabliſh in reſpect to ſuch veſſels. But in caſe any veſſel ſo arriving ſhall preſer to import her cargo, then ſuch veſſel ſhall be allowed to enter and import the ſame, upon ſuch terms and conditions as the ſaid cargo might have been imported upon, according to law, in caſe the ſaid veſſels had ſailed after having received notice of the ſaid order, and in conformity thereto.

And it is further ordered, that all veſſels which ſhall arrive at any port of the United Kingdom, or at Gibraltar or Malta, in conformity and obedience to the ſaid order, ſhall be allowed, in reſpect to all articles which may be on board the ſame, except ſugar, coffee, wine, brandy, ſnuff, and tobacco, to clear out to any port whatever, to be ſpecified in ſuch clearance; and, with reſpect to the laſt mentioned articles, to export the ſame to ſuch ports, and under ſuch conditions, and regulations only as his Majeſty, by any licence to be granted for that purpoſe, may direct.

And the right honourable the lords commiſſioners, &c. &c.

W. FAWKENER.

At the Court at the Queen's Palace, the 11th of November, 1807, preſent, the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty in Council.

Whereas the ſale of ſhips by a Belligerent to a neutral is conſidered by France to be illegal:

And whereas a great part of the ſhipping of France and her allies has been protected from capture during the preſent hoſtilities by transfers, or pretended transfers, to neutrals:

And whereas it is fully juſtifiable to adopt the ſame rule, in this reſpect, towards the enemy, which is applied by the enemy to this country:

His Majeſty is pleaſed, by and with the advice of his privy council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, That in future the ſale to a neutral of any veſſel belonging to his majeſty's enemies, ſhall not be deemed to be legal, nor in any manner to transfer the property, nor to alter the character of ſuch veſſels: And all veſſels now belonging, or which ſhall hereafter belong to any enemy of his Majeſty, notwithſtanding any ſale, or pretended ſale, to a neutral, after a reaſonable time ſhall have elapſed for receiving information of this his majeſty's order at the place where ſuch ſale, or pretended ſale, was effected, ſhall be captured and brought in, and ſhall be adjudged as lawful prize to the captors.

And the right honourable the lords commiſſioners, &c. &c.

W. FAWKENER.

At the Court at the Queen's Palace, the 25th of Nov. 1807, preſent,

preſent, the King's Moſt Excellent Majeſty in Council.

Whereas it has been repreſented that it would be expedient to fix certain periods at which it ſhall be deemed that a reaſonable time ſhall have elapſed for receiving information, at different places, of his Majeſty's order in council of the 11th of November inſtant, reſpecting the trade with his Majeſty's enemies, and in their produce and manufactures; his Majeſty taking the ſame into conſideration, and being deſirous to obviate any difficulties that may ariſe in reſpect thereto, and alſo to allow ample time for the ſaid order being known to all perſons who may be affected thereby, is pleaſed, by and with the advice of his privy council, to order and declare, and it is hereby ordered and declared, that information of the ſaid order of the 11th of November inſtant ſhall be taken and held to have been received in the places hereinafter-mentioned, at the periods reſpectively aſſigned to them: namely,

Ports and places within the Baltic—December 21, 1807.

Other ports and places to the northward of Amſterdam—Dec. 11, 1807.

From Amſterdam to Uſhant—December 4, 1807.

From Uſhant to Cape Finiſterre—December 8, 1807.

From Cape Finiſterre to Gibraltar, incluſive—December 3, 1807.

Madeira—December 13, 1807.

Ports and places within the Streights of Gibraltar, to Sicily and Malta, and the weſt coaſt of Italy, incluſive—January 1, 1808.

All other ports and places in the Mediterranean beyond Sicily and Malta—January 20, 1808.

Ports and places beyond the Dardanelles—February 1, 1808.

Any part of the north and weſtern coaſt of Africa, or the iſlands adjacent, except Madeira—Jan. 11, 1808.

Cape of Good Hope, and eaſt coaſt of South America—March 1, 1808.

The United States, and Britiſh poſſeſſions in North America and the Weſt Indies—January 20, 1808.

India—May 1, 1808.

China, and the coaſt of South America—June 1, 1808.

And every veſſel ſailing on or after thoſe days, from thoſe places reſpectively, ſhall be deemed and taken to have received notice of the aforeſaid order: And it is further ordered, that if any veſſel ſhall fail within twenty days after the periods above aſſigned reſpectively, from any of the ſaid places, in contravention of the ſaid order of the 11th of November inſtant, and ſhall be detained as prize on account thereof, or ſhall arrive at any port in this kingdom, deſtined to ſome port or place within the reſtriction of the ſaid order, and proof ſhall be made to the ſatisfaction of the court of admiralty in which ſuch veſſel ſhall be proceeded againſt, in caſe the ſame ſhall be brought in as prize, that the loading of the ſaid veſſel had commenced before the ſaid period, and before information of the ſaid order had actually been received at the port of ſhipment, the ſaid veſſel, together with the goods ſo laden, ſhall be reſtored to the owner or owners thereof, and ſhall be permitted to proceed on her voyage in

uch manner as if ſuch veſſel had ailed before the day ſo ſpecified as aforeſaid: And it is further ordered, that no proof ſhall be admitted, or be gone into, for the purpoſe of ſhewing that information of the ſaid order of the 11th of November inſtant had not been received at the ſaid places reſpectively, at the ſeveral periods before aſſigned: And the right honourable the lords commiſſioners of his majeſty's treaſury, his majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate, the lords commiſſioners of the admiralty, and the judges of the high court of admiralty, and courts of vice-admiralty, are to take the neceſſary meaſures herein as to them ſhall reſpectively appertain.

W. FAWKENER.

At the Court at the Queen's Palace, the 15th of Nov. 1807, preſent, the King's Moſt Excellent Majeſty in Council.

Whereas his Majeſty, by his order in council, dated 11th November inſtant, reſpecting the trade to be carried on with his Majeſty's enemies, was pleaſed to exempt, from the reſtrictions of the ſaid order, all veſſels which ſhall have cleared out from any port or place in this kingdom, under ſuch regulations as his Majeſty may think fit to preſcribe, and ſhall be proceeding direct to the ports ſpecified in the reſpective clearances; his Majeſty, taking into conſideration the expediency of making ſuch regulations, is pleaſed, by and with the advice of his privy council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, that all veſſels belonging to countries not at war with his Majeſty, ſhall be permitted to lade in any port of the united kingdom any goods being the produce or manufacture of his majeſty's dominions, or Eaſt India goods, or prize goods (all ſuch goods having been lawfully imported), and to clear out with, and freely to convey the ſame to any port or place in any colony in the Weſt Indies, or America, belonging to his majeſty's enemies, ſuch port or place not being in a ſtate of actual blockade, ſubject to the payment of ſuch duties as may at the time when any ſuch veſſels may be cleared out, be due by law on the exportation of any ſuch goods, or in reſpect of the ſame being deſtined to the ports of the colonies belonging to his majeſty's enemies; and likewiſe to lade, clear out with, and convey as aforeſaid, any articles of foreign produce or manufacture which ſhall have been lawfully imported into this kingdom, provided his majeſty's licence ſhall have been previouſly obtained for ſo conveying ſuch foreign produce or manufactures:

And it is further ordered, that any veſſel belonging as aforeſaid ſhall be permitted to lade in any port of the United Kingdom any goods, not being naval or military ſtores, which ſhall be of the growth, produce, or manufacture of this kingdom, or which ſhall have been lawfully imported (ſave and except foreign ſugar, coffee, wine, brandy, ſnuff, and cotton), and to clear out with, and freely to convey the ſame to any port, to be ſpecified in the clearance, not being in a ſtate of actual blockade, although the ſame ſhall be under the reſtrictions of the ſaid order; and likewiſe to lade, clear

clear out, and convey foreign ſugar, coffee, wine, brandy, ſnuff, and cotton, which ſhall have been lawfully imported, provided his Majeſty's licence ſhall have been previouſly obtained for the exportation and conveyance thereof: and it is hereby further ordered, that no veſſel ſhall be permitted to clear out from any port or place in this kingdom to any port or place of any country ſubjected to the reſtrictions of the ſaid order, with any goods which ſhall have been laden (after notice of the ſaid order) on board the veſſel which ſhall have imported the ſame into this kingdom, without having firſt duly entered and landed the ſame in ſome port or place in this kingdom; and that no veſſel ſhall be permitted to clear out from any port or place in this kingdom to any port or place whatever, with any goods the produce or manufacture of any country ſubjected to the reſtrictions of the ſaid order, which ſhall have been laden after notice, as aforeſaid, on board the veſſel importing the ſame, without having ſo duly entered and landed the ſame; or any goods whatever which ſhall have been laden after ſuch notice in the veſſel importing the ſame, in any port or place of any country ſubjected to the reſtrictions of the ſaid order, without having ſo duly entered and landed the ſame in ſome port or place in this kingdom, except the cargo ſhall conſiſt wholly of flour, meal, grain, or any article or articles the produce of the ſoil of ſome country which is not ſubjected to the reſtrictions of the ſaid order, except cotton, which ſhall have been imported in an unmanufactured ſtate direct from ſuch country into this kingdom, in a veſſel belonging to the country from which ſuch goods have been brought, and in which the ſame were grown and produced:

And it is further ordered, that any veſſel belonging to any country not at war with his Majeſty, may clear out from Guernſey, Jerſey, or Man, to any port or place under the reſtrictions of the ſaid order, which ſhall be ſpecified in the clearance, not being in a ſtate of actual blockade, with ſuch articles only, not being naval or military ſtores, as ſhall have been legally imported into ſuch iſlands reſpectively from any port or place in this kingdom direct; and with reſpect to all ſuch articles as may have been imported into the ſaid iſlands reſpectively, from any port or place under the reſtrictions of the ſaid order, it ſhall not be permitted to any veſſel to clear out with the ſame from any of the ſaid iſlands, except to ſome port or place in this kingdom:—and the right honourable the lords commiſſioners of his Majeſty's treaſury, his Majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate, the lords commiſſioners of the admiralty, and the judges of the high court of admiralty and courts of vice-admiralty, are to take the neceſſary meaſures herein as to them ſhall reſpectively appertain.

W. FAWKENER.

At the Court of the Queen's Palace, the 25th of November, 1807, preſent, the King's Moſt Excellent Majeſty in Council.

Whereas his Majeſty, by his order in council, dated the 11th of November inſtant, reſpecting the trade

trade to be carried on with his Majeſty's enemies, was pleaſed to exempt from the reſtrictions of the ſaid order all veſſels belonging to any country not at war with his Majeſty, together with their cargo, which ſhall be coming from any port or place in Europe which is declared in the ſaid order to be ſubject to the reſtrictions incident to a ſtate of blockade, direct to ſome port or place in Europe belonging to his Majeſty, and alſo all veſſels which ſhall be cleared out from Gibraltar or Malta under ſuch regulations as his Majeſty may think fit to preſcribe, and which ſhall be proceeding direct to the ports ſpecified in their reſpective clearances:

And whereas it is expedient to encourage the trade from Gibraltar and Malta to countries under the reſtrictions of the ſaid order, ſubject to regulations to be made in reſpect thereto; his Majeſty is therefore pleaſed to preſcribe the following regulations in regard to ſuch trade, accordingly, and by and with the advice of his Privy Council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, that all ſorts of flour and meal, and all ſorts of grain, tobacco, and any other article in an unmanufactured ſtate, being the growth and produce of any country not being ſubjected by the ſaid order to the reſtrictions incident to a ſtate of blockade, except cotton, and naval and military ſtores, which ſhall have been imported into Gibraltar or Malta direct from the country where the ſame were grown and produced, ſhall, without any licence, be permitted to be cleared out to any port or place not being in a ſtate of actual blockade, without the ſame being compelled to be landed: but neither the ſaid article of cotton, however imported, nor any article which is not the growth, produce, or manufacture of this kingdom, or which has not been imported in a Britiſh ſhip, or from this kingdom direct (except fiſh), and which ſhall have been laden at the port of original ſhipment after the period directed by an order of this date to be taken at the time at which notice of the ſaid order of the 11th of November ſhall be conſidered as having been received at ſuch port of ſhipment, ſhall be permitted to be exported from Gibraltar or Malta, except to ſome port or place in this kingdom; and all other articles of the growth, produce, and manufacture of this kingdom, or which ſhall have been imported into Gibraltar or Malta in a Britiſh ſhip, or from ſome port or place in this kingdom, together with the article of fiſh, however imported, may be exported to any ports or places in the Mediterranean or Portugal, under ſuch licence only as is hereinafter to be granted by the Governor of Gibraltar and Malta reſpectively:

And it is hereby further ordered, that licences be granted by the Governors, Lieutenant-governors, or other perſons having the chief civil command at Gibraltar, or at Malta, reſpectively, but in his Majeſty's name, to ſuch perſon or perſons as the ſaid Governors, Lieutenant-governors, or perſons having the chief command, ſhall think fit, allowing ſuch perſon or perſons to export from Gibraltar direct, to any port in the Mediterranean, or to any port of Portugal, or to any port of Spain without the Mediterranean, not further north than Cape Finiſterre, and from Malta

Malta direct to any port being within the Mediterranean, with any articles of the produce or manufacture of his Majesty's dominions, and any articles which shall have been imported into Gibraltar or Malta from this kingdom, to whomsoever such articles shall appear to belong (not being naval or military stores), in any vessel belonging to any country not at war with his Majesty, or in any vessel not exceeding one hundred tons burthen, and being unarmed, belonging to the country to which such vessel shall be cleared out and going, and also to import in any such vessel or vessels as aforesaid, from any port within the Mediterranean, to Gibraltar or Malta; or from any port in Portugal or Spain as aforesaid, to Gibraltar; such port and such destination respectively to be specified in such licence, any articles of merchandize whatsoever, and to whomsoever the same may appear to belong: such articles to be specified in the bill of lading of such vessel, subject however to such further regulations and restrictions with respect to all or any of the said articles so to be imported, or exported, as may be inserted in the said licences by the Governors, Lieutenant-governors, or other persons having the chief civil command at Gibraltar or Malta, for the time being, respectively, as to them shall, from time to time, seem fit and expedient:

And it is further ordered, that in every such licence shall be inserted the names and residence of the person or persons to whom it shall be granted, the articles and their quantities permitted to be exported, the name and description of the vessel, and of the master thereof, the port to which the vessel shall be allowed to go, which shall be some port not under actual blockade; and that no licence so to be granted shall continue in force for longer than two months from its date, nor for more than one voyage; or any such licence be granted, or acknowledged to be valid, if granted to permit the clearance of any vessel to any port which shall be actually blockaded by any naval force of his Majesty or of his allies.

And it is further ordered, that the commanders of his Majesty's ships of war, and privateers, and all others whom it may concern, shall suffer every such vessel sailing conformably to the permission given by this order, or having any licence as aforesaid, to pass and repass direct between Gibraltar or Malta, and such port as shall be specified in the licence, in such manner, and under such terms, regulations, and restrictions, as shall be expressed therein:

And it is further ordered, that, in case any vessel so sailing as aforesaid, for which any such licence as aforesaid shall have been granted, and which shall be proceeding direct upon her said voyage, shall be detained and brought in for legal adjudication, such vessel, with her cargo, shall be forthwith released by the court of Admiralty in which proceedings shall be commenced, upon proof being made that the parties had duly conformed to the terms, regulations, and restrictions of the said licences; the proof of such conformity to lie upon the person or persons claiming the benefit

nefit of ſuch order, or obtaining or uſing ſuch licence, or claiming the benefit thereof:

And it is hereby further ordered, that no veſſel belonging to any ſtate on the coaſt of Barbary, ſhall be prevented from ſailing with any articles of the growth or produce of ſuch ſtate, from any port or place in ſuch ſtate, to any port or place in the Mediterranean, or Portugal, ſuch port or place not being actually blockaded by ſome naval force, belonging to his Majeſty or his allies, without being obliged to touch at Gibraltar or Malta:

And the right honourable the Lords Commiſſioners of his Majeſty's treaſury, his Majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate, the Lords Commiſſioners of the admiralty, and the judges of the high court of admiralty, and courts of Vice admiralty, are to take the neceſceſſary meaſures herein as to them ſhall reſpectively appertain.

W. FAWKENER.

At the Court at the Queen's Palace, the 25th of November, 1807, preſent, the King's Moſt Excellent Majeſty in Council.

Whereas his Majeſty, by his order in council of the 11th of november inſtant, was pleaſed to order and declare, that all trade in articles which are of the produce or manufacture of the countries and colonies mentioned in the ſaid order, ſhall be deemed and conſidered to be unlawful (except as is therein excepted); his Majeſty, by and with the advice of his privy council, is pleaſed to order and declare, and it is hereby ordered and declared, that nothing in the ſaid order contained ſhall extend to ſubject to capture and confiſcation any articles of the produce and manufacture of the ſaid countries and colonies laden on board Britiſh ſhips, which would not have been ſubject to capture and confiſcation if ſuch order had not been made.

And the right honourable the Lords commiſſioners of his Majeſty's treaſury, his Majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate, the Lords Commiſſioners of the admiralty, and the judges of the high court of admiralty and vice admiralty, are to take the neceſſary meaſures herein as to them may reſpectively appertain.

W. FAWKENER.

Extracts from the Official Papers reſpecting Ruſſia. Preſented by his Majeſty's command to both Houſes of Parliament, Feb. 1, 1808.

Extract of a Diſpatch from Mr. Secretary Canning to the Right Hon. Lord Granville Leveſon Gower; dated Sept. 27, 1807.

Foreign office, Sept. 27, 1807.

Sir Robert Wilſon arrived here on Saturday the 19th, with your excellency's diſpatches of the 2d inſtant, which I have laid before the king.

Whatever may have been the motives or the cauſes of the change which your excellency repreſents to have taken place in the tone of the Ruſſian councils, or whatever may be the probability of the continuance of the ſyſtem now apparently adopted: his Majeſty hails with the moſt ſincere ſatisfaction the return of thoſe ſentiments of friendſhip and confidence on the part of his auguſt

auguſt ally, from which his Majeſty on his part has never deviated, and the cultivation of which is more than ever neceſſary for their common intereſts.

Your excellency will loſe no opportunity of expreſſing theſe ſentiments to his imperial Majeſty and his Miniſter.

The forbearance and moderation which your excellency has been all along inſtructed to employ in all your remonſtrances with reſpect to tranſactions in which the perſonal character of his Imperial Majeſty was ſo immediately concerned, and the reliance which you have not failed to expreſs on the returning ſenſe of what was due to his Majeſty's long-experienced friendſhip and fidelity, accord perfectly with the language which you are now inſtructed to uſe, and make the whole of his majeſty's conduct towards his imperial Majeſty uniform and conſiſtent. And your excellency cannot too conſtantly impreſs upon the Ruſſian Miniſter the topic which you have ſo judiciouſly employed in your late conferences, that in the preſent ſtate of the world, retroſpect and recrimination are worſe than uſeleſs; and that the eſtabliſhment of future good underſtanding, and the concert of meaſures to be taken with a view to future exertion, are alone the proper ſubjects of diſcuſſion between the two governments.

The points upon which the queſtion of our acceptance of the mediation turns, are—

1ſt, The frank communication of the articles of the treaty of Tilſit, ſecret as well as avowed.

2dly, A diſtinct explanation of the baſis upon which France propoſes to treat, and which appeared to his Imperial Majeſty at Tilſit ſo juſt and honourable.

Theſe are the conditions directly ſtipulated in my note to M. Alopeus, and without which, acceptance of any mediation by his Majeſty could be nothing elſe than a complete ſurrender of his honour and his intereſt into the hands of the mediator, if not of the enemy.

But to theſe are reaſonably to be added, if not as conditions without which it would be impoſſible to conſent to treat under the auſpices of Ruſſia, at leaſt as thoſe which his Majeſty has a right to require from a friendly power, before he commits himſelf to its guidance in a queſtion affecting the immediate ſafety and the future welfare of his dominions:

1ſt, A diſcloſure of the general views of policy of the Emperor of Ruſſia; and of any engagements into which he may have entered with reſpect to the different powers in whoſe fortunes his Majeſty takes an intereſt; and

2dly, Some plain and deciſive proof of the good underſtanding ſubſiſting between his Majeſty and his auguſt ally; ſuch as ſhall ſatisfy, not his Majeſty only, but Europe and the world, of the impartiality with which his Imperial Majeſty has undertaken, and propoſes to adminiſter, the duties of his office as mediator.

With reſpect to the firſt of the two points which I have ſtated as abſolutely indiſpenſable, General Budberg appears as yet to have gone no farther than to give a verbal aſſurance that there is not any article, among the ſecret articles of the treaty of Tilſit, ſtipulating for the ſhutting of the Ruſſian ports againſt Great-Britain.

But

But it will immediately have occurred to your excellency, that a diſtinction might probably be taken in M. de Budberg's mind between a ſtipulation for the immediate and unconditional execution of a purpoſe, and the agreement to reſort to it eventually, under circumſtances which might not yet have occurred; and that, ſuppoſing the former only to be the ſenſe of M. de Budberg's aſſurance, that aſſurance might be literally true, without in fact conveying any thing eſſentially ſatisfactory.

The inference to be drawn from this circumſtance is, that the Ruſſian Miniſter ſhould be called upon by your excellency in an official note, not for a ſimple diſavowal only of any ſingle article, but for the communication of the ſecret articles themſelves; or at leaſt of any agreement, actual or eventual, in which the intereſts of this country or its allies are in any degree concerned.

In the ſame formal manner, a communication ſhould be required of the baſis of peace propoſed by France; upon which the Ruſſian miniſter does not appear to have offered any explanation.

The other two points are not ſo ſtrictly connected with the queſtion of mediation. But it is nevertheleſs perfectly reaſonable that his Majeſty ſhould require ſome oſtenſible proof of the good-will of his auguſt ally, to counteract the general impreſſion which muſt have been created by late events, of a difference and diſunion between them; before his Majeſty can with a good grace accept thoſe offices at the Emperor of Ruſſia's hands, of which impartiality ſhould be the eſſential character. No proof could be ſelected, at once ſo eaſy for his Imperial Majeſty to give, ſo grateful to his Majeſty to receive, ſo natural in the eyes of the world, and ſo little liable to exception on the part of France, as the renewal of the treaty of commerce.

With reſpect to the remaining point, which your excellency is inſtructed to urge,—a communication on the part of the Ruſſian government of its general views and policy for the future, you will obſerve, that his Imperial Majeſty himſelf annexed to his conditional acceptance of the mediation of the Emperor of Auſtria, a ſimilar demand of the communication of the general views of the Court of Vienna reſpecting the future ſtate of Europe.

In the treaty of Barenſtein, concluded between his Imperial Majeſty and the King of Pruſſia; and offered by them to the acceptance of other powers as the baſis of a co-operation for the purpoſe of producing a general pacific arrangement, a diſtinct and detailed expoſition was entered into with reſpect not only to the powers intended to be comprehended as parties to the treaty, but to all the other powers of Europe, in whoſe fate any one of the principal powers could be ſuppoſed to be intereſted.

Theſe examples of what his Imperial Majeſty has done, and what he has required, would ſufficiently authorize his Majeſty's ſolicitude to obtain a ſimilar explanation on the preſent occaſion.

But there are other grounds for it in the very ſtate and circumſtances of Europe, as ariſing out of the treaty of Tilſit, and the ſtipulations annexed to it; ſome of which ſtipulations are already carrying into

into execution in a way to excite his Majesty's apprehensions, if not for his own interests, for those of his allies.

Is it possible that his Majesty should not think it essential to be informed whether the public articles of the treaty of Tilsit, which recognises the French King of Naples *only* as King of Naples, is, in effect, contradicted by a secret article, which adds to this title that of the Two Sicilies?

The movements in the Mediterranean, and the surrender of Corfu, naturally give rise to a variety of apprehensions, which it would be for the interest of both countries to quiet, or at least to reduce within the bounds of truth.

Has not his Majesty the right to require some explanation of the intentions of Russia with respect to Turkey; a power with whom his Majesty finds himself at war, and left alone in the war, for no other than Russian interests, and from a quarrel espoused by his Majesty for the sake of his ally?

These topics your excellency will urge in your conferences with M. de Budberg, with all the earnestness which their importance requires, but at the same time carefully avoiding a strain of reproach; and even when you are obliged to confess the suspicion of engagements having been entered into, such as his Majesty cannot but disapprove, conducting your enquiry in such a manner as shall lead M. de Budberg to believe that his Majesty is anxious rather to find the means of preventing or remedying the evil, than to discover the grounds of complaint against Russia.

Upon the whole, your excellency will collect from these instructions, that his Majesty is as much desirous as ever to cultivate the friendship and alliance of the Emperor of Russia; that he conceives the only chance of safety for what remains of Europe to depend upon the renewal of a good understanding between them; that his Majesty has never, even under appearances the most unfavourable, altogether despaired of such a recurrence, on the part of the Emperor, to the counsels which are best calculated for his own glory, and for the security of his own dominions, as it is now hoped has taken place; and that his Majesty, upon such a change, is eager to forget all that has passed of a nature contradictory to those counsels, or inconsistent with them.

Extract of a Dispatch from the Right Hon. Lord Granville Leveson Gower, to Mr. Secretary Canning; dated St. Petersburgh, 8th Nov. 1807.—Received Dec. 2d.

I had the honour of appriſing you by the last messenger, of the difficulty I had experienced in obtaining a conference with count Romanzow. I yesterday wrote a letter to him, of which the enclosed is a copy, and I this morning received the inclosed note. The contents of this paper are so extremely important, that I will not detain Sir Robert Wilson, by making any observations upon the unfounded assertions and misrepresentations with which it abounds.

This violent measure has been produced by a peremptory demand (brought by the last messenger from Paris,) of the immediate execution of all the secret articles of Tilsit; and the French mission have boasted, that, after some difficulties, they have gained a complete triumph, and

and have carried not only this act of hoſtility againſt England, but alſo every other point eſſential to the ſucceſs of Buonaparte's views.

I intend aſking for paſſports to-morrow, and ſhall ſet out in the courſe of a few days.

P. S. I incloſe a copy of the printed declaration, which has been ſent by the Ruſſian government to all the foreign miniſters reſiding at this court.

First Incloſure.

The ambaſſador of his Britannic majeſty has repeatedly ſignified for more than a week his deſire to converſe with his excellency the count Romanzow: his ſolicitations have been hitherto fruitleſs, but the ambaſſador deems it his duty to renew once more his application, previous to announcing to his court the apparent determination of his excellency to avoid the cuſtomary communication.

26th Oct. (7th Nov.) 1807.

Second Incloſure.

The emperor, who, in the courſe of the war which he has juſt terminated, had to complain of the conduct of England towards him, ſuppreſſed his juſt reſentment in the conſoling hope, that the peace he had ſo lately concluded would lead to a general peace.

He had conſtituted himſelf mediator, he had ſubſequently offered his mediation in acquainting his Britannic majeſty that his deſire was to obtain for him an honourable peace—England rejected his offices.

It ſeemed as if her views were not to ſuffer the flames of war to be extinguiſhed, but to kindle them anew in the North by an event ſudden and novel.

The fleets and armies of his Britannic majeſty came to perpetrate againſt Denmark an act of which hiſtory furniſhes no example. The emperor, who, to the knowledge of England, was a guarantee of the tranquillity of the Baltic, which is a cloſe ſea; the emperor, who had been forewarned of nothing, did not conceal his reſentment; and, in a ſecond note delivered to lord Gower, informed England, that he did not intend to remain a quiet ſpectator of what had befallen a king, his relation, and his friend.

The emperor confeſſes he did not foreſee, that, after this declaration, England would make him the propoſal of undertaking to convince Denmark, that it was her intereſt to ſubmit to what had recently befallen her, and to render Ruſſia guarantee, that Great Britain ſhould poſſeſs in perfect ſecurity that which ſhe had ſo lately wreſted from Denmark.

The prince Royal of Denmark had not ratified the convention of Copenhagen. As to the ſecond propoſals which were made to him, he has again repreſented to his imperial majeſty how greatly he was irritated by this new procedure of the Britiſh miniſtry towards him.

The emperor, penetrated with the confidence which the prince royal repoſed in his friendſhip, having conſidered his own wrongs againſt England, having maturely examined his engagements with the powers of the North, engagements entered into by the empreſs Catharine and his majeſty the late emperor, both of glorious memory, has reſolved to fulfil them.

His

His majeſty has therefore ordered the underſigned to declare to his excellency, lord G. L, Gower, his Britannic Majeſty's ambaſſador, that his imperial majeſty breaks off all communication with England. His imperial majeſty recalls the whole of his miſſion in that country, and will not allow that of his Britannic majeſty to remain at his court. There ſhall henceforward be no relations between the two countries.

The emperor declares that he annuls for ever every act heretofore concluded between Great Britain and Ruſſia, and eſpecially the convention of 5th (17th) June 1801. He proclaims anew the principles of the armed neutrality, that monument of the wiſdom of the empreſs Catharine, and pre-engages never to depart from that ſyſtem.

He demands from England complete ſatisfaction for his ſubjects on all his juſt claims for ſhips and merchandiſe ſeized or detained againſt the expreſs tenor of the treaties concluded during his own reign.

The emperor declares that no arrangements ſhall take place between Ruſſia and England, until the latter ſhall have given ſatisfaction to Denmark.

The emperor expects, that his Britannic majeſty, inſtead of permitting his miniſters, as has lately been the caſe, to ſcatter anew the ſeeds of war, liſtening only to the dictates of his own feelings, would lend his aſſiſtance to the concluſion of a peace with his majeſty the emperor of the French, which would extend the incalculable bleſſings of peace over the whole world.

When the emperor ſhall be ſatisfied upon all the preceding points, and eſpecially as to the peace between France and England, without which no part of Europe can promiſe itſelf real tranquillity, his imperial majeſty will then readily renew with Great Britain the relations of friendſhip, which, conſidering the diſſatisfaction which the emperor ſo juſtly feels, he has perhaps already preſerved too long.

The underſigned, having thus fulfilled the orders of the emperor his maſter, requeſts his excellency the ambaſſador to lay the contents of this note, without delay, before the king his ſovereign.

(Signed)
The Count NICOLAS ROMANZOW.

St. Peterſburg (17th Oct.) 9th Nov. 1807.

Extracts from the Correſpondence with the Ruſſian and French Governments, relative to the Overtures received from Erfurth.

No. I.

Letter from Count Nicholas de Romanzoff to Mr. Secretary Canning, dated Erfurth, 30th September—(12th Oct.), 1808.—*Received Oct. 21ſt.*

(Tranſlation.)

Sir,

I ſend to your excellency a letter which the emperors of Ruſſia and France write to his majeſty the king of England. The emperor of Ruſſia flatters himſelf that England will feel the grandeur and the ſincerity of this ſtep. She will there find the moſt natural and the moſt ſimple anſwer to the overture which has been made by admiral Saumarez. The union of the two empires is beyond the reach of all

all change, and the two emperors have formed it for peace as well as for war.—His majeſty has commanded me to make known to your excellency that he has nominated plenipotentiaries who will repair to Paris, where they will await the anſwer which your excellency may be pleaſed to make to me. I requeſt you to addreſs it to the Ruſſian ambaſſador at Paris.—The plenipotentiaries named by the emperor of Ruſſia will repair to that city on the continent to which the plenipotentiaries of his Britannic majeſty and his allies ſhall have been ſent.—In reſpect to the baſes of the negociation, their imperial majeſties ſee no difficulty in adopting all thoſe formerly propoſed by England, namely, the *uti poſſidetis*, and every other baſis founded upon the reciprocity and equality which ought to prevail between all great nations.—I have the honour to be, with ſentiments of the higheſt conſideration, &c. (Signed)

Count NICOLAS DE ROMANZOFF.

His excellency Mr. Canning, &c.

No. II.

Letter from his Majeſty the Emperor of all the Ruſſias, and Buonaparté, to his Majeſty, dated Erfurth, 12th Oct. 1808.—Received Oct. 21ſt.—Tranſlated from the original French.

Sire,

The preſent circumſtances of Europe have brought us together at Erfurth. Our firſt thought is to yield to the wiſh and the wants of every people, and to ſeek, in a ſpeedy pacification with your majeſty, the moſt efficacious remedy for the miſeries which oppreſs all nations. We make known to your majeſty our ſincere deſire in this reſpect by the preſent letter. The long and bloody war which has torn the continent is at an end, without the poſſibility of being renewed. Many changes have taken place in Europe; many ſtates have been overthrown. The cauſe is to be found in the ſtate of agitation and miſery in which the ſtagnation of maritime commerce has placed the greateſt nations. Still greater changes may yet take place, and all of them contrary to the policy of the Engliſh nation. Peace, then, is at once the intereſt of the people of the continent, as it is the intereſt of the people of Great Britain. We unite in entreating your majeſty to liſten to the voice of humanity, ſilencing that of the paſſions; to ſeek, with the intention of arriving at that object, to conciliate all intereſts, and by that means to preſerve all the powers which exiſt, and to enſure the happineſs of Europe and of this generation, at the head of which Providence has placed us. (Signed)

ALEXANDER.
NAPOLEON.

No. III.

Letter from M. de Champagny, to Mr. Secretary Canning, dated Erfurth, 12th October, 1808.—Received October 21ſt.

(Tranſlation.)

Sir,

I have the honour to tranſmit to your excellency a letter which the emperor of the French and the emperor of all the Ruſſias write to his Britannic majeſty. The grandeur and the ſincerity of this ſtep will, without

without doubt, be felt. That cannot be attributed to weakneſs, which is the reſult of the intimate connection between the two greateſt ſovereigns of the continent, united for peace as well as for war. His majeſty the emperor has commanded me to make known to your excellency, that he has nominated plenipotentiaries who will repair to that city on the continent to which his majeſty the king of Great Britain and his allies ſhall ſend their plenipotentiaries. With reſpect to the *baſes* of the negociation, their majeſties are diſpoſed to adopt thoſe formerly propoſed by England herſelf, namely, the *uti poſſidetis*, and any other *baſis* founded upon juſtice, and the reciprocity and equality which ought to prevail between all great nations.—I have the honour to be, with the higheſt conſideration, &c.

(Signed) CHAMPAGNY.

His excellency Mr. Canning, &c.

No. VII.

Letter from Mr. Secretary Canning to the Ruſſian Ambaſſador, at Paris, dated Foreign Office, 28th October, 1808.

(Tranſlation.)

Sir,

Having laid before the king my maſter the two letters which his excellency the count Nicolas de Romanzoff has tranſmitted to me from Erfurth, I have received his majeſty's commands to reply to that which is addreſſed to him, by the official note which I have the honour to encloſe to your excellency.—However deſirous his majeſty might be to reply directly to his majeſty the emperor of Ruſſia, you cannot but feel, Sir, that from the unuſual manner in which the letters ſigned by his imperial majeſty were drawn up, and which has entirely deprived them of the character of a private and perſonal communication, his majeſty has found it impoſſible to adopt that mark of reſpect towards the emperor of Ruſſia, without at the ſame time acknowledging titles which his majeſty never has acknowleged.

I am commanded to add to the contents of the official note, that his majeſty will haſten to communicate to his majeſty the king of Sweden, and to the exiſting government of Spain, the propoſals which have been made to him. Your excellency will perceive that it is abſolutely neceſſary that his majeſty ſhould receive an immediate aſſurance, that France acknowledges the government of Spain as party to any negociation. That ſuch is the intention of the emperor of Ruſſia his majeſty cannot doubt. His majeſty recollects with ſatisfaction the lively intereſt which his imperial majeſty has always manifeſted for the welfare and dignity of the Spaniſh monarchy, and he wants no other aſſurance that his imperial majeſty cannot have been induced to ſanction by his concurrence, or by his approbation, uſurpation, the principle of which is not leſs unjuſt than their example is dangerous to all legitimate ſovereigns.

As ſoon as the anſwers on this point ſhall have been received, and as ſoon as his majeſty ſhall have learnt the ſentiments of the king of Sweden, and thoſe of the government of Spain, I ſhall not fail to receive the commands of his majeſty

jeſty for ſuch communications as it may be neceſſary to make upon the ulterior objects of the letter of count Romanzoff.—I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE CANNING.

To his excellency the Ruſſian ambaſſador at Paris.

No. VIII.

Letter from Mr. Secretary Canning to M. de Champagny, dated Foreign Office, October 28th, 1808.

Sir,

Having laid before the king my maſter the two letters which your excellency tranſmitted to me from Erfurth, one of which was addreſſed to his majeſty, I have received his majeſty's commands to return, in anſwer to that letter, the official note which I have the honour herewith to encloſe.

I am commanded to add, that his majeſty will loſe no time in communicating to the king of Sweden and to the government of Spain the propoſals which have been made to his majeſty.—Your excellency will ſee the neceſſity of an aſſurance being immediately afforded to his majeſty, that the admiſſion of the government of Spain as a party to the negociation is underſtood and agreed to by France.

After the anſwer of your excellency upon this point ſhall have been received, and ſo ſoon as his majeſty ſhall be in poſſeſſion of the ſentiments of the king of Sweden, and of the government of Spain, I ſhall receive his majeſty's commands to communicate with your excellency on the remaining points of your letter.—I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE CANNING.

No. IX.—OFFICIAL NOTE.

The king has uniformly declared his readineſs and deſire to enter into negociations for a general peace on terms conſiſtent with the honour of his majeſty's crown, with fidelity to his engagements, and with the permanent repoſe and ſecurity of Europe. His majeſty repeats that declaration.—If the condition of the continent be one of agitation and of wretchedneſs; if many ſtates have been overthrown, and more are ſtill menaced with ſubverſion; it is a conſolation to the king to reflect, that no part of the convulſions which have already been experienced, or of thoſe which are threatened for the future, can be in any degree imputable to his majeſty. The king is moſt willing to acknowledge that all ſuch dreadful changes are indeed contrary to the policy of Great Britain.—If the cauſe of ſo much miſery is to be found in the ſtagnation of commercial intercourſe,—although his majeſty cannot be expected to hear, with unqualified regret, that the ſyſtem deviſed for the deſtruction of the commerce of his ſubjects has recoiled upon its authors, or its inſtruments,—yet is it neither in the diſpoſition of his majeſty, nor in the character of the people over whom he reigns, to rejoice in the privations and unhappineſs even of the nations which are combined againſt him. His majeſty anxiouſly deſires the termination of the ſufferings of the continent.

The war in which his majeſty is engaged, was entered into by his majeſty for the immediate object of national ſafety. It has been prolonged

prolonged only becauſe no ſecure and honourable means of terminating it have hitherto been afforded by his enemies. But in the progreſs of a war, begun for ſelf-defence, new obligations have been impoſed upon his majeſty, in behalf of powers whom the aggreſſions of a common enemy have compelled to make common cauſe with his majeſty; or who have ſolicited his majeſty's aſſiſtance and ſupport, in the vindication of their national independence. The intereſts of the crown of Portugal, and of his Sicilian majeſty, are confided to his majeſty's friendſhip and protection. With the king of Sweden his majeſty is connected by ties of the cloſeſt alliance, and by ſtipulations which unite their counſels for peace as well as for war.

To Spain his majeſty is not yet bound by any formal inſtrument; but his majeſty has, in the face of the world, contracted with that nation engagements not leſs ſacred and not leſs binding upon his majeſty's mind than the moſt ſolemn treaties. His majeſty therefore aſſumes that, in an overture made to his majeſty for entering into negociations for a general peace, the relations ſubſiſting between his majeſty and the Spaniſh monarchy have been diſtinctly taken into conſideration, and that the government acting in the name of his Catholic majeſty Ferdinand the Seventh is underſtood to be a party to any negociation in which his majeſty is invited to engage.

(Signed) GEORGE CANNING.

No. XII.

Lettter from Count Nicolas de Romanzoff to Mr. Secretary Canning, dated Paris, 16th—(28th Nov.) 1808. Received December 6th.

(Tranſlation.)

Sir,

I tranſmit to your excellency my anſwer to the note of the 28th October, which you were pleaſed to addreſs to count de Tolſtoi; and I haſten to ſeize this freſh opportunity of renewing to your excellency the aſſurances of the high conſideration with which I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) COUNT NICOLAS DE ROMANZOFF.

His excellency Mr. Canning, &c. &c.

(Tranſlation.)—NOTE.

The underſigned miniſter for foreign affairs of his majeſty the emperor of all the Ruſſias, has the honour to reply to the note of the 28th October, ſigned by Mr. Canning, ſecretary of ſtate for foreign affairs to his majeſty the king of Great Britain, and addreſſed by his excellency the Ruſſian ambaſſador at Paris:—That the admiſſion of the ſovereigns in alliance with England, to a congreſs, cannot be a point of any difficulty, and that Ruſſia and France conſent to it. But this principle by no means extends to the neceſſity of admitting the plenipotentiaries of the Spaniſh inſurgents: The emperor of Ruſſia cannot admit them. His empire, in ſimilar circumſtances,—and England can recollect one particular inſtance,—has always been true to the ſame principle. Moreover, he has already acknowledged the king Joſeph Napoleon. He has announced to his Britannic majeſty, that he was united with the empe-

ror of the French for peace as well as for war; and his imperial majeſty here repeats that declaration. He is reſolved not to ſeparate his intereſts from thoſe of that monarch; but they are both ready to conclude a peace, provided that it be juſt, honourable, and equal for all parties.

The underſigned ſees with pleaſure, that, in this difference of opinion reſpecting the Spaniards, nothing preſents itſelf which can either prevent or delay the opening of a congreſs. He derives his perſuaſion in this reſpect from that which his Britannic majeſty has himſelf confided to the two emperors, that he is bound by no poſitive engagement with thoſe who have taken up arms in Spain. After fifteen years of war, Europe has a right to demand peace. The intereſt of all the powers, including that of England, is to render it general. Humanity commands it; and ſuch a deſire, ſurely, cannot be foreign to the feelings of his Britannic majeſty. How can it be, that he alone can withdraw himſelf from ſuch an object, and refuſe to terminate the miſeries of ſuffering humanity?

The underſigned conſequently renews, in the name of the emperor his auguſt maſter, the propoſal already made, to ſend plenipotentiaries to any city on the continent, which his Britannic majeſty may pleaſe to point out; to admit to the congreſs the plenipotentiaries of the ſovereigns in alliance with Great Britain; to treat upon the baſis of the *uti poſſidetis*, and upon that of the reſpective power of the belligerent parties: in fine, to accept any baſis which may have for its object the concluſion of a peace, in which all parties ſhall find honour, juſtice, and equality. The underſigned has the honour to renew to his excellency Mr. Canning the aſſurances of his high conſideration. (Signed)

Count NICOLAS DE ROMANZOFF.

To his excellency Mr. Canning, &c. &c.

The King of Great Britain and Ireland's Declaration reſpecting the Overtures of France and Ruſſia. Dated Weſtminſter, December 15, 1808.

The overtures made to his majeſty by the governments of Ruſſia and of France have not led to negociation; and the intercourſe to which thoſe overtures gave riſe being terminated, his majeſty thinks it right thus promptly and publicly to make known its termination.—The continued appearance of a negociation, when peace has been found to be utterly unattainable, could be advantageous only to the enemy.—It might enable France to ſow diſtruſt and jealouſy in the councils of thoſe who are combined to reſiſt her oppreſſions: and if, among the nations which groan under the tyranny of French alliance, or among thoſe which maintain againſt France a doubtful and precarious independence, there ſhould be any which even now are balancing between the certain ruin of a prolonged inactivity, and the contingent dangers of an effort to ſave themſelves from that ruin; to nations ſo ſituated the deluſive proſpect of a peace between Great Britain and France could not fail to be peculiarly injurious. Their preparations might be relaxed by the

the vain hope of returning tranquillity; or their purpoſe ſhaken by the apprehenſion of being left to contend alone.—That ſuch was, in fact, the main object of France in the propoſals tranſmitted to his majeſty from Erfurth, his majeſty entertained a ſtrong perſuaſion.—But at a moment when reſults ſo awful from their importance, and ſo tremendous from their uncertainty, might be depending upon the deciſion of peace or war, the king felt it due to himſelf to aſcertain, beyond the poſſibility of doubt, the views and intentions of his enemies.—It was difficult for his majeſty to believe, that the emperor of Ruſſia had devoted himſelf ſo blindly and fatally to the violence and ambition of the power with which his imperial majeſty had unfortunately become allied, as to be prepared openly to abet the uſurpation of the Spaniſh monarchy; and to acknowledge and maintain the right aſſumed by France, to depoſe and impriſon friendly ſovereigns, and forcibly to transfer to herſelf the allegiance of independent nations. When therefore it was propoſed to his majeſty to enter into negociation for a general peace, in concert with his majeſty's allies, and to treat either on the baſis of the *uti poſſidetis* (heretofore the ſubject of ſo much controverſy), or on any other baſis, conſiſtent with juſtice, honour, and equality, his majeſty determined to meet this ſeeming fairneſs and moderation, with fairneſs and moderation on his majeſty's part, real and ſincere.—The king profeſſed his readineſs to enter into ſuch negociation in concurrence with his allies; and undertook forthwith to communicate to them the propoſals which his majeſty had received. But as his majeſty was not connected with Spain by a formal treaty of alliance, his majeſty thought it neceſſary to declare, that the engagements which he had contracted, in the face of the world, with that nation, were conſidered by his majeſty as no leſs ſacred, and no leſs binding upon his majeſty, than the moſt ſolemn treaties; and to expreſs his majeſty's juſt confidence that the government of Spain, acting in the name of his Catholic majeſty Ferdinand VII. was underſtood to be a party of the negociation.—The reply returned by France to this propoſition of his majeſty caſts off at once the thin diſguiſe, which had been aſſumed for a momentary purpoſe; and diſplays, with leſs than ordinary reſerve, the arrogance and injuſtice of that government. The univerſal Spaniſh nation is deſcribed by the degrading appellation of "the Spaniſh inſurgents:" and the demand for the admiſſion of the government of Spain as a party to any negociation, is rejected as inadmiſſible and inſulting.—With aſtoniſhment as well as with grief his majeſty has received from the emperor of Ruſſia a reply, ſimilar in effect, although leſs indecorous in tone and manner. The emperor of Ruſſia alſo ſtigmatizes as "inſurrection," the glorious efforts of the Spaniſh people in behalf of their legitimate ſovereign, and in defence of the independence of their country; thus giving the ſanction of his imperial majeſty's authority to an uſurpation which has no parallel in the hiſtory of the world.—The king would readily have embraced an opportunity of negociation, which might have afforded any hope or proſpect of a peace, compatible

with juſtice and with honour. His majeſty deeply laments an iſſue, by which the ſufferings of Europe are aggravated and prolonged. But neither the honour of his majeſty, nor the generoſity of the Britiſh nation, would admit his majeſty's conſenting to commence a negociation, by the abandonment of a brave and loyal people, who are contending for the preſervation of all that is dear to man; and whoſe exertions in a cauſe ſo unqueſtionably juſt, his majeſty has ſolemnly pledged himſelf to ſuſtain.

Rejoinder to his Britannic Majeſty's Order in Council, Nov. 11, 1807. —*At our Royal Palace, at Milan, Dec.* 17, 1807.

Dec. 7, 1807.

Napoleon, emperor of the French, king of Italy, and protector of the Rheniſh confederation:— Obſerving the meaſures adopted by the Britiſh government, on the 11th of November laſt, by which veſſels belonging to neutral, friendly, or even powers the allies of England, are made liable, not only to be ſearched by Engliſh cruizers, but to be compulſorily detained in England, and to have a tax laid on them of ſo much per cent. on the cargo, to be regulated by the Britiſh legiſlature:

Obſerving that by theſe acts the Britiſh government *denationalizes* ſhips of every nation in Europe, that it is not competent for any government to detract from its own independence and rights, all the ſovereigns of Europe having in truſt the ſovereignties and independence of the flag; that if by an unpardonable weakneſs, and which in the eyes of poſterity, would be an indelible ſtain, ſuch a tyranny was allowed to be eſtabliſhed into principles and conſecrated by uſage, the Engliſh would avail themſelves of it to aſſert it as a right, as they have availed themſelves of the tolerance of governments to eſtabliſh the infamous principle, that the flag of a nation does not cover goods, and to give to their right of blockade an arbitrary extenſion, and which infringes on the ſovereignty of every ſtate; we have decreed, and do decree, as follows:

Art. I. Every ſhip, to whatever nation it may belong, that ſhall have ſubmitted to be ſearched by an Engliſh ſhip, or to a voyage to England, or that ſhall have paid any tax whatſoever to the Engliſh government, is thereby, and for that alone, declared to be *denationalized*, to have forfeited the protection of its king, and to have become Engliſh property.

Art. II. Whether the ſhips *denationalized* by the arbitrary meaſures of the Engliſh government enter into our ports, or thoſe of our allies, or whether they fall into the hands of our ſhips of war, or of our privateers, they are declared to be good and lawful prizes.

Art. III. The Britiſh iſlands are declared to be in a ſtate of blockade both by ſea and land. Every ſhip, of whatever nation, or whatſoever the nature of its cargo may be, that ſails from the ports of England, or thoſe of the Engliſh colonies, or to countries occupied by Engliſh troops, is good and lawful prize, as contrary to the preſent decree; and may be captured by our ſhips of war, or our privateers, and adjudged to the captor.

Art.

Art. IV. Theſe meaſures, which are reſorted to only in juſt retaliation of the barbarous ſyſtem adopted by England, which aſſimilates its legiſlation to that of Algiers, ſhall ceaſe to have any effect with reſpect to all nations who ſhall have the firmneſs to compel the Engliſh government to reſpect their flag. They ſhall continue to be rigorouſly in force as long as that government does not return to the principle of the law of nations, which regulates the relations of civilized ſtates in a ſtate of war. The proviſions of the preſent decree ſhall be abrogated and null, in fact, as ſoon as the Engliſh abide again by the principles of the law of nations, which are alſo the principles of juſtice, and of honour.

All our miniſters are charged with the execution of the preſent decree, which ſhall be inſerted in the bulletin of the laws.

NAPOLEON.

Decree on the Succeſſion to the Crown of Italy.

Milan, Dec. 19, 1807.

We, Napoleon, by the grace of God, and the conſtitution of the empire, emperor of the French, and king of Italy, decree as follows:—

Art. I. We adopt for our ſon prince Eugene Beauharnois, arch-chancellor of ſtate of our empire of France, and viceroy of our kingdom of Italy.

II. The crown of Italy ſhall be after us, and in default of our children, and male legitimate deſcendants, hereditary in the perſon of prince Eugene, and his direct legitimate deſcendants from male to male by order of primogeniture, to the perpetual excluſion of women and their deſcendants.

III. In default of our ſons and male deſcendants, and the ſons and male deſcendants of Prince Eugene, the crown of Italy ſhall devolve to the ſon and neareſt relative of ſuch of the princes of our blood who ſhall then reign in France.

IV. Prince Eugene, our ſon, ſhall enjoy all the honours attached to our adoption.

V. The right which our adoption gives him ſhall never, in any caſe, authoriſe him or his deſcendants to urge any pretenſion to the crown of France, the ſucceſſion to which is invariably fixed.

NAPOLEON.

Motives of the Senatus Conſultum upon the Conſcription of 1809, *declared by Regnaud de St. Jean D'Angely, Miniſter of State.*

SENATORS,

When your wiſdom called out the conſcripts of 1808, your wiſhes were directed towards the peace which ſignal victories had prepared—you wiſhed to enſure new means of conquering and pacifying. The ſucceſs ſurpaſſed your hopes—the flames of war are extinguiſhed upon the continent—a durable peace has been ſworn between the two greateſt ſovereigns in the world, and Europe has time to breathe. But there is a government to which the repoſe of Europe is deſpair, to which peace is terror, to which diſcord is neceſſary, and war hope. England has replied to the offer of a gene-

a generous mediation offered by the emperor of Ruſſia, by carrying fire and ſword into the territories of his moſt ancient ally, by profeſſing more ſolemnly contempt of the rights of nations, by proclaiming more inhumanly the principle of eternal war. The indignation of all ſovereigns has replied to the injurious manifeſtos, to the cunning declarations, to the barbarous acts of the cabinet of St. James. The predictions which the orators of his majeſty made to you a year ago in this tribune are realized. It is, we ſaid, from the boſom of the continent, which England would ſet in a flame, that henceforth a terrible war ſhall be waged againſt her. It is by applying to her on all the European ſhores the principles ſhe has applied in all ſeas, that we ſhall bring her back to the ancient principles of the law of nations and of civilized ſtates. It is by exiling her ſhips from all the coaſts where we have ſoldiers and allies that the Engliſh miniſtry will be puniſhed for the culpable refuſal of giving peace to the world. Such, Senators, were the words we addreſſed to you in ſpeaking of the conſcription of 1808, and behold a ſacred and powerful league is formed to puniſh the Engliſh oligarchy, defend the rights of nations, and avenge humanity. From the Baltic to the Mediterranean, from the Nile to the Narva, but few points remain to the Engliſh ſhips where they can land, or where they are not forbidden to touch.

But it is not ſufficient to have, by a juſt reciprocity, pronounced againſt England that dreadful ſentence of outlawry; ſhe muſt not be permitted to be at reſt in the ſeat of her iniquitous domination, upon any of her coaſts, in any of her colonies, under any points of the globe, which are not yet interdicted to her. It is neceſſary that, repelled from one part of the world, menaced in all others, England ſhould know not where to direct the little military force of which ſhe has the diſpoſal; and that our armies, more formidable than ever, ſhould be ready to carry into her poſſeſſions our victorious and avenging eagles. Such, gentlemen, are the motives which have determined his majeſty to demand a new conſcription. The levy of the preceding year has been, as you foreſaw, the pledge of continental peace—the levy of this year will be the preſage of a maritime peace. The pillage of the arſenal and port of Copenhagen—the emigration of the Portugueſe fleet, have not yet left the continent without ſhips.

Our legions can yet reach the Engliſh militia—Ireland may yet hope for ſuccour againſt oppreſſion—India may yet expect deliverers; and while our ancient phalanxes ſhall march to haſten the days of juſtice, new legions of young warriors ſhall be trained to diſcipline and to battle, under the paternal eye of thoſe warlike magiſtrates—of thoſe ſenators generals, who with ſo happy a zeal have already formed brave men to replace thoſe whom war has ſnatched from the country, or who have been reſtored to their families. His majeſty will have a ſuperabundance of means to realiſe his pacific views, or to execute his warlike projects. To the powerful armies of his faithful allies, his majeſty will unite, for common defence and triumph, ſo formidable a maſs, that

that ſucceſs will not long be doubtful. So juſt a cauſe will not be vainly defended by ſo much force, and protected by ſo many powers. A league ſo impoſing in its elements, ſo generous in its policy, ſo juſt in its objects, ſo great in its means, will at length bring back our enemies to juſtice through fear, or to ſubmiſſion through victory.

Circular Letter, addreſſed by the Miniſter of the Interior to the Chamber of Commerce.

" You are not unacquainted, gentlemen, with the late acts of the Britiſh government, that laſt ſtage of the oppreſſion of the commerce of the world; you know that it has reſolved to deſtroy the feeble remains of the independence of the ſeas. It now thinks proper, that henceforth no ſhip ſhall navigate the ſeas without touching at its ports, without a tribute to its pretended ſovereignty, and without receiving from it an ignominious licence.

" Thus the ocean is henceforward only the field of ſlavery; the uſurpation of the moſt ſacred of the rights of nations is conſummated, and this tyrannic yoke is to preſs upon them until the day of vengeance; or until, brought to a due ſenſe of moderation, the Engliſh government will itſelf calm its rage, and break that ſceptre to which the nations of the continent will never conſent to ſubmit.

" I am calling our common attention to the important circumſtances which muſt powerfully induce us to awaken your patriotiſm and your wiſdom. One would have imagined that every obſtruction and reſtraint that clogged the courſe of the commerce on the continent had been exhauſted; ſtill, however, they are going to be aggravated by the meaſures lately adopted by England; but they will find our minds made up to ſtruggle againſt, and to overcome, this new mode of oppreſſion.

" We muſt not ſhut our eyes to the conſequences. Importation and exportation, already ſo much reſtricted, will ſoon be much more ſo. Every thing connected with maritime commerce, every thing that depends upon it, will now be liable to more difficulties, to more uncertainty. There are, however, two channels that ſtill remain open.

" The power of attacking every ſhip that renounces the independence of its national flag, by a ſhameful ſubmiſſion to the Britiſh ſovereignty, or by navigating under a Britiſh licence, will open a wide field to the hopes of our commanders. Such a reſource will not prove ineffectual; and French commerce will not devote itſelf uſeleſsly to that ſort of warfare which never lets courage, dexterity, and deciſion, go unrewarded.

" We have, moreover, to hope that neutral ſhips will elude the vigilance of the Engliſh cruizers. The immenſe extent of the coaſt of the empire will favour and protect their enterprizes.

" Theſe reſources ought not to be undervalued, nor counted for nothing. France will ſubmit to a temporary ſituation, which can only change with time, and with new exertions; but her enemy ſhall not deprive her of the main baſis of her proſperity, her internal communication, her relations with the continent, where ſhe no longer ſees any but

but friends and allies; her ſoil will not be leſs fertile, her induſtry will not maintain itſelf the leſs, though deprived of ſome materials which it is not impoſſible to replace.

"To this laſt propoſition I am rather anxious, gentlemen, to direct your attention. You have advice to give, and examples to hold out to commerce. You muſt already foreſee the effect of the privation of certain materials, more eſpecially of cotton, and of ingredients for dyeing cotton, of which a quantity has been ſtored up in France. That which we ſhall derive from the Levant, and that which, at a more diſtant period, we ſhall reap from our indigenous culture, not unſucceſsfully eſſayed, will ſuffice to ſupport, in a great meaſure, our manufactures; but in the expectation that ſome of them may experience privations, we muſt have recourſe, as far as poſſible, to hemp and flax, in order to provide occupation for thoſe manufacturers who would no longer be employed with articles of cotton. It were deſirable that we could circumſcribe our conſumption within the products of the materials the growth of our ſoil, and reſtrain the unhappy effects of habits and taſte contracted for manufactures, that would render us dependent upon foreign countries.

"The materials for dyeing may become ſcarce, but many of them may be replaced by the productions of our ſoil. We will diſpenſe with the reſt by a ſlight ſacrifice of ſome colours, which may pleaſe from their apparent greater beauty, without adding any thing to the intrinſic goodneſs of the article. Beſides, no ſmall reliance is to be placed on the genius of our manufacturers; it will triumph over thoſe difficulties.

"The channels which, in ſpite of theſe uſurpations, will remain open to importation, may not ſuffice for the conſumption of ſugar and coffee. Theſe objects of a ſecondary utility may become ſcarce; but the great maſs of the nation will not ſuffer from this temporary privation; habits of indulgence, too widely carried, will be counteracted and reſtrained by the riſe in the price.

"And beſides, is it to be ſuppoſed that the great nation will allow itſelf to be intimidated by the privation of ſome futile enjoyments?—Her armies have endured, without a murmur, the moſt pinching wants; that great example will not have been held out in vain; and when we have in view to reconquer the independence of the ſeas—when we have in view to reſcue and redeem commerce from the ruinous acts of piracy that are juridically exerciſed againſt it;—when we have in view the vindication of the national honour, and the breaking down of thoſe *furcæ Caudinæ* which England is attempting to erect upon our coaſts, the French people will ſupport, with the dignity and the courage that belong to their great character, the momentary ſacrifices that are impoſed upon their taſte, their habits, and their induſtry. The commerce of Europe will ſoon, no doubt, be reſcued from oppreſſion. The intereſts of nations, the honour of ſovereigns, the magnanimous reſolutions of the moſt powerful of the allies of France, the power and wiſh of the hero who rules over us, the juſtice of a cauſe to which Heaven will grant its protection,

every

every motive concurs to decide the conteſt; nor can its iſſue remain uncertain.

"Accept, gentlemen, the aſſurance of my ſincere eſteem.

(Signed) "CRETET."

WESTPHALIAN CONSTITUTION.

"*Caſſel, Dec.* 15, 1807.

"A decree of the 7th inſtant publiſhes the conſtitution of the kingdom of Weſtphalia. The following is the tenor of the principal parts of it:—

"Napoleon, by the grace of God and the conſtitution, emperor of the French, king of Italy, protector of the confederacy of the Rhine:

"Wiſhing to give a prompt execution to the 19th article of the treaty of Tilſit, and eſtabliſh for the kingdom of Weſtphalia fundamental conſtitutions, which may aſſure the felicity of the nations that conſtitute it, and at the ſame time furniſh the ſovereign, as member of the confederacy of the Rhine, with the means of concurring with the general ſafety and proſperity, have decreed, and do decree as follows:

"Title I. Art. I.—The kingdom of Weſtphalia is compoſed of the following ſtates, viz. the territory of Brunſwick Wolfenbuttel, the part of the Altmark which lies on the left bank of the Elbe, the part of the diſtrict of Magdeburg which lies on the left bank of the Elbe, the territory of Halle, the diſtrict of Hildeſheim, and the town of Goſlar, the lands belonging to Halberſtadt, Hohenſtein, and Quedlinbourg, the earldom of Mansfield, Eichfield, with Treffurth, Mulhauſen, Nordhauſen, the earldom of Stolberg, Wernigerode, the territory of Heſſe Caſſel, with Rintelu and Schaumbourgh, not including Hanau, and Katzenelbogen on the Rhine, the territory of Corvey, Gottingen, and Grubenhagen, with the lands which lie ſurrounded by Hohenſtein and Elbingerode, the biſhopric of Oſnabruck, the biſhopric of Paderborn, Minden, and Ravenſberg, the earldom of Rietberg-Kaunitz.

"II.—We reſerve to ourſelves one moiety of the allodial domains of the princes, to be applied in furniſhing the recompences we have promiſed to the officers of our armies, who have rendered us the greateſt ſervice in the preſent war. Poſſeſſion ſhall be taken of theſe eſtates without delay by our intendants, and the *proces verbal* ſhall be drawn up conjointly with the magiſtrates of the countries before the 1ſt of December.

"III.—The extraordinary military contributions, which have been demanded in theſe countries, ſhall be paid, or ſecurity for the payment given, before the 1ſt of December.

"IV.—On the 1ſt of December the king of Weſtphalia ſhall be put in poſſeſſion of the ſovereignty of his territory, by commiſſioners whom we will nominate.

"Title II. Art. V.—The kingdom of Weſtphalia forms a part of the confederation of the Rhine: its contingent ſhall be 25,000 men, viz. 20,000 infantry, 3,500 cavalry, and 1,500 artillery.

"During the firſt year there ſhall be raiſed only 10,000 infantry, 2000 cavalry, and 50 artillery; the 12,500 others ſhall be furniſhed

furniſhed by France, and ſhall be garriſoned at Magdeburgh.—Theſe 12,500 ſhall be paid, maintained and clothed by the king of Weſtphalia.

"Title III. Art. VI.—The kingdom of Weſtphalia ſhall be hereditary in the male heirs of the body of prince Jerome Napoleon, in the order of primogeniture, and to the perpetual excluſion of the females and their deſcendants.

"In default of legitimate deſcendants of prince Jerome Napoleon, the throne of Weſtphalia ſhall devolve upon us and our heirs and deſcendants, either of our body or by adoption.

"And in default of theſe, to the lawful deſcendants of prince Joſeph Napoleon, king of Naples and Sicily.

"And in default of theſe, to the lawful deſcendants of prince Louis Napoleon, king of Holland.

"And in default of theſe latter, to the lawful deſcendants of prince Joachim, grand duke of Berg and Cleves.

"VII.—The king of Weſtphalia and his family are ſubject, in all that reſpects them, to the diſpoſitions of the law reſpecting the imperial family.

"VIII.—In caſe of minority, the regent of the kingdom ſhall be nominated by us, or our ſucceſſors, in our quality of chief of the imperial family.

"He ſhall be choſen from among the princes of the royal family.

"The minority of the king ſhall terminate at the age of 18.

"IX.—The king and royal family ſhall have for their ſupport a revenue apart, entitled, 'Revenue of the crown, amounting to the ſum of five millions of francs yearly.

"The revenue ariſing from the domain foreſts, and a part of the domain lands, is appropriated to this purpoſe. In caſe the domains ſhould be inadequate, the ſurplus ſhall be paid monthly out of the public treaſury."

Imperial Decree for eſtabliſhing a Biſhop in Dalmatia.

Napoleon, emperor of the French, king of Italy, and protector of the confederation of the Rhine, wiſhing to afford ſpiritual help to our ſubjects of the Greek perſuaſion, we have decreed, and do decree as follows:

Art. I.—There ſhall be in Dalmatia a biſhop of the Greek ritual.

II.—There ſhall alſo be a chapter and a ſeminary for the inſtruction of clergymen of the ſame worſhip.

III.—We grant to the biſhop an endowment of 15,000 livres per annum, from our royal treaſury.

IV.—The ſame ſum is granted from the treaſury, to the chapter and ſeminary, for their annual ſupport.

V.—In the courſe of the approaching month of November, a ſynod ſhall be convoked, over which the providetor-general ſhall preſide, compoſed of forty perſons of the Greek ritual, to be ſelected by the providetor-general, from double the number, who ſhall be communicated by the archimandrite, &c.

Given at the Palace of St. Cloud, Sept. 17, 1808.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

(Counter-ſigned) A. ALDINI, Italian Secretary of State.

Speech

Speech of Napoleon to the Legiſlative Body, on opening the Seſſion, on the 26th October.

Meſſrs. Deputies, Members of the Legiſlative Body,

The code of laws, laying down the principles of property and of civil freedom, which forms the ſubject of your labours, will be adopted as the ſentiment of Europe. My people already experience the moſt ſalutary effects from them. The lateſt laws have laid the foundation of our ſyſtem of finance. That is a monument of the might and greatneſs of France. We ſhall henceforward be able to meet the expenditure which might be rendered neceſſary, even by a general coalition of Europe, from our yearly income alone. Never ſhall we be reduced to have recourſe to the fatal expedients of paper money, of loans, or of anticipations of revenue. I have, in the preſent year, laid out more than a thouſand miles of road. The ſyſtem of works which I have eſtabliſhed for the improvement of our territory, will be carried forward with zeal.—The proſpect of the great French family, lately torn to pieces by opinions and inteſtine rancour, but now proſperous, tranquil, and united, has affected my ſoul in a remarkable manner. I have felt that in order to be happy, I ſhould in the firſt place be aſſured that France was happy. The peace of Preſburg, that of Tilſit, the aſſault of Copenhagen, the plans of England againſt all nations on the ocean, the different revolutions at Conſtantinople, the affairs of Spain and Portugal, have, in various ways, exerciſed an influence on the affairs of the world.—Ruſſia and Denmark have united with me againſt England. The united ſtates of America have rather choſen to abandon commerce and the ſea, than to acknowledge their ſlavery. A part of my army has marched againſt that which England has formed in Spain, or has diſembarked. It is a diſtinguiſhed favour of that Providence which has conſtantly protected our arms, that paſſion has ſo far blinded the Engliſh councils, that they abandon the defence of the ſeas, and at laſt produce their army on the continent. I depart in a few days to put myſelf in perſon at the head of my army, and, with God's help, to crown the king of Spain in Madrid, and to plant my eagles on the forts of Spain. I have only to praiſe the ſentiments of the princes of the confederation of the Rhine. Switzerland experiences more and more the benefits of the act of mediation. The people of Italy give me grounds for nothing but expreſſions of ſatisfaction.—The emperor of Ruſſia and myſelf have had an interview at Erfurth. Our firſt thought was a thought of peace. We have even reſolved to make ſome ſacrifices, in order to enable the hundred millions of men whom we repreſent, if poſſible, the ſooner to enjoy the benefits of the commerce of the ſeas. We are agreed, and unchangeably united, as well for peace as for war.—Meſſieurs deputies, I have ordered my miniſters of finance, and of the general treaſury, to lay before you an account of the receipt and expenditure of the year. You will therein ſee with ſatisfaction that I have not felt it neceſſary to increaſe the tarif with any impoſt. My people ſhall experience

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no new burthen. The ſpeakers of my council of ſtate will ſubmit to you many plans of laws, and among others, all thoſe which have relation to the criminal code. I rely conſtantly on your co-operation.

Expoſé; or, State of the French Empire.—Paris, Nov. 3.

In the ſitting of yeſterday, his excellency the miniſter of the interior, accompanied by Meſſrs. de Segur and Corvetto, counſellors of ſtate, pronounced the following ſpeech on the ſituation of the French empire:—Gentlemen, you terminated your laſt ſeſſion, leaving the empire happy, and its chief loaded with glory. The year has paſſed away, and a multitude of new circumſtances have added to the good fortune of the country, and increaſed our hopes of future benefits. All that I have to ſtate to you, gentlemen, is already known to you; and, for your full information, I have only to retrace to your memory the principal events which have filled up the interval between your laſt and your preſent ſeſſion, and to recal to you the additional advantages for which France is indebted to the wiſdom and valour of her ſovereign. I will ſpeak to you firſt of the wants of nations; juſtice, public inſtruction, the arts and ſciences, the numerous branches of internal adminiſtration, public worſhip, the finances, and our principal relations with the ſtates of the continent. The recital will bring us of courſe to this lamentable war, which we maintain againſt one ſingle people. The glory of our nation wounds that people, our ſtrength alarms them: the independence of our commerce and our induſtry diſquiets them; every thing is again ſubjected to the fortune of war; but the days of juſtice are not far diſtant.—[Here follows a long detail reſpecting the adminiſtration of juſtice, the principal amelioration of which conſiſts in the eſtabliſhment of the trial by jury, on the preciſe principles of the Engliſh law. The next head is that of public worſhip, which is followed by that of ſciences and literature, public inſtruction, &c. —Theſe articles being of great length, and leſs immediate importance, we reſerve them for a future opportunity, and proceed to the heads which are moſt intereſting to the Engliſh reader.]—Among the arts of induſtry which have made progreſs in the courſe of this year, we muſt enumerate the manufactory of tin. In two of our manufactories they have attained a degree of perfection no ways yielding to that of the Engliſh. A premium of encouragement has been given accordingly; and another is alſo deſtined to ulterior efforts in the ſame branch.—The mechanics, in their endeavours of ſimplifying their looms, and introducing economy in their labours, have often alſo improved the quality of their ſtuffs. Thoſe that are uſed in the weaving of cotton, have, for ſeveral years, been much multiplied; the ſpirit of invention has brought them to perfection. There is nothing now but what we can make, and very well. The weaving of the cotton has made as marked a progreſs as the ſpinning. Theſe two kinds of induſtry are already adequate to the conſumption of the empire, which is for ever liberated

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of the grievous taxation it has hitherto been under to the Indian manufacturers and to their oppreſſors. The machines beſt calculated for the manufacture of cloths, are already in wide circulation; they have lately been much encouraged by advances made to different manufacturers in the departments.—The conſervatory of arts and handicraft is daily enriching by the acquiſition of new patterns, and is entitled to commendation for the information which the pupils receive, who frequent its ſchool of drawing and deſcriptive geometry. Reforms have been made in the ſchool at Chalons-ſur-Marne.—The conſultation chambers of the manufactures are haſtening to preſent uſeful views, which will be taken advantage of. The inſtitution of arbitrators, for the purpoſe of deciding with celerity variances that may ariſe between the workmen and their employers, render to induſtry ſervices which have been ſet forth. Since your laſt ſeſſion, gentlemen, ſeveral towns have demanded them, and there are already ſome eſtabliſhed at Niſmes, Aix-la-Chapelle, Avignon, Troyes, Mulhauſen, Sedan, and Thiers.

Commerce.—The political events have been unfavourable to commerce. It ſtill was kept alive in the midſt of the contentions that have deluged the continent in blood, becauſe thoſe nations that were not involved in the war preſerved their neutrality—that right deemed, even in our times, inviolable. But the Engliſh legiſlation, already miſled by the ambition of univerſal monopoly, has overthrown the ancient barrier of the law of nations, and trampled their independence under foot, ſubſtituting in the room of them a new maritime code. The ordinances of his Britannic majeſty have realized theſe innovations: that of the 11th of November, 1807, is particularly remarkable; it pronounces, by an univerſal blockade, the interdiction of all our ports, in ſubjecting the ſhips of neutral powers, friendly and even allied to Great Britain, to the viſitations of its cruiſers, to be conducted to Britiſh ports, and there to be taxed by an arbitrary inquiſition.—The emperor, obliged to oppoſe juſt repriſals to this ſtrange legiſlation, gave out the decree of the 23d of November, ordaining the ſeizure and confiſcation of the ſhips which, after having touched in England, ſhould enter the ports of France.—From theſe meaſures, provoked by the Britiſh laws, the almoſt abſolute ceſſation of the maritime relations, and many privations for the French merchants, manufacturers, and conſumers, muſt have neceſſarily enſued. We all know with what reſignation theſe privations were endured; we know that they are already become habitual, that they have awakened the genius of invention, and produced a thouſand reſources in ſubſtitution of the objects which we are in want of; we know, finally, that a great nation, eſſentially agricultural, can, by poſſeſſing in abundance all articles of utility, eaſily forego thoſe, which only form certain luxuries or conveniences of life, particularly when its independence and glory ſhould be put at ſtake.—Theſe circumſtances have favoured one of the greateſt ſcourges of commerce, ſmuggling. But it has been ſtrongly repreſſed. The government is preparing new means againſt this foe to the public revenue, and national

tional induſtry; the great emoluments it procures excites the moſt ardent cupidity. Thoſe, who ought not to be honoured with the approbation of merchants, leſt we ſhould degrade commerce, are ſtill devoting themſelves to criminal peculations; they think that they are only braving the ſhame of an ordinary tranſgreſſion; but the public indignation and vengeance will overtake them, and teach them that under circumſtances where the nation employs for its defence, in an unexampled war, the interdiction of all commercial relations with the enemy, the violation of theſe diſpoſitions is a hoſtile declaration, a true alliance with this ſame enemy; that conſequently every ſmuggler renounces the benefit of the municipal laws, to be ſubjected ſolely to thoſe of war, and that he ought to dread the terrible and rapid application of thoſe laws, which authoriſe the invaſion of his fortune, and perſonal caſtigation.—The government, penetrated with the ſituation of the French commerce, has ſtrove to mitigate the evils, to provide for its wants.—Abroad, a treaty with the kingdom of Italy ſecures to France all the advantages which are compatible with reciprocal juſtice. In the interior, various ſums have been advanced to manufacturers and proprietors of produce, which public events had accumulated or cramped in their ſtores.—The *Caiſſe d'Armortiſſement* has interfered in the outfittings of adventurers.—A law has limited the bounds of the intereſt on money; offices eſtabliſhed at Lyons and Rouen are preluſive to a grand ſyſtem of facility in the circulation of the ſpecie and merchandize.—The exchange and the commercial tribunal of Paris ſee riſing for their accommodation a ſtately palace, on the ſite of the nunnery of St. Thomas.—Conformably to the new code, an organization of the tribunals of commerce of the empire is preparing. The prefects, the courts of appeal have been conſulted on the moſt eligible ſites for theſe tribunals, as well as on the ſubject of their number, the judges and their ſurrogates. A general project has been ſubmitted to the diſcuſſion of the council of ſtate, and to the ſanction of his majeſty.

Agriculture.—The prefects, the courts of appeal, and of the members of the general councils of department, formed in commiſſion, are alſo called upon to give their advice on a project of the greateſt utility, that of a rural code, ſo important to the proſperity of agriculture, and ſo cloſely interwoven with national proſperity.—In the mean time, one of the principal improvements of which agriculture is capable, is daily effected by the re-organization of our repoſitories for the breed of horſes. Eight new repoſitories of ſtallions have been formed this year. Premiums held out to the owners of the beſt horſes brought to the fairs, rewards decreed at the departmental races, are ſo many additional means of favouring the production of the moſt eligible ſpecies of this animal. Two new ſheep-farms have been introduced. Six hundred Merinos, of the beſt breed, have been ordered from Spain, and they are already arrived in France, notwithſtanding the variety of obſtacles that have occurred on their paſſage. They will be divided in two new eſtabliſhments, as yet in embryo. The multiplication of the flocks increaſes rapidly,

rapidly, and we may conſider the happy revolution introduced in this branch as completed.—May it one day be ſo alſo with the culture of cotton. In ſpite of the contrarieties of a hardy ſpring, and a tolerably cold autumn, the attempts made ſtill give room to hope for ultimate ſucceſs. We are juſtified to augur well alſo of the attempts made on the ſubject of the ſyrups of the grape. The rich culture of tobacco is daily extending; that which is gathered in the vicinity of St. Malo, equals in quality that of America. France will one day, to judge by appearances, not only ſupply its own wants with that production, but alſo export it to her neighbours.

The Public Treaſure and Finances. —Regularity, and a judicious adminiſtration, prevail in every department of the public treaſury.—The national accounts are reduced to a ſyſtem the moſt ſcientific and luminous; it differs from the mode adopted by the moſt intelligent merchants, only in the extent and neceſſary complication of the tranſactions of government.—The finances have been gradually brought by the emperor, from a ſtate of dilapidation and confuſion, to a ſtate of order and proſperity unknown in the governments the beſt adminiſtered. It is a trophy raiſed by vigorous exertion, by combinations the moſt judicious, and by a perſeverance which has unravelled the moſt intricate details, and ſurmounted incredible difficulties. The nation enjoys the benefits which reſult from this new ſort of conqueſt. Since France has generouſly conſented to the adoption of indirect taxation, the finances have really been conſolidated, and the utmoſt facility of carrying on the functions of every department of the public ſervice.—The finances in modern times may be conſidered as the ſecurity of ſtates, and the meaſure of their ſtability. If they furniſh government only with inadequate, precarious, or oppreſſive reſources, its energies become paralyzed, individuals inſolvent, and if war, or any other calamity, ſhould viſit a nation under theſe circumſtances, it muſt ſubſcribe to its own diſhonour, or be involved in irretrievable ruin.—The finances of a ſtate are not eſſentially and efficiently good, until they become independent of circumſtances—until they can be maintained independently of the ruinous expedient of reſorting to loans and exceſſive contributions—until, in fine, they are ſo connected and identified with national proſperity, that they conſtitute a direct emanation from it; then only can they be deemed ſolid, efficient, permanent, and eſſentially national, and, particularly, if they have received an organization ſufficiently ſimple: ſo that in an extraordinary emergency, all the property, and all the individuals may be called upon, promptly, to furniſh their reſpective quotas in advance.—The endeavours of his majeſty have been inceſſantly directed to the attainment of this deſirable object, and they have been crowned by the moſt complete ſucceſs, and the finances are calculated in future to meet with equal effect the exigences of war and of peace. In a period of peace, 600 millions will be ſufficient to defray the public expenſes, and will leave a large ſurplus for national improvements. The receipts, which amount at the preſent moment to 800 millions, will,

will, according to this arrangement, be reduced one-fourth.—In time of war, it is not in the contemplation of his imperial majeſty to reſort to the illuſory expedients of impoſing taxes of a novel deſcription, or to hold out temptation to raiſe new ſupplies. The contributions on the recurrence of war will be brought back to the war ſtandard—*i. e.* 800 millions, and even then raiſed only by 100 or 150 millions at a time, in caſe of need; and this will be done by a ſimple ſcale, or table of proportions, which will enable every citizen to judge of the ſhare he has in the good or bad fortune of the ſtate.—Obſerve, gentlemen, that this ſimplicity has no affinity or connection with that ſo conſiderably extolled as the reſult of a ſingle direct contribution; it is, on the contrary, founded on a conviction that taxes ought to be laid on various objects, that our laws of finance include all the taxes which it was expedient to eſtabliſh, and that all that is juſt and reaſonable has been effected.—It remains only to limit to the ſurvey or regiſter, without which the uniform progreſs of the ſcale of increaſe or diminution would be deficient, in proportion, and would continue to affect the proprietors of the funds actually ſurcharged; the making up of this regiſter, which ought to efface ſo much inequality, to repair ſo much involuntary and inevitable injuſtice, is purſued with ſo much conſtancy, that thoſe who diſbelieved the practicability of this immenſe work, no longer doubt of its ſpeedy execution. I muſt not here omit, gentlemen, the creation of the court of accounts, to the eſtabliſhment of which you co-operated in your laſt ſeſſion. We wanted a new inſtitution, powerful in its unity, preſent to all the depoſitaries of the public property by the rapidity of its action, embracing all the reſponſibility of inferior accountants connected with the public income and expenditure. This court ought, by the diſtribution of its duties, and the number of its members, to be adequate to all the occaſions, and reſponſible for all the labours, that may be intruſted to it. The principles on which this eſtabliſhment reſts, the choice of its members, the conſideration in which they are held, every thing guarantees the ſucceſs the government has promiſed itſelf, that of a ſalutary controul over the ſeveral accountants.

Adminiſtration of the War Department.—The ſame principles of order, and the ſame views for the acceleration of the ſervice, have influenced the general direction of the commiſſariat, whoſe firſt eſſays juſtify the expectation that had been formed. This adminiſtration renders the ſupplies of the army independent of contractors, who have ſo frequently done injury, at the ſame time that it ſecures the advantage of our economy, very ſenſible to the public funds.

Marine.—Though during the preſent campaign the government has limited its maritime operations, ſtill a ſquadron armed at Toulon, as if by enchantment, and conducted with ſkill, has been able to defeat, by able manœuvres, the combinations of the enemy, by conveying to Corfu two years ſupplies of men, artillery, proviſions, and ammunition. After having thus rendered uſeleſs the expedition with which that barrier of the Adriatic

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was threatened, the fleet of admiral Gantheaume returned ſafe through all the difficulties of a boiſterous navigation, and all the dangers of continued tempeſts. The colonies have in like manner been ſucceſsfully ſupplied with proviſions, by ſquadrons of frigates and corvettes, which, while they fulfilled that important object, had, like the ſquadron that went to Corſu, the advantage of making prizes of a great number of the enemy's ſhips, richly laden. In India, prizes to the value of 15 millions have been the reſult of the cruiſes of our frigates, one of which only ſurrendered, and that after a glorious conteſt, againſt a ſuperior force.—Our cruiſers, in all parts of the world, and above all in the ſeas of India, and Guadaloupe, have proved themſelves formidable to the enemy. But it is not ſo much with a view to what it has done, but to what it may do with time, that our marine ought to be conſidered. Ten ſhips of the line, conſtructed in the docks of Antwerp, and fitted for ſea many months ſince, are awaiting their deſtination. The flotilla of Boulogne, kept up and equipped, is ſtill in readineſs to undertake the operations for which it was originally created. Twelve ſhips of the line, and as many frigates, have been launched within the year, and twenty-five more, and as many frigates on the ſtocks, atteſt the activity of our dock-yards. Our ports are preſerved in perfect order, and the creation of that of Cherbourg is ſo far advanced, that its baſin may be expected to be in a ſtate to contain ſquadrons before the lapſe of two campaigns.—Spezzia is about to become a ſecond Toulon. The union of almoſt all the coaſt of the Mediterranean to France, ſecures to our arſenals and our ſhips abundant ſupplies of proviſions, ſtores, and men. Venice, Ancona, Naples, and all the means of Holland and Italy, are in motion.

The preſent War. — At the epoch of your laſt ſitting gentlemen, every thing combined to deliver Europe from its long agitations; but England, the enemy of the world, ſtill repeated the cry of perpetual war, and war continues. What then is the object—what will be the iſſue? The object of this war is the ſlavery of the world, by the excluſive poſſeſſion of the ſeas. There is no doubt, that, by ſubſcribing treaties of bondage, diſguiſed under the holy name of peace, nations may obtain repoſe; but this ſhameful repoſe would be death. In this alternative, the choice between ſubmiſſion and reſiſtance could not be long doubtful.—The war which England has provoked, which ſhe continues with ſo much pride and obſtinacy, is the termination of the ambitious ſyſtem which ſhe has cheriſhed during two centuries. Mixing in the politics of the continent, ſhe has ſucceeded in holding Europe in a perpetual agitation, and in exciting againſt France all the envious and jealous paſſions. It was her wiſh to humble or deſtroy France, by keeping the people of the continent conſtantly under arms; by thus detaching the maritime powers, ſhe had the art to profit from the diviſions ſhe fomented among neighbours, in order to forward her diſtant conqueſts. In this manner ſhe extended her colonies, and augmented her naval power; and, by

the aid of that power, ſhe hopes henceforth to enjoy her uſurpation, and to arrogate to herſelf the excluſive poſſeſſion of the ſeas.—But until theſe latter times, ſhe paid at leaſt ſome reſpect to the laws of nations; ſhe ſeemed to reſpect the rights of her allies, and even, by ſome returns towards peace, allowed her enemies to breathe.—This conduct is, however, no longer ſuitable to the developement of a ſyſtem which ſhe can no longer diſſemble. All who do not promote her intereſts are her enemies. The abandonment of her alliance is a cauſe of war; neutrality is a revolt; and all the nations that reſiſt her yoke are made ſubject to her cruel ravages. It is impoſſible to foreſee what might have been the conſequence of ſo much audacity, had not fortune, on our part, raiſed up a man of a ſuperior order, deſtined to repel the evils with which England threatens the world. He had alſo to combat the allies of that power on the continent, and to conquer the riſing enemies ſhe ſucceeded in creating. Always attacked, always threatened, he found it neceſſary to regulate his policy by that ſtate of things, and felt that to lay the conteſt it was neceſſary to augment our forces, and weaken thoſe of our enemies. The Emperor, always pacific, but always armed by neceſſity, was not ambitious of aggrandizing the empire. Prudence always directed his views. It became neceſſary for him to relieve our ancient frontiers from the too near danger of ſudden attacks, and to found their ſecurity on limits fortified by nature; finally, it became neceſſary ſo to ſeparate France, by alliances, from her rivals, that even the ſight of an enemy's ſtandard never could alarm the territory of the empire.—England, defeated in the diſputes ſhe ſo often renewed, profited, however, of them to increaſe her wealth, by the univerſal monopoly of commerce. She had impoveriſhed her allies by wars, in which they fought only for her intereſts. Abandoned at the moment in which their arms ceaſed to ſerve thoſe intereſts, their fate became the more indifferent to her as ſhe preſerved ſome commercial relations with them, even while ſhe continued at war with France.—Even France herſelf left to the Engliſh the hope of a ſhameful ſubjugation to the want of certain objects, the privation of which they believe our generous population could not ſupport. They thought that if they could not enter the territory of the empire by their arms, they might penetrate its heart by a commerce now become its moſt dangerous enemy, and the admiſſion of which would have exhauſted its moſt valuable reſources. The genius and the prudence of the Emperor have not overlooked this danger. Involved in the difficulties of the continental war, he ceaſed not, however, to repel from his ſtates the monopoly of Engliſh commerce. He has ſince completed the meaſures of an effectual reſiſtance. No one can now be deceived on this ſubject, ſince the Engliſh have declared this new kind of war, all the ports of the continent are blockaded, the ocean is interdicted to every neutral ſhip which will not pay to the Britiſh treaſury a tribute which is meant to be impoſed on the whole population of the globe.—To this law of ſlavery other nations have replied by means of a repriſal, and by

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wiſhes for the annihilation of ſuch a tyranny.—The Engliſh nation has ſeparated itſelf from every other nation. England is fixed in this ſituation. All her ſocial relations with the continent are ſuſpended. She is ſmitten by the excommunication which ſhe has herſelf provoked.—The war will henceforth conſiſt in repelling from all points the Engliſh commerce, and in employing all the means calculated to promote that end. France has energetically concurred in the excluſion of the monopoly of commerce; ſhe has reſigned herſelf to privations which long habits muſt have rendered more painful. Some branches of her agriculture and her induſtry have ſuffered, and ſtill ſuffer, but the proſperity of the great body of the nation is not affected: ſhe is familiarized with that tranſitory ſtate, the hardſhip of which ſhe beholds without fear. The allies of France, and the United States, ſacrifice like her, and with a reſolution equally generous, their private conveniences. England was on the eve of the moment when her excluſion from the continent was about to be conſummated: but ſhe availed herſelf of the laſt circumſtance to ſpread the genius of evil over Spain, and to excite in that unhappy country all the rage of furious paſſions. She has ſought for alliances even in ſupport of the inquiſition, and even in the moſt barbarous prejudices. Unhappy people, to whom do you confide your deſtiny? To the contemners of all moral obligations—to the enemies of your religion—to thoſe who, violating their promiſes, have elevated on your territory a monument of their impudence, an affront, the impunity of which, for above a century, would bear teſtimony againſt your courage, if the weakneſs of your government had not been alone to blame. You ally yourſelf with the Engliſh, who have ſo often wounded your pride and your independence, who have ſo long raviſhed from you, by open violence, and even in time of peace, the commerce of your colonies; who, in order to intimate to you their prohibition of your neutrality, cauſed their decrees to be preceded by the plunder of your treaſures, and the maſſacre of your navigators; who, in fine, have covered Europe with proofs of their contempt for their allies, and for the deceitful promiſes they had made to them. You will without doubt recover from your error. You will then groan for the new perfidies that are reſerved for you. But how much blood will flow before this tardy return to your ſenſes? The Engliſh, hitherto abſent from all great conflicts, try a new fortune on the continent. They ungarriſon their iſland, and leave it almoſt without defence, in the preſence of an enterpriſing and valiant king, who commands a French army, and who has already ſnatched from them the ſtrong poſition of the iſland of Caprea. What then will be the fruit of their efforts? Can they hope to be able to exclude the French from Spain and Portugal? Can the ſucceſs be doubtful? The Emperor himſelf will command his invincible legions. What a preſage does the heroic army of Portugal offer to us, which, ſtruggling againſt double its force, has been able to raiſe trophies of victory on the very land where it fought to ſuch diſadvantage, and

to dictate the conditions of a glorious retreat. In preparing for a new ſtruggle againſt our only enemy, the Emperor has done all that was neceſſary for the maintenance of peace on the continent. He muſt reckon upon it without doubt, inaſmuch as Auſtria, the only power which could diſturb it, has given the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of her diſpoſition, in recalling her ambaſſador from London, and deſiſting from all political communication with England.—Still Auſtria had recently made armaments, but they took place certainly without any hoſtile intention. Prudence, nevertheleſs, dictated energetic meaſures of precaution. The armies of Germany and Italy are ſtrengthened by levies of the new conſcription. The troops of the confederation of the Rhine are complete, well organized, and diſciplined.—One hundred thouſand of the grand army leave the Pruſſian ſtates to occupy the camp at Boulogne, while Denmark, henceforth ſafe from any Engliſh invaſion, is evacuated by our troops, which are concentrated and centralizing themſelves. Before the end of January, the battalions withdrawn to Spain will be replaced on the banks of the Elbe and the Rhine.—Thoſe which quelled Italy, laſt year, return to their former deſtination.—Such, meſſieurs, is the external ſituation of France.—In the exterior, the greateſt order in all parts of the adminiſtration, important ameliorations, a great number of new inſtitutions, have excited the gratitude of the people.—The creation of titles of nobility has environed the throne with a new ſplendour. This ſyſtem creates in all hearts a laudable emulation. It perpetuates the recollection of the moſt illuſtrious ſervices paid by the moſt honourable reward.—The clergy have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their patriotiſm, and by their attachment to their ſovereign and their duties. Reſpect to the miniſters of the altar, who honour religion by a devotion ſo pure, and virtues ſo diſintereſted!—The magiſtrates of all claſſes every where aid, with their utmoſt efforts, the views of the ſovereign and the people, by their zeal facilitate the operation of their authority, and by the manifeſtation of the moſt affecting ſentiments, exalt the courage and ardour of the troops.—Soldiers, magiſtrates, citizens, all have but one object, the ſervice of the ſtate; but one ſentiment, that of admiration for the ſovereign; but one deſire, that of ſeeing heaven watch over his days, too juſt a recompenſe for a monarch who has no other thought, no other ambition, than thoſe of the happineſs and the glory of the French nation.

Second Decree of the King of Spain.*

Madrid, Nov. 5.

This day the king addreſſed the following decree to the governor *ad interim* of the council of Caſtile:—

"The voice of nature unnerves the arm of vengeance; and when the offender's want of conſideration pleads for pity, a father cannot refuſe liſtening to his voice. My ſon has already declared the authors of that horrible plan which has been ſuggeſted by the evil-minded,

* For the firſt Decree ſee State Papers. A. Reg. 1807. Page 307.

He

He has laid open every thing in a legal form, and all is exactly conſiſtent with thoſe proofs that are required by the law in ſuch caſes. His confuſion and repentance have dictated the remonſtrances which he has addreſſed to me, and of which the following is the chief:—

"Sire and Father,

"I am guilty of failing in my duty to your majeſty; I have failed in obedience to my father and my king. I ought to do nothing without your Majeſty's conſent; but I have been ſurpriſed. I have denounced the guilty, and beg your Majeſty to ſuffer your repentant ſon to kiſs your feet.

"FERDINAND.

"*St. Laurent, Nov.* 5."

"Madam and Mother,

"I ſincerely repent of the great fault which I have committed againſt the king and queen, my father and mother!—With the greateſt ſubmiſſion I beg your pardon, as well as for my obſtinacy in denying the truth the other night. For this cauſe I heartily intreat your Majeſty to deign to interpoſe your mediation between my father and me, that he may condeſcend to ſuffer his repentant ſon to kiſs his feet. "FERDINAND.

"*St. Laurent, Nov.* 5."

"In conſequence of theſe letters, and the entreaty of the queen, my well-beloved ſpouſe, I forgive my ſon; and he ſhall recover my favour, as ſoon as his conduct ſhall give proofs of a real amendment in his proceedings. I ordain alſo, that the ſame judges who have heard this cauſe from the commencement, ſhall continue the proceſs; and I allow them to conjoin others, as colleagues, if they ſhall find occaſion. I enjoin them, as ſoon as it ſhall be finiſhed, to ſubmit to me their judgment, which ſhall be conformable to law, according to the magnitude of offences, and the quality of offenders.—They ought to take for a baſis, in reducing the heads of the accuſation, the anſwers given by the prince to the interrogatories which he has undergone; they are copied, and ſigned by his own hand, as well as the papers alſo in his writing, which were ſeized in his bureaus. The deciſion ſhall be communicated to my councils, and to my tribunals, and be circulated among my ſubjects, in order that they may acknowledge my compaſſion and my juſtice, and may alleviate the affliction into which they were thrown by my firſt decree; for in that they ſaw the danger of their ſovereign and their father, who loves them as his own children, and by whom he is beloved.

"D. BARTHOLOME MUNOZ."

"By the royal decree of the 30th of October, inſerted in the circular letters, which is addreſſed to you the 31ſt of the ſame month, his Majeſty has deigned to make known to his council, that his auguſt perſon, thanks to the aſſiſtance of God, has been delivered from the cataſtrophe which threatened it.

"On this ſubject the council has propoſed to his Majeſty to allow it, as well as all the people and communities of the kingdom, to return thanks for this favour to the Omnipotent, by a ſolemn feſtival. His Majeſty, having deigned to conſent to the wiſh of his council,

has resolved to give it immediate execution, and has determined to give the necessary orders for such a festival in the capital and its dependencies.

"This order of council, with a view to its due execution, is hereby communicated to you MM. the archbishops, bishops, prelates, seculars, and regulars, of the holy churches, desiring you to acknowledge to me the receipt of the present decree. "D. B. MUNOZ.

"*Madrid, Nov.* 8, 1807."

Abdication of the King of Spain.

ROYAL DECREE.

My habitual infirmities not permitting me to support any longer the important burden of the government of my kingdom, and it being requisite for the re-establishment of my health, that I should enjoy in a more temperate climate a private life, I have determined, after mature deliberation, to abdicate my crown, in favour of my heir, my dearly beloved son the Prince of Asturias.

My royal will therefore is, that he should be duly recognised and obeyed, as king and natural lord of all my kingdoms and sovereignties, and in order that this royal decree of my free and spontaneous abdication may be exactly and duly fulfilled, you will communicate it to the council, and to all others whom it may concern.

I, THE KING.

Done at Aranjuez, March 19, 1808.

DON PEDRO CEVALLOS.

Report to his Imperial Highness the Grand Duke of Berg, Lieutenant of the Emperor, Commander of his forces in Spain.

Monseigneur,

Agreeably to the command of your Imperial Highness, I repaired with the letters of your Highness to the Queen of Etruria, at Aranjuez. It was eight o'clock in the morning; the queen was still in bed: she rose immediately, and bade me enter. I delivered your letter to her: she begged me to wait a little, and said she would go read it with the king and queen. Half an hour afterwards, I saw the Queen of Etruria enter with the king and queen of Spain.

"His Majesty said, that he thanked your Imperial Highness for the share you had taken in his affliction, which was the greater as his own son was the author of it. The king said, that the revolution had been effected by forgery and corruption, and that the principal actors were his son and M. Caballeros, minister of justice; that he had been compelled to abdicate the throne, in order to save the lives of himself and his queen; that he knows that but for this, they would have been murdered in the course of the night; that the conduct of the Prince of Asturias was more shocking, seeing that himself (the king) having perceived his desire to reign, and being himself near 60 years of age, had agreed to surrender the crown to him, on his marriage taking place with a French princess, which the king ardently desired.

"The king added to this, that the Prince of the Asturias was desirous that he and the queen should repair to Badajoz, on the frontiers of Portugal; that he had found means to inform him that the climate of that country did not suit him;

him; that he begged him to permit his chooſing another place; that he ſought to obtain permiſſion of the Emperor to purchaſe an eſtate in France, where he might end his days. The queen told me ſhe had begged of her ſon to poſtpone their journey to Bajadoz; that ſhe had not procured this, and that the journey was to take place on the enſuing Monday.

"At the moment I was departing from their Majeſties, the king ſaid to me, 'I have written to the Emperor, in whoſe hand I repoſe my fate.'

"I wiſhed to ſend my letter by a courier, but I know no ſurer mode of ſending it than by your's. The king left me then in order to repair to his cabinet. He ſoon returned with the following letters (Nos. 1 and 2) in his hand, which he gave me, and added theſe words —'My ſituation is moſt deplorable; they have ſeized the Prince de la Paz, and will put him to death; he has committed no other crime than that he has at all times been attached to me.—He added, there were no efforts which he would not have attempted to ſave the life of his unhappy friend, but that he had found the whole world deaf to his entreaties, and bent on vengeance; that the death of the Prince de la Paz would draw after it his own, and that he ſhould not ſurvive him.'

"*Aranjuez, March* 23, 1808.

"B. DE MOUTHION."

No. I.

Letter from King Carlos IV. to the Emperor Napoleon.

Sir, my brother,

YOUR Majeſty will aſſuredly hear with pain of the events which have taken place at Aranjuez, and their conſequences; you will, not without ſympathy, ſee a king who has been compelled to reſign his throne, throw himſelf into the arms of a great monarch, his ally, placing every thing in his protection, who alone can fix his happineſs, and that of his whole family, and his truſty and beloved ſubjects. Under the preſſure of the moment, and amid the claſhing of weapons, and the cries of a rebellious guard, I found that I had to chooſe between my life and death, and that my death would be followed by that of the queen; I was compelled to abdicate the throne: but now peace is reſtored, and, full of confidence in the generoſity and genius of the great man, who has at all times declared himſelf my friend, I have taken my reſolution to reſign myſelf into his hands, and await what he ſhall reſolve on my fate, and that of the queen, and the Prince de la Paz.

I addreſs myſelf to your Majeſty, and proteſt againſt the events which took place at Aranjuez, and againſt my dethronement. I rely with confidence, and altogether, upon the cordiality and friendſhip of your Majeſty, praying that God may have you in his holy keeping.

Sir, my brother,

Your royal and imperial majeſty's affectionate brother and friend,

CARLOS.

Aranjuez, March 25.

No. II.

I proteſt and declare, that my decree of the 19th of March, in which I renounce my crown in fa-

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vour of my ſon, is a deed to which I was compelled, in order to prevent greater calamities, and ſpare the blood of my beloved ſubjects. It is therefore to be conſidered as of no authority.

(Signed) I, THE KING.

Letter of his Majeſty the Emperor to the Prince of Aſturias.

My Brother,

I HAVE received the letter of your Royal Highneſs: in the papers which you have received from the king, your Royal Highneſs's father, you muſt have found a proof of the intereſt which I have always felt for you. You will permit me, under the preſent circumſtances, to ſpeak to you with truth, and I wiſhed, by my journey to Madrid, to draw over my illuſtrious friend to ſome neceſſary ameliorations of his ſtates, and alſo to give a certain ſatsfaction to the public feelings. The removal of the prince of the Peace appeared to me to be neceſſary for the proſperity of his majeſty, and that of his ſubjects. The affairs of the North had retarded my journey. The events at Aranjuez took place. I paſs no deciſion on what had previouſly fallen out, nor upon the conduct of the prince of the Peace; but I know well that it is dangerous for kings to accuſtom their people to ſhed blood, or to ſeek to redreſs themſelves. I pray God that your royal highneſs may never feel this by your own experience. It is not the intereſt of Spain to injure a prince who has married a princeſs of the blood royal, and who for a long time directed the affairs of the kingdom. He no longer has any friends; your royal highneſs will poſſeſs them no longer than while you ſhall be fortunate. The people willingly revenge themſelves for that homage which they pay us. How alſo can the proceſs be drawn up againſt the prince of the Peace, without involving in it the queen and the king your father? This proceſs would give nouriſhment to hatred and factious paſſions, the iſſue of which would be fatal to your crown. Your royal highneſs has no other right thereto than that which you derive from your mother. If this proceſs degrade her, your royal highneſs deſtroys your own right. He who has lent an ear to weak and diſloyal counſels, has no right to paſs ſentence on the Prince of the Peace. His miſdeeds, if he can be reproached with them, go to deſtroy the rights of the crown. I have frequently expreſſed a deſire, that the prince of the Peace ſhould be removed from affairs; the friendſhip of king Charles has often induced me to remain ſilent, and to turn away my eyes from the weakneſs of his conduct. Unhappy mortals that we are! Weakneſs and error, theſe are our mottos; but all may be arranged; namely, that the prince of the Peace ſhould be baniſhed from Spain, and I ſhould invite him to a place of retirement in France. As to the abdication of king Charles the Fourth, that has taken place at a moment when my troops were traverſing Spain; and in the eyes of Europe, and of poſterity, I ſhould ſeem to have ſent ſo many troops ſolely for the purpoſe of puſhing from his throne my ally, and friend. As a neighbour ſovereign, it is fit that I ſhould know this abdication, before I acknowledged it. I ſay it to your Royal Highneſs, to the Spaniards, and

and to the whole world, if the abdication of king Charles has proceeded from his own will, if he was not driven to it by the inſurrection and uproar at Aranjuez, I make no ſcruple to accede to it, and to acknowledge your Royal Highneſs King of Spain. The circumſpection which I have obſerved for this month paſt, muſt be a ſecurity to you for the ſupport which you ſhall find in me, ſhould ever party differences diſturb you, in your turn, upon the throne.

When king Charles made us acquainted with the events of laſt October, I was very much affected by them; and I think that by my efforts the affair of the Eſcurial received a happy iſſue. Your Royal Highneſs was much to blame.—I have no need of any other proof of this, than the letter which you wrote to me, and which I ſhall always deſire to conſider as not having come to me. Your Royal Highneſs muſt diſtruſt all popular commotions and inſurrections.—A few of my ſoldiers may be murdered, but the ſubjugation of Spain ſhall be the conſequence of it.

I ſee with pain, that ſome perſons at Madrid have diſſeminated certain letters of the Captain-General of Catalonia, and have done every thing to excite diſturbances among the people. Your Royal Highneſs perfectly comprehends my meaning. You perceive that I have touched ſlightly upon many points, which it would not be proper to enlarge upon.

You may be aſſured that I will conduct myſelf in every thing towards you, in the ſame way as to your royal father. You may rely upon my deſire to arrange every thing, and of finding an opportunity of giving you proof of my perfect regard and eſteem.

Herewith accept, &c.

Bayonne, April 16, 1808.

Inſtructions furniſhed to his Excellency Don Pedro Labrador.

Moſt excellent Seignor,

YOUR excellency is acquainted with the propoſitions made on the day of the king's arrival in this city, and of what paſſed at the conference in which I diſcuſſed them with the miniſter of foreign affairs. The propoſitions recently made by the latter, differing in ſome reſpect, but no leſs inadmiſſible, are of the following tenor:—That the Emperor has irrevocably determined that the Bourbon dynaſty ſhall no longer reign in Spain. 2. That the king ſhall cede his rights to the crown both in his own name and that of his ſons, ſhould he have any. 3. That ſhould this point be agreed upon, the crown of Etruria ſhall be conferred upon him and his deſcendants, according to the terms of the ſalique law. 4. That the infant don Carlos ſhall make a ſimilar renunciation of his rights, and that he ſhall have a right to the ſucceſſion to the crown of Etruria, in default of iſſue of the king. 5. That the kingdom of Spain ſhall henceforth be poſſeſſed by one of the brothers of the Emperor. 6. That the Emperor guarantees its complete integrity, and that of all its colonies, without ſuffering a ſingle village belonging to it to be ſeparated from it. 7. That in like manner he guarantees the preſervation of religion, property, &c. &c. 8. That ſhould his Majeſty

jeſty refuſe thoſe propoſitions, he ſhall remain without compenſation, and his Imperial Majeſty will carry them into execution by conſent or force. 9. That if his Majeſty agree and demand the niece of the Emperor in marriage, this connection ſhall be immediately ſecured on the execution of the treaty.—Theſe propoſitions were diſcuſſed in the junta where the king preſided. I there ſtated my opinion, which was adopted by your excellency and the other members, and approved by his Majeſty, who is deſirous that inſtructions ſhould be prepared for your excellency accordingly. Your excellency knows that promiſes the moſt flattering, and aſſurances the moſt poſitive, were made and given to the king by the Grand Duke of Berg, by the ambaſſador of France, and by general Savary, by direction of the Emperor, who ſaid that no obſtruction would ariſe to his acknowledgment as ſovereign of Spain; that nothing was deſired hoſtile to the preſervation of the integrity of the kingdom; and you are appriſed that theſe repreſentations drew him from Madrid to pay his compliments to his intimate ally, who, he ſuppoſed would return with him to the capital, from the ſtatements of thoſe three, and where ſplendid accommodations were provided for the Emperor. The journey of his Imperial Majeſty was deferred; but the king, ſeduced by new promiſes, made by General Savary in the name of his Imperial Majeſty, continued his progreſs to this city. Your excellency ſhould aſk M. Champagny if the king be at full liberty, and if he be ſo, he may return to his dominions, and give audience to the plenipotentiary, to whom the Emperor may confide his powers. If not free, your excellency knows that every act is abſolutely nugatory; and conſequently whatever may be agreed will have no other effect than to ſtain the reputation of the Emperor before the whole world, the eyes of which are fixed upon his conduct, and who knows what Spain has already done in favour of France.—I have ſhewn to your excellency the treaty of the 27th October laſt, by which the Emperor has guaranteed the integrity of Spain in the perſon of the king, with title of Emperor of the two Americas. Nothing has intervened to deſtroy this treaty; on the contrary, Spain has added new claims to the gratitude of France.—The king has reſolved not to yield to the importunity of the Emperor; neither his own honour, nor his duty to his vaſſals permit him to do ſo. Theſe he cannot compel to accept the dynaſty of Napoleon; much leſs can he deprive them of the right they have to elect another family to the throne when the reigning family ſhall be extinct. It is not leſs repugnant to the feelings of the king to receive, as a compenſation, the crown of Etruria; for, beſides that that country is under the authority of its legitimate ſovereign, whom he would not prejudice, his Majeſty is contented with the crown that Providence had given him, has no wiſh to ſeparate himſelf from his ſubjects, whom he loves with paternal affection, and from whom he has received the moſt unequivocal proofs of reſpectful attachment. If on account of his refuſal the

Emperor

Emperor ſhould think fit to reſort to force, his Majeſty hopes that Divine Juſtice, the diſpenſer of thrones, will protect his juſt cauſe, and that of his kingdom. As your excellency is deeply penetrated with theſe principles, and has already diſplayed them with that energy with which juſtice arms the man of probity, and the zealous friend to his king and country, it is needleſs for me to detail prolix inſtructions for your guide, you being a miniſter, in whoſe patriotiſm and affection to the royal intereſts his Majeſty repoſes full confidence. God preſerve your excellency many years.

PEDRO CEVALLOS.

Bayonne, April 27, 1808.

(For Don Pedro Gomez Labrador.)

Official Diſpatch from Don Pedro Cevallos to the Miniſter of State of the Emperor of France, of the 28*th April*, 1808.

Moſt excellent Sir,

Although the agitation of mind to which the whole Spaniſh nation would have been ſubject, has hitherto been reſtrained by what has been printed and publiſhed by the Grand Duke of Berg, and by all the French generals in that country, indicating the ſentiments of peace and good underſtanding which the Emperor of the French and king of Italy was deſirous of maintaining with the king my maſter; and alſo on account of the aſſurances which the ambaſſador of his Imperial Majeſty in Madrid, the Grand Duke of Berg, and general Savary, had given to his Majeſty of the approaching arrival of the Emperor in the ſaid city; on which account, the king determined to proceed to Burgos to meet him, to ſhew this public mark of his affection, and of the high eſteem he had for his perſon—it has now become impoſſible longer to anſwer for the tranquillity of ſuch a numerous people; eſpecially as they are appriſed that the king has been ſix days in Bayonne, and they have no aſſurance of his return to Spain. In ſuch a ſtate of affairs, his Majeſty muſt be anxious for the repoſe of his beloved ſubjects, and for this purpoſe to return to their boſoms to tranquillize their agitation, and attend to their heavy demands of public buſineſs, as his abſence would expoſe his people to incalculable miſchiefs, which would fill his heart with the moſt poignant grief. This ſpeedy return, his Majeſty promiſed in the moſt ſolemn manner to his people, grounding his engagement on the aſſurances of the Emperor, that he ſhould ſhortly be reſtored to his country, and acknowledged to be her ſovereign by his Imperial Majeſty.—His Majeſty has, therefore, ordered me to communicate to you theſe obſervations, for the purpoſe of your ſubmitting them to the conſideration of his Imperial Majeſty, whoſe approbation they will doubtleſs meet; and his Majeſty, my maſter, is ready to treat in his dominions with his Imperial Majeſty on all convenient ſubjects, with ſuch perſon as the Emperor ſhould be pleaſed to authorize for that purpoſe.* *Royal*

* This diſpatch was not anſwered, and produced an effect preciſely the contrary of what might have been expected in a regular courſe of things. The ſpies within

Royal Decree addreſſed to the Supreme Council of Caſtile by Ferdinnand VII.

Soon after the Prince of Peace was arreſted, frequent and earneſt entreaties were made by the grand Duke of Berg, by the ambaſſador of France, and by general Savary, in the name of the Emperor, my intimate ally, that he ſhould be delivered up to the French troops, that he might be conveyed to France, where his imperial Majeſty would order him to be tried for the offences he had committed. Theſe ſolicitations were generally accompanied with threats in caſe of a refuſal, to carry him off by force. In Vittoria they were repeated with equal importunities; and I wiſhing to form the moſt prudent determination, conſulted with the duke of Infantado and the infant Carlos, with don Juan Eſcoiquiz, and with don Pedro Cevallos, my principal ſecretary of ſtate. This miniſter, on that occaſion, ſaid; "Sire, if I were to yield to my own perſonal feelings, I ſhould immediately recommend the ſurrender of the Prince of Peace. But ſuch a ſentiment ought to be ſtifled, and in truth I do ſtifle it when I contemplate the duty you owe to your own ſacred perſon, and the obligations you are under to adminiſter juſtice to your ſubjects injured by don Manuel Godoy. This obligation is eſſential to the ſovereignty, and your Majeſty cannot diſregard it without treading under foot whatever is moſt reſpectable among men. Under this view, I think you ought to anſwer the Emperor, informing him, at the ſame time, that your Majeſty has offered to your auguſt parents to ſave him from the penalty of death, ſhould he be capitally convicted by the council. By your compliance with this propoſal, your Majeſty will give to the world a proof of your magnanimity, to your beloved parents a proof of your affection, and the Emperor will be gratified in obſerving with what wiſdom you diſcharge the demands of juſtice, and conciliate the expectations of his imperial and royal Majeſty." All approved of this ſalutary advice, and I did not heſitate a moment in adopting it, and proceeded to act upon it.—I communicated it to the council with the fit circumſpection to ſerve for their information and direction; and alſo that they may take the moſt active meaſures to protect the houſes and families of the four denounced perſons.

I, THE KING.

Bayonne, April 26, 1808.

To the preſident of the council.

Letter of the King to his Father, Charles IV.

My honoured Father and Lord,

Your Majeſty has admitted that I had not the ſmalleſt participation

and the guards without the palace were doubled. The king for two nights endured the inſult of an alguazil, who, ſtationed at the door, ordered his Majeſty and the infant don Carlos to retire to their apartments. The firſt time the inſult was offered, the king complained in ſevere terms, on which the governor employed polite language, and manifeſted much diſapprobation of ſuch conduct; but this did not prevent the repetition, and probably this offenſive circumſtance would have been repeated, had not the king abſtained from going out at night.

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in the proceedings at Aranjuez, intended, as is notorious, and as your Majeſty knows, not to diſguſt you with your throne and government, but to maintain both, and not to abandon the vaſt multitude whoſe maintenance depends upon the throne itſelf. Your Majeſty alſo told me, that your abdication had been ſpontaneous, and that if any one ſhould attempt to perſuade me it was otherwiſe, I ſhould not believe them, for it was the moſt pleaſing act of your life. Your Majeſty now tells me, that though your abdication was certainly an act of your own free will, you nevertheleſs reſerved in your mind a right to reſume the reins of government when you ſhould think proper. I have therefore inquired of your Majeſty, if you were diſpoſed to reſume your ſcepter, and your Majeſty has replied that you neither would return to the throne, or to Spain. Notwithſtanding this, your Majeſty deſires me to renounce in your favour a crown conferred upon me by the fundamental laws of the kingdom, on your free reſignation of it. To a ſon who has always been diſtinguiſhed for his love, reſpect, and obedience to his parents, nothing that can require the exerciſe of theſe qualities can be repugnant to his filial piety, eſpecially when the diſcharge of my duty to your Majeſty, as a ſon, is not in contradiction to the relation I bear, as a king, to my beloved ſubjects. In order that both theſe, who demand my higheſt regard, may not be offended, and that your Majeſty may be pleaſed with my obedience, in the preſent circumſtance, I am willing to reſign my crown in favour of your Majeſty, under the following limitations:—1. That your Majeſty will return to Madrid, whither I ſhall accompany you and ſerve you as the moſt dutiful ſon. 2. That there a cortes ſhould be aſſembled; or, if your Majeſty ſhould object to ſo numerous a body, that all the tribunals and deputies of the kingdom ſhould be convoked. 3. That in the preſence of this council my renunciation ſhould be executed in due form, and the motives ſtated which induced me to make it. Theſe are, the love I bear to my ſubjects, and my wiſh to make a return for my affection towards me, by ſecuring their tranquillity, and relieving them from the horrors of a civil war, by means of a renunciation, having for its object your Majeſty's reſumption of the ſceptre, and your return to govern ſubjects worthy of your love and affection. 4. That your Majeſty ſhould not be accompanied by individuals who have juſtly excited the hatred of the whole nation. 5. That ſhould your majeſty, as I am informed, be neither diſpoſed to reign in perſon, nor to return to Spain, in ſuch caſe, that I ſhould govern in your royal name as your lieutenant. There is no one who can have a claim to be preferred before me. I am ſummoned thereto by the laws, the wiſhes of my people, and the love of my ſubjects; and no one can take more zealous and bounden intereſt in their proſperity. My renunciation, confined within theſe limits, will appear in the eyes of the Spaniards a new proof of my preferring their preſervation to the glory of governing them, and Europe will deem me worthy of governing a people to whoſe tranquillity I have ſhewn myſelf ready to ſacrifice whatever is moſt flattering and alluring in human eſtimation.

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That God may preſerve the important life of your Majeſty for many happy years, is the prayer of your loving and dutiful ſon, who proſtrates himſelf at your royal feet.

FERDINAND.

Bayonne, May 1, 1808.

Letter from Charles IV. to his Son Ferdinand.

My Son,

The perfidious counſels of the men who ſurround your perſon, have placed Spain in a critical ſituation. The Emperor alone can ſave her. Ever ſince the peace of Baſle, I have been firmly perſuaded that the eſſential intereſts of my people were inſeparably connected with the preſervation of a good underſtanding with France. No ſacrifice has been omitted by me in order to obtain this important object. Even when France was under the direction of ephemeral governments, I ſuppreſſed my private feelings and liſtened only to the dictates of policy, and the welfare of my ſubjects. When the Emperor re-eſtabliſhed order in France, great difficulties were removed, and I ſaw new motives to continue attentive to the former ſyſtem of alliance. When England declared war againſt France, I happily endeavoured to continue neuter, and to preſerve to my people the happineſs of peace. England afterwards poſſeſſed herſelf of four of my frigates, and made war upon me, even before it had been declared; and then I was under the neceſſity of oppoſing force to force; and the calamities of war, to my ſubjects, were the conſequence. Spain, environed by coaſts, and indebted for a great portion of her proſperity to her ultra-marine poſſeſſions, ſuffered by the war more than any other ſtate. The interruption to her commerce, and all the deſtruction incident to ſuch a ſituation, affected my ſubjects, and ſome of them had the injuſtice to attribute theſe events to my miniſters. At laſt, I had the happineſs to ſee my kingdom tranquil within, and free from inquietude, ſo far as reſpected the integrity of my dominions, I being the only one among the kings of Europe who ſuſtained himſelf amid the ſtorms of theſe later times. Spain yet enjoyed this tranquillity, not then obſtructed by thoſe councils which have miſled you from the right path. You have too eaſily permitted yourſelf to be miſled, by the averſion of your firſt wife towards France; and you have thoughtleſsly participated in the injurious reſentments indulged againſt my miniſters, againſt your mother, and againſt myſelf. It was now neceſſary to recollect my own rights as a father and a king. With this view I cauſed you to be arreſted, and I found among your papers the proof of your crime. But at the commencement of this career, I melted at ſeeing my ſon on the ſcaffold of deſtruction, and I admitted my ſenſibility to be excited by the tears of your mother. I forgave you, notwithſtanding my ſubjects were agitated by the deceitful expedients of a faction, of which you have yourſelf been the declared leader. From that inſtant I reſigned all the tranquillity of my life, and was compelled to add to the diſtreſſes I felt for the calamities of my ſubjects, the afflictions occaſioned by the diſſentions in my own family. My miniſters were

calumniated

calumniated to the Emperor of the French, who believing that the Spaniards were diſpoſed to renounce his alliance, and ſeeing the diſcord that prevailed even in the boſom of my own family, under various pretences, inundated my provinces with his troops.

While theſe occupied the right bank of the Ebro, and appeared to have for their object the maintaining the communication with Portugal, I entertained the hope that he would not abandon the ſentiments of eſteem and friendſhip which he had always manifeſted towards me. But when I perceived that his troops advanced towards my capital, I felt the urgency there was for collecting my army around my perſon, to preſent myſelf before my auguſt ally in a manner worthy of the king of Spain. I ſhould have removed all his doubts, and have ſecured my beſt intereſts. I gave orders to my troops to leave Portugal and Madrid, and I united them in various parts of my monarchy, not to abandon my ſubjects, but honourably to ſupport the glory of my throne. Beſides, my extenſive experience convinced me that the Emperor of the French might very well entertain wiſhes conformable to his particular intereſt, and to the policy of the vaſt ſyſtem of the continent, but which might be inconſiſtent with the intereſts of my houſe. What was, in ſuch circumſtances, your conduct? You introduced diſorder into my palace, and infuſed a ſpirit of mutiny into my body-guard, againſt my perſon. Your father was your priſoner; my prime miniſter, whom I had appointed and adopted into my family, covered with blood, was driven from one danger to another. You diſhonoured my grey hairs—you deſpoiled me of the crown, poſſeſſed with glory by my anceſtors, which they had preſerved without a ſtain. You ſeated yourſelf upon my throne, and placed yourſelf at the diſpoſal of the people of Madrid, and of foreign troops, who were then entering the capital.—The conſpiracy of the Eſcurial had already accompliſhed its purpoſes. The acts of my adminiſtration were brought into public contempt. Old, and oppreſſed by infirmity, I was not able to ſurmount this new misfortune. I reſorted to the Emperor of the French, not as a king at the head of my troops, ſurrounded by the pomp of royalty: but as an unhappy and abandoned prince. I have found refuge and protection in the midſt of his camp. I owe to him my own life, that of the queen, and that of the prime miniſter. I have arrived at laſt at Bayonne, and you have ſo conducted this negociation, that every thing depends upon the mediation and protection of this great prince. The idea of reſorting to popular agitation would tend to the ruin of Spain, and expoſe yourſelf, my kingdom, my ſubjects and my family, to the moſt horrible cataſtrophes. My heart has been fully unfolded to the Emperor; he knows all the injuries I have received, and the violence that has been done to me; he has declared to me, that you ſhall never be acknowledged as king, and that the enemy of his father can never acquire the confidence of foreign ſtates. He has, in addition to this, ſhewn me letters written with your own hand, which clearly ſhew your averſion to France.—Things being thus ſituated, my rights are clear, and my duties are much more ſo. It is incumbent on me to prevent the

the ſhedding of the blood of my ſubjects, to do nothing at the concluſion of my career, which ſhall carry fire and ſword into every part of Spain, and reduce it to the moſt horrible miſery. Certainly, if faithful to your primary obligations, and to the feelings of nature, you had rejected thoſe perfidious counſels, and placed yourſelf conſtantly at my ſide, for the defence of your father, you had waited your regular courſe of nature, which would have elevated you in a few years to the rank of royalty, I ſhould have been able to conciliate the policy and intereſts of Spain, with that of all. For ſix months, no doubt, matters have been in a critical ſituation; but notwithſtanding ſuch difficulties, I ſhould have obtained the ſupport of my ſubjects; I ſhould have availed myſelf of the weak means which yet remained to me, of the moral aid which I ſhould have acquired, meeting always my ally with ſuitable dignity, to whom I never gave cauſe of complaint; and an arrangement would have been made which would have accommodated the intereſts of my ſubjects to thoſe of my family. But in tearing from my head the crown, you have not preſerved it for yourſelf; you have taken from it all that is auguſt and ſacred in the eyes of mankind. Your behaviour with reſpect to me, your intercepted letters have put a brazen barrier between yourſelf and the throne of Spain, and it is neither your own intereſt nor that of the country that you ſhould reign in it. Avoid lighting a fire which will unavoidably cauſe your complete ruin, and the degradation of Spain.—I am king by the right given me by my forefathers: my abdication was the reſult of force and violence; I have nothing to receive from you; nor can I conſent to the convocation of the cortes, an additional abſurdity, ſuggeſted by the inexperienced perſons who attend you. I have reigned for the happineſs of my ſubjects, and I do not wiſh to bequeath them civil war, mutiny, popular juntas, and revolution. Every thing ſhould be done for the people, and nothing by the people: to forget this maxim, were to become the accomplice of all the crimes that muſt follow its neglect. I have ſacrificed the whole of my life to my people; and in the advanced age to which I have arrived, I ſhall do nothing in oppoſition to their religion, their tranquillity, and their happineſs. I have reigned for them; I will conſtantly occupy myſelf for their ſakes; I will forget all my ſacrifices; and when at laſt I ſhall be convinced that the religion of Spain, the integrity of her provinces, her independence, and her privileges are preſerved, I ſhall deſcend to the tomb, forgiving thoſe who have embittered the laſt years of my life.

Dated from the Imperial Palace of *Bayonne*, called the Government Palace, *May* 2, 1808.

Letter written by Ferdinand VII. to his Father, in anſwer to the preceding.

My honoured Father and Lord;

I received the letter that your Majeſty condeſcended to write to me, dated yeſterday, and I will endeavour to anſwer all the particulars with that moderation and reſpect which is due to your Majeſty.—Your Majeſty ſpeaks, in the firſt place,

place, with respect to the alteration in your political conduct towards France, after the peace of Basle; and, in truth, I believe there is no individual in Spain who has complained of it; rather all were unanimous in praising your Majesty for your confidence in, and fidelity to the principles you had adopted. Mine, in particular, were entirely similar to your own; and I have given irrefragable proofs of it from the moment when your Majesty abdicated the throne in my favour —Had the affair of the Escurial, which your Majesty states, originated in the hatred with which my wife inspired me against France, your ministers, my beloved mother, and your royal self, been examined with all the legal forms, it would have evidently proved the contrary. Notwithstanding I had not the least influence, and no liberty beyond the shew of it,—guarded, as I was, by domestics whom you put round me; yet the eleven counsellors chosen by your Majesty were unanimously of opinion, that there was no ground for the accusation, and that the supposed criminals were innocent.—Your Majesty talks of the distrust created by the entrance of so many foreign troops into Spain; and that if your Majesty recalled from Portugal your troops, and united those that were in Madrid, at Aranjuez, and its neighbourhood, it was not to abandon your subjects, but to support the glory of the throne. Will your Majesty permit me to call to your mind, that the troops of a friendly and allied power, ought not to be a subject of alarm: that, on the contrary, they ought to inspire confidence? Orders had been issued for the departure of your Majesty and the royal family for Seville, and the troops were intended for clearing the way. It was the universal persuasion that all these measures were taken with a view to the embarkation of the royal family for America. Your Majesty published a manifesto for quieting the public mind on this subject: but every preparation was made, and it was evident that the royal family would soon be seen on the coasts of Andalusia. Let the question be put to the emperor of the French; he will, no doubt, repeat that he wrote to me from Vittoria; that the object he had in view was, to induce your Majesty to make some reforms in the state, and to remove from his presence the Prince of the Peace, the author of all the grievances.

The universal enthusiasm excited by his imprisonment among all your subjects, proves the truth of the emperor's assertion. Your Majesty knows better than any other person, that in the midst of the whole commotion at Aranjuez, there was not a single word so much as whispered against your Majesty, or any of the royal family: that, on the contrary, your Majesty was received with every demonstration of the liveliest joy, and protestation of the liveliest fidelity to your august person: a circumstance which naturally excited wonder in all the world, and in none more than myself, when your Majesty abdicated your crown in my favour. For your abdication had neither been expected nor solicited. It was your Majesty yourself who communicated your abdication to all your ministers, enjoining them at the same time, to acknowledge me as their Lord, and natural sovereign. Your Majesty communicated it verbally

to the *corps diplomatique*, declaring that your determination was ſpontaneous, and that it had been long fixed: you yourſelf made it known to your beloved brother, the infant Don Antonio; obſerving at the ſame time, that the ſigning of that deed of abdication was the moſt pleaſing act of your life. In fine, your Majeſty, three days afterwards, ſaid to me, that I ought not to give the ſmalleſt credit to any aſſertion tending to perſuade me that your abdication was not ſpontaneous.

My ſuppoſed hatred of France has never yet, in any way, been evinced by my conduct; my actions, of which I ſhall now give a very brief account, prove quite the contrary.

Your Majeſty had no ſooner abdicated the throne in my favour, than I wrote from Aranjuez ſeveral letters to the emperor of the French, which are ſo many proofs that my principles on the ſubject of the relations of friendſhip and cloſe alliance which happily ſubſiſt between the two ſtates, are the ſame that I was inſpired with by your Majeſty, and which your Majeſty has invariably followed. My going to Madrid proves the unbounded confidence I placed in his imperial and royal Majeſty; for prince Murat, with a great part of his army having entered Madrid the day before, and there placed a French garriſon, this was in a manner putting myſelf into his hands. During the two days I reſided in my capital, I was informed of the particular correſpondence which your Majeſty kept up with the emperor of the French, and learnt that you had demanded for me as a conſort a princeſs of the imperial family; in order thereby to ſtrengthen and ſecure the intimate alliance and union that ought to ſubſiſt between the two ſtates. In unreſerved and perfect conformity with your Majeſty's principles and wiſhes, I wrote to the emperor, demanding that princeſs in marriage.

I ſent a deputation to Bayonne, to pay compliments in my name to his imperial and royal Majeſty; and in a ſhort time thereafter, I engaged my dear brother, the infant Don Carlos, to proceed, in order to preſent his reſpects to the emperor on his arrival at the frontier. Nor was this all; I left Madrid on the aſſurances of the imperial ambaſſador, the grand duke of Berg, and general Savary, who had juſt come from Paris, and who ſolicited an audience for the purpoſe of declaring to me, on the part of the emperor, that his imperial Majeſty had nothing to deſire of me, other than to know, whether I was to adopt the ſame ſyſtem with regard to France, that had been followed by your Majeſty. That in this caſe he would recognize me as king of Spain, and that every thing elſe ſhould be forgotten. Full of confidence in theſe promiſes, and perſuaded that I ſhould meet his imperial Majeſty on the way, I arrived in this city; and on the very day of my arrival, propoſitions were made to ſome individuals of my train, wholly different from thoſe that had been ſo recently communicated to me, and which neither my honour, nor conſcience, nor duty, permitted me to accept from the moment the cortes ſwore allegiance to me as their lord and their ſovereign; and which, beſides, were inconſiſtent with the oath

oath I took when I accepted the crown which your Majeſty abdicated in my favour. I cannot conceive how any letters of mine could fall into the hands of the emperor, that could evince my hatred againſt France, when I have given ſo many proofs of my friendſhip for her, and that I have never written any thing that could indicate ſuch a diſpoſition.

I have been lately ſhewn a copy of a proteſt addreſſed by your Majeſty to the emperor, intended to eſtabliſh the nullity of your abdication. And yet, ſince your arrival in this city, when I queſtioned your Majeſty on this ſubject, you told me poſitively that your abdication was indeed voluntary, though you had not a mind to perſiſt in it. It was impoſſible to know your Majeſty's intention to reſume the reins of government; you expreſsly told me, on the contrary, that you would neither reign, nor return to Spain. In the letter which I have the honour to tranſmit to your Majeſty, in ſupport of this, I ſignified my readineſs to reſign the crown to your Majeſty on the aſſembling of the cortes; and if they ſhould not be aſſembled, on the meeting of the deputies and council of the kingdom, not that I deemed this neceſſary to the validity of the renunciation, but becauſe I thought it of utility, for the prevention of thoſe dangerous innovations which often breed diviſions and complaints, and in order that every thing might be done in a manner ſuitable to your Majeſty's dignity, my own honour, and the tranquillity of the kingdom.

If your Majeſty does not think it eligible to reign in perſon, I will conduct the government, either in your Majeſty's name, or in my own; for your Majeſty cannot be repreſented by any other perſon than myſelf, who poſſeſſes, in my favour, the deciſion of the laws, and the voice of the people. Farther ſtill, no one has ſo great an intereſt as myſelf in the proſperity of Spain.

I again declare to your Majeſty, that in the preſent circumſtances, and on theſe conditions, I am ready to accompany your Majeſty to Spain, and there to make my abdication in the form I have juſt pointed out. With regard to what your majeſty has ſaid about not returning to Spain, I conjure you, with tears in my eyes, in the name of all that is ſacred in heaven or on earth, that in caſe you ſhould not chuſe to re-aſcend the throne, you will, nevertheleſs, not abandon a country in which you have for ſo many years reſided, in which you may chuſe whatever ſituation may be thought moſt ſuitable to your impaired health, and where you will find greater tranquillity of mind, and more enjoyment than in any other.

In fine, I implore your Majeſty, with the moſt tender affection, to conſider ſeriouſly the ſituation in which you now ſtand, and to reflect, that the queſtion now to be decided is nothing leſs than whether our dynaſty ſhall be excluded from the throne of Spain, and that of the imperial family of France ſubſtituted in its ſtead. Such a ſtep your Majeſty cannot take without the formal conſent of all the individuals who either have or may have, rights of ſucceſſion to the crown; ſtill leſs without the conſent equally formal of the Spaniſh nation aſſembled in the cortes, in a place where the public voice may be

freely raiſed, and diſtinctly heard. Beſides this, as we are now in a ſtrange land, it would be impoſſible to perſuade any one that our conduct was free from conſtraint. This conſideration would alone ſuffice to annul every deed of ours, and to produce the moſt fatal conſequences.

Before concluding this letter, your Majeſty will permit me to ſay, that the counſellors you call perfidious, never induced or influenced me to abate of that love, reſpect, and fidelity, which I have always ſhewn for your Majeſty's perſon, whom I pray God to bleſs, and to preſerve to the moſt advanced age. I throw myſelf at your Majeſty's feet, and am your Majeſty's devoted ſon,

FERDINAND.

Bayonne, May 4, 1808.

Letter from the King Ferdinand, to his Father Charles.

Venerable Father and Lord,

On the firſt of this month I depoſited in your Majeſty's royal hands my renunciation of the crown in your Majeſty's favour. I have conſidered myſelf obliged to modify it in ſuch a manner as beſt to accord with the reſpect I owe to your Majeſty, the tranquillity of my ſtates, and the conſervation of my own honour and reputation. I have contemplated with great aſtoniſhment the indignation excited in your Majeſty's breaſt by modifications which were dictated by prudence, and ſuggeſted by the affection which I owe to my ſubjects.

Without any other ſubject of complaint, your Majeſty thought proper to inſult me in the preſence of my venerable mother and of the emperor, by appellations the moſt humiliating; and, not content with this, you require my renunciation without any conditions or reſtrictions, under pain that I and thoſe who compoſed my council, ſhould be treated as conſpirators. In ſuch a ſituation of things, I make the renunciation your Majeſty's commands, that you may return to the government of Spain in the ſame ſtate in which you was on the 19th of March, when you made that ſpontaneous abdication of the crown in my favour. May God preſerve your Majeſty's valuable life for many years: which is the prayer of your dutiful ſon, proſtrate at your royal feet.

Bayonne, 6th May, 1808.

Reſignation of the Crown of Spain, by King Charles IV. and the Prince of Aſturias.

Napoleon, emperor of the French, king of Italy, and protector of the confederation of the Rhine, and Charles IV. king of Spain and the Indies, animated equally by a deſire to put an end to the anarchy to which Spain is a prey, and to ſave that brave nation from the agitation of faction, and the convulſions of civil and foreign war, and place it in the ſole poſition which in the extraordinary circumſtances in which it is now found, can maintain its integrity, guarantee its colonies, and enable it to unite all its means to thoſe of France to obtain a maritime peace; have reſolved

reſolved to combine all their efforts, and to regulate by a particular convention intereſts ſo dear to them, to this effect they have appointed,—

His Majeſty the emperor of the French, king of Italy, and protector of the confederation of the Rhine, the general of diviſion Duroc, grand marſhal of the palace;

His Majeſty the king of Spain and the Indies, his ſerene highneſs Manual Godoy, prince of the Peace, count of Evora Monte, who after having exchanged their full powers, have agreed as follows:—

Art. I. His Majeſty king Charles having during his whole life only had in view the happineſs of his ſubjects, and conſtantly adhering to the principle, that all the acts of the ſovereign ought ſolely to attend to that object; as the preſent circumſtances can only be a ſource of diſſenſions the more fatal, becauſe factions have divided his own family, has reſolved to cede and does cede by theſe preſents, to his Majeſty the emperor Napoleon, all his rights to the throne of Spain and the Indies, as the only means in the ſtate at which things have arrived which can re-eſtabliſh order: it being always underſtood, that the ſaid ceſſion only takes place in order that his ſubjects may enjoy the two following conditions:— 1. The integrity of the kingdom ſhall be maintained. 2. The prince whom his Majeſty the emperor Napoleon ſhall judge proper to be placed on the throne of Spain ſhall be independent, and the limits of Spain ſhall undergo no alteration.

II. The catholic apoſtolic and Roman religion ſhall be the only one in Spain; no reformed religion ſhall be tolerated there, and ſtill leſs infidelity, according to the uſage now eſtabliſhed.

III. All acts contrary to thoſe of our faithful ſubjects, ſince the revolution of Aranjuez, are null and of no validity, and their property ſhall be reſtored to them.

IV. His Majeſty king Charles having thus ſecured the proſperity, the integrity, and the independence of his ſubjects, his Majeſty the emperor engages to give an aſylum in his ſtates to king Charles, to the queen, to the prince of peace, as alſo to thoſe of their ſervants, who ſhall wiſh to follow them; who ſhall enjoy in France a rank equivalent to that which they poſſeſſed in Spain.

V. The imperial palace of Compeigne, and the parks and foreſts dependent on it, ſhall be at the diſpoſal of king Charles during his life.

VI. His Majeſty the emperor gives and guarantees to king Charles, a civil liſt of 80,000,000 of reals, which his Majeſty the emperor will cauſe to be paid him without delay every month, from the treaſury of the crown.

At the death of king Charles a revenue of 2,000,000 ſhall form the dowry of the queen.

VII. His Majeſty the emperor Napoleon engages to grant to all the infantes of Spain an annual rent of four hundred thouſand livres, to be enjoyed by them and their deſcendants in perpetuity, ſaving the revertibility of the ſaid rent from one branch to the other, in caſe of the extinction of one of them, according to civil laws. In caſe of the extinction of all the branches, the

the ſaid rent ſhall revert to the crown of France.

VIII. His Majeſty the emperor Napoleon ſhall make ſuch arrangements as he ſhall judge proper with the future king of Spain for the payment of the civil liſt, and the rents ſtipulated in the preceding articles; but his Majeſty king Charles IV. is underſtood to have no relation with reſpect to that object, except with the treaſury of France.

IX. His Majeſty the emperor Napoleon gives in exchange to his Majeſty king Charles the caſtle of Chambord, with the parks, foreſts, and farms, dependent on it, to enjoy in full propriety, and to diſpoſe of as ſhall ſeem to him good.

X. In conſequence his Majeſty king Charles renounces in favour of the emperor Napoleon, all the allodial and particular property not appertaining to the crown of Spain, but poſſeſſed perſonally.

The infantes of Spain ſhall continue to enjoy the revenues of the commanderies they poſſeſs in Spain.

XI. The preſent convention ſhall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged within eight days, or ſooner if poſſible.

Done at Bayonne, May 5, 1808.

DUROC.
THE PRINCE OF THE PEACE.

His Majeſty the emperor of the French, king of Italy, and protector of the confederation of the Rhine, and his royal highneſs prince of Aſturias, having differences to regulate, have appointed for their plenipotentiaries —his Majeſty the emperor of the French and king of Italy, the general of diviſion Duroc, grand marſhal of the palace; and his royal highneſs the prince of Aſturias, Don Juan d'Eſcoquitz, counſellor of ſtate to his catholic Majeſty and knight grand croſs of the order of Charles III.; who, after having exchanged their full powers, have agreed to the following articles:—

Art. I. His royal highneſs the prince of Aſturias accedes to the ceſſion made by the king Charles of his rights to the throne of Spain and the Indies, in favour of his Majeſty the emperor of the French and king of Italy; and renounces as much as may be neceſſary to the rights accruing to him as prince of Aſturias, to the crown of Spain and the Indies.

II. His Majeſty the emperor of the French and king of Italy grants, in France, to his royal highneſs the prince of Aſturias, the title of royal highneſs, with all the honours and prerogatives which the princes of his blood enjoyed. The deſcendants of his royal highneſs the prince of Aſturias ſhall preſerve the title of princes, that of moſt ſerene highneſs, and ſhall always hold the ſame rank as the princes dignitaries of the empire.

III. His Majeſty the emperor of the French and king of Italy cedes and gives, by theſe preſents, in full property, to his royal highneſs the prince of Aſturias, and to his deſcendants, the palaces, and parks, and farms of Navarre, and the woods dependent on them, to the amount of fifty thouſand acres, the whole free from incumbrance, and to enjoy in full property from the day of the date of the preſent treaty.

IV. The

IV. The ſaid property ſhall paſs to the children and heirs of his royal highneſs the prince of Aſturias; in default of them, to the children and heirs of the infante Don Charles; in default of them, to the deſcendants and heirs of the infante Don Franciſco; and finally, in default of them, to the children and heirs of the infante Don Antonio. Letters patent and particular conferring the title of prince, ſhall be made out to him of thoſe heirs to whom the ſaid property ſhall revert.

V. His Majeſty the emperor of the French and king of Italy grants to his royal highneſs the prince of Aſturias four hundred thouſand livres of appanage rent on the treaſury of France, and payable one-twelfth part every month, to be enjoyed by himſelf and his deſcendants, and the direct deſcent of his royal highneſs the prince of Aſturias; failing this, the appanage rent ſhall paſs to the infante Don Charles, his children and heirs; and they failing, to the infante Don Franciſco, his deſcendants and heirs.

VI. Independently of what is ſtipulated in the preceding articles, his Majeſty the emperor of the French and king of Italy grants to his royal highneſs the prince of Aſturias a rent of ſix hundred thouſand livres, in like manner on the treaſury, to be enjoyed during life. The half of the ſaid rent ſhall revert to the princeſs, his conſort, if ſhe ſurvive him.

VII. His Majeſty the emperor of the French and king of Italy grants and guarantees to the infante Don Antonio, uncle of his royal highneſs the prince of Aſturias, and to Don Charles and Don Franciſco, the brother of the ſaid prince,

1. The title of royal highneſs, with all the honours and prerogatives which the princes of his blood enjoy; the deſcendants of their royal highneſſes ſhall preſerve the title of prince, that of moſt ſerene highneſs, and ſhall always hold the ſame rank in France as the princes dignitaries of the empire.

2. The enjoyment of the revenues of all their commanderies in Spain during their lives.

3. An appanage rent of four hundred thouſand livres, to be enjoyed by them and their heirs in perpetuity, it being always underſtood that the infantes Don Antonio, Don Charles, and Don Franciſco, dying without heirs, or their poſterity becoming extinct, the ſaid appanage rents ſhall appertain to his royal highneſs the prince of Aſturias, or to his deſcendants and heirs, the whole, on condition that their royal highneſſes Don Charles, Don Antonio, and Don Franciſco, accede to the preſent treaty.

VIII. The preſent treaty ſhall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged within eight days, or ſooner if poſſible.

Bayonne, May 10, 1808.

DUROC.
JUAN DE ESCOQUIZ.

King of Spain's Proclamations.

The king, the prince of Aſturias, their royal highneſſes the infants Don Carlos, and Don Antonio, abdicated the crown and their right thereto, by the following documents, viz.

I have thought proper to give

my beloved ſubjects this laſt proof of my paternal love. Their happineſs, tranquillity, proſperity, and preſervation, and integrity of the dominions that Divine Providence had placed under my ſway, have been the ſole objects of my conſtant care during my reign. Every ſtep and meaſure that has been adopted ſince my exaltation to the throne of my auguſt anceſtors has been directed to thoſe juſt purpoſes, and could not be directed to any other. This day, in the extraordinary circumſtances in which I am placed, my conſcience, my honour, and the good name I ought to leave to poſterity, imperiouſly require of me, that the laſt act of my ſovereignty ſhould be ſolely pointed to that end, viz. to the tranquillity, proſperity, ſecurity, and integrity of the monarchy, whoſe throne I quit, to the greateſt happineſs of my ſubjects of both hemiſpheres. Therefore, by a treaty, ſigned and ratified, I have ceded to my ally and dear friend, the emperor of the French, all my rights to Spain and the Indies, having ſtipulated that the crown of Spain and the Indies is always to remain independent and entire, as it was under my rule; and likewiſe that our holy religion is not only to be the predominant one in Spain, but the only one to be obſerved in all the dominions of the monarchy. Of all which you will take due notice, and communicate it to all the councils and tribunals of the kingdom, chiefs of provinces, civil, military, and eccleſiaſtical, and to all the juſtices of diſtricts, in order that this laſt act of my ſovereignty may be notorious to all and every one in my dominions of Spain and Indies; and you are all to concur and aſſiſt in carrying into effect the diſpoſitions of my dear friend the emperor Napoleon, as they are directed to preſerve the peace, friendſhip, and union between France and Spain, avoiding diſorder and popular commotions, the effects of which can only be havock and deſtruction of families, and the ruin of all.

Given in *Bayonne*, in the imperial palace of the government, the 8th of *May* 1808.

I, THE KING.

To the governor, ad interim, of my council of Caſtile.

Don Fernando, prince of Aſturias, and the infants, Don Carlos and Antonio, grateful for the love and conſtant fidelity that all Spaniards have manifeſted towards them, with the moſt poignant grief, ſee them in the preſent day plunged in the greateſt confuſion, and threatened with the moſt direful calamities reſulting therefrom, and knowing that it ariſes in the major part of them from the ignorance they are in of the cauſes of the conduct their royal highneſſes have hitherto obſerved, and of the plans now chalked out for the greateſt happineſs of their country, they can do no leſs than endeavour to undeceive them, in order that its execution may ſuffer no impediment; and at the ſame time to teſtify to them the ſincere affection they profeſs for them. They cannot conſequently avoid manifeſting to them, that the circumſtances in which the prince, by the abdication of the king his father, took the reins of government, many provinces of the kingdom, and all

the

the frontier garriſons being occupied by a great number of French troops, and more than 60,000 men of the ſame nation ſituated in the metropolis and its neighbourhood, and many other data that no other perſon could poſſeſs; all conſpired to perſuade them, that being ſurrounded by rocks and quickſands, they had no other remedy but to chuſe among many evils, the one that would be the leaſt productive of calamity;—as ſuch, they fixed upon a journey to Bayonne.

On their royal highneſſes' arrival at Bayonne, the prince, then king, unexpectedly found, that the king his father had proteſted againſt his abdication, pretending it had not been voluntary; not having accepted the crown, but in the good faith that the abdication was voluntary, he had ſcarcely aſcertained the exiſtence of the proteſt, when through filial reſpect he reſtored the crown, and ſhortly after the king his father renounced it in his name, and in that of all the dynaſty, in favour of the emperor of the French, in order, that looking to the welfare of the nation, he ſhould elect the perſon and dynaſty who are to occupy it hereafter.

In this ſtate of things, their royal highneſſes conſidering the ſituation they are in, the critical circumſtances of Spain, in which all the efforts of its inhabitants in favour of their rights will not only be uſeleſs but mournful, as they would only cauſe rivers of blood to flow, and cauſe the loſs at leaſt of a great part of the provinces, and of all their ultra marine poſſeſſions; and reflecting on the other hand that it would be a moſt efficacious remedy againſt ſo many evils for each of their royal highneſſes to adhere by himſelf ſeparately, to the ceſſion of their rights to the throne, already made by the king their father; reflecting alſo, that the ſaid emperor of the French binds himſelf in this caſe, to preſerve the abſolute independence and integrity of the Spaniſh monarchy, and of all ultra-marine poſſeſſions, without reſerving to himſelf, or diſmembering the leaſt part of its dominions, to maintain the unity of the catholic religion, property, laws, and uſages, which he ſecures for the future, and on a ſound baſis; alſo the power and proſperity of the Spaniſh nation:—Their royal highneſſes believe they give the greateſt proofs of their generoſity, love, and gratitude for the affection they have experienced, in ſacrificing as much as in their power, their perſonal intereſt for the benefit of the country, adhering, as they have done, by a particular agreement, to the ceſſion of their rights to the throne, abſolving all Spaniards from their duty in this reſpect, and exhorting them to look to the intereſt of their country, remaining tranquil, and expecting their happineſs from the ſage diſpoſition and power of the emperor Napoleon, and by ſhowing their readineſs to conform thereto, they will give their prince and the two infants the greateſt teſtimony of their loyalty, as their royal highneſſes give them of their fatherly love and affection, by giving up all their rights, and forgetting their own intereſts to make them happy, which is the ſole object of their wiſhes.

I, The Prince,
Carlos,
Antonio.

Bourdeaux, 12th *May*, 1808.

THE

THE DECREE.

Napoleon, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the Confederacy of the Rhine, &c.

The king and the princes of the houſe of Spain having ceded their rights to the crown, as is known by their treaties of the 5th and 10th of May, and by their proclamations publiſhed by the junta and the council of Caſtile, we have decreed, and do decree, ordered, and do order, as follows:—

Art. I. The aſſembly of the notables, which has already been convened by the lieutenant-general of the kingdom, ſhall be held on the 15th of June at Bayonne. The deputies ſhall be charged with the ſentiments, deſires, and complaints of thoſe they repreſent; and alſo with full power to fix the baſis of the new government for the kingdom.

II. Our couſin the grand duke of Berg ſhall continue to fulfil the functions of lieutenant-general of the kingdom.

III. The miniſters, the council of ſtate, the council of Caſtile, and all civil, eccleſiaſtical, and military authorities are, as far as is requiſite, confirmed. Juſtice ſhall be adminiſtered under the ſame forms, and in the ſame manner as uſual.

The council of Caſtile is charged with the publication of this decree, and with the affixing it on all places where it may be neceſſary, that no one may pretend ignorance of the ſame.

Given in our imperial and royal palace at Bayonne, the 25th of May, 1808.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

PROCLAMATION.

To the Spaniards.

Spaniards! After a long, lingering diſeaſe, your nation ſunk into decay. I have ſeen your ſufferings; I will relieve them. Your greatneſs makes a part of mine. Your princes have ceded to me all their rights to the Spaniſh crown. I will not reign over your provinces, but I will acquire an eternal right to the love and gratitude of your poſterity. Your monarchy is old; it muſt be renovated, that you may enjoy the bleſſings of a renovation which ſhall not be purchaſed by civil war or deſolation.

Spaniards! I have convened a general aſſembly of the deputies of your provinces and towns, that I may know your deſires and wants. I ſhall lay down my rights, and place your illuſtrious crown upon the head of one who reſembles me; ſecuring you a conſtitution which will unite the ſalutary power of the ſovereign with the liberties and rights of the Spaniſh nation.—It is my wiſh that my memory ſhall be bleſſed by your lateſt poſterity, and that they ſhall ſay—he was the reſtorer of our country.

NAPOLEON.

Bayonne, May 25.

Precautions which it will be proper to obſerve throughout the different Provinces of Spain, in the neceſſity to which they have been driven by the French, of reſiſting the unjuſt and violent poſſeſſion which their armies are endeavouring to take of the kingdom.

We cannot doubt a moment of the exertions which the united provinces

vinces of Spain would make to obſtruct and defeat the malicious deſigns of the French, and that they will ſacrifice even their lives on this occaſion, the moſt important, and even unparalleled in the hiſtory of the nation, both in the thing itſelf, and in the horrible means of ingratitude and perfidy by which the French have undertaken, purſued, and are ſtill endeavouring to effect our ſlavery :—

1. Let the firſt object be to avoid all general actions, and to convince ourſelves of the very great hazards, without any advantage, or even the hope of it, to which they would expoſe us. The reaſons of this reſolution are many, and ſuch as any one will diſcover who has the uſe of his underſtanding.

2. A war of partizans is the ſyſtem which ſuits us; the embarraſſing and waſting the enemy's armies by want of proviſions, deſtroying bridges, throwing up entrenchments in proper ſituations, and other ſimilar means. The ſituation of Spain, its many mountains, and the paſſes which they preſent, its rivers and torrents, and even the collocation of its provinces, invite us to carry on this ſpecies of warfare ſucceſsfully.

3. It is indiſpenſable that each province ſhould have its general, of known talents, and of ſuch experience as our ſituation permits, that his heroic loyalty ſhould inſpire the utmoſt confidence, and that every general ſhould have under his command officers of merit, particularly of artillery and engineers.

4. As a combined union of plans is the ſoul of every well-concerted enterprize, and that which alone can promiſe and facilitate a ſucceſsful iſſue, it appears indiſpenſable that there ſhould be three generaliſſimos, who ſhould act in concert with each other—one who ſhould command in the four kingdoms of Andaluſia, in Murcia, and lower Eſtremadura—another in Valencia, Arragon, and Catalonia; a perſon of the greateſt credit being appointed to Navarre, the Biſcayan provinces, Montanas, Aſturias, Rioja, and the north of Old Caſtile, for the purpoſe which will be mentioned hereafter.

5. Each of theſe generals and generaliſſimos will form an army of veterans, troops, and peaſantry united, and put himſelf in a ſituation to undertake enterprizes, and to ſuccour the moſt expoſed points, keeping up always a frequent communication with the other generaliſſimos, in order that all may act by common accord, and aſſiſt one another.

6. Madrid and la Mancha require an eſpecial general, to concert, and execute the enterprizes which their particular local ſituation demand.—His only object muſt be to embarraſs the enemy's armies, to take away or cut off their proviſions, to attack them in flank and rear, and not to leave them a moment of repoſe. The courage of theſe inhabitants is well known, and they will eagerly embrace ſuch enterprizes if they are led as they ſhould be. In the ſucceſſion war the enemy entered twice into the interior of the kingdom, and even as far as its capital, and this was the cauſe of their defeat, their entire ruin, and their utter failure of ſucceſs.

7. The generaliſſimos of the north and eaſt will block up the entrances to the provinces under their

their command, and come to the aſſiſtance of any one that may be attacked by the enemy, to prevent as much as poſſible all pillage, and preſerve its inhabitants from the deſolation of war; the many mountains and defiles which are on the confines of theſe provinces being favourable to ſuch projects.

8. The deſtination of the general of Navarre, Biſcay, and the reſt of this department, is the moſt important of all, in which he will be aſſiſted by the generals of the north and eaſt, with the troops and other ſuccours which he ſtands in need of. His whole buſineſs muſt be to ſhut the entrance of Spain againſt freſh French troops, and to haraſs and deſtroy thoſe that return from Spain to France by this point. The very rugged local ſituation of theſe provinces will be of ſingular advantage in ſuch a deſign, and theſe enterprizes, if well concerted, and carried into execution, will no doubt be ſucceſsful; and the ſame may be underſtood of the different points by which the French troops which are in Portugal may come into Spain, or by which French troops may enter through Rouſillon into Catalonia, for there is not much to be apprehended for Arragon. And even from Portugal it is not thought that they will eſcape, on account of the proclamations which have been circulated in that kingdom, and the hatred that they before bore to the French being increaſed without meaſure by the innumerable evils which they have been made to ſuffer, and the cruel oppreſſion in which they are held by them.

9. At the ſame time it would be very proper that the generaliſſimos ſhould publiſh and circulate frequent proclamations amongſt the people, and rouſe their courage and loyalty, ſhewing them that they have every thing to fear from the horrible perfidy with which the French have dealt with Spain, and even with their king Ferdinand VII.; and that if they rule over us all is loſt, king, monarchy, property, liberty, independence, and religion; and that therefore it is neceſſary to ſacrifice our lives and property in defence of the king and of the country, and though our lot (which we hope will never come to paſs) ſhould deſtine us to become ſlaves, let us become ſo fighting and dying like gallant men, not giving up ourſelves baſely to the yoke like ſheep, as the late infamous government would have done, and fixing upon Spain and her, ſlavery, eternal ignominy, and diſgrace. France has never domineered over us, nor ſet her foot in our territory. We have many times maſtered her, not by deceit, but by force of arms; we have made her kings priſoners, and we have made the nation tremble—we are the ſame Spaniards, and France, and Europe, and the world ſhall ſee, that we are not leſs gallant, nor leſs brave, than the moſt glorious of our anceſtors.

10. All perſons of education in the provinces ſhould be ſtimulated to frame, print, and publiſh frequent, ſhort diſcourſes, in order to preſerve the public opinion, and the ardour of the nation, confuting at the ſame time the infamous diaries of Madrid, which the baſeneſs of the late government has permitted and ſtill permits to be publiſhed in Madrid itſelf, and has cauſed to be circulated abroad, detecting their falſehoods and continual contradictions; let them cover with

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ſhame the miſerable authors of thoſe diaries, and ſometimes extend their remarks to thoſe Charlatans, the French gazetteers, and even to their Moniteur; and let them diſplay and publiſh to Spain, and to all Europe, their horrible falſehoods and venal praiſes, for they afford abundant matter for ſuch a work. Let all ſuch perverted minds tremble at Spain, and let France know that the Spaniards have thoroughly penetrated their deſigns, and therefore it is that they juſtly deteſt and abominate them, and that they will ſooner lay down their lives than ſubmit to their inquitous and barbarous yoke.

11. Care ſhall be taken to explain to the nation, and to convince them that when freed, as we truſt to be, from this civil war, to which the French have forced us, and when placed in a ſtate of tranquillity, our lord and king Ferdinand VII. being reſtored to the throne, under him and by him, the Cortes will be aſſembled, abuſes reformed, and ſuch laws ſhall be enacted as the circumſtances of the time and experience may dictate for the public good and happineſs. Things which we Spaniards know how to do, which we have done as well as other nations, without any neceſſity that the vile French come to inſtruct us, and, according to their cuſtom, under the maſk of friendſhip, and wiſhes for our happineſs, ſhould contrive, for this alone they are contriving, to plunder us, to violate our women, to aſſaſſinate us, to deprive us of our liberty, our laws, and our king, to ſcoff at and deſtroy our holy religion, as they have hitherto done, and will always continue to do ſo, as long as that ſpirit of perfidy and ambition which oppreſſes and tyrannizes over them ſhall endure.

JUAN BAPTISTA PARDO,
Secretary.

By order of the Supreme Junta.

Addreſs of the Spaniards to the French ſoldiers.

Frenchmen!—You poſſeſs no longer either laws or liberty, nor any good whatever; with ſtreams of blood ſhed by yourſelves and your children, you have been compelled to enſlave Europe. A family not French reigns over you, and ſeveral European nations, without the leaſt benefit to France, or any other people. Spain, your conſtant ally, has contributed, you know, by a variety of means, to your triumphs; and yet ſhe has been deſpoiled of her laws, her monarch, and greatneſs; her very religion is threatened; and all this has hitherto been achieved, not by gallantry and valour, but by treachery and fraud, in which you are forced to co-operate; your valiant arms are defiled; you are made to aſſiſt in deeds of infamy, inconſiſtent with your generous character, and with the name of the great nation, which you have acquired.

Frenchmen! the Spaniſh nation, your ally and generous friend, invites you to withdraw from banners, which are deſtined to enſlave all nations, and to enliſt under our's, which are raiſed for the beſt of cauſes, to defend our laws and our king, whereof we have been robbed, not by force of arms, but by fraud, treachery, and ingratitude of the deepeſt dye. We all will die, and you ſhall die with us

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to wipe off the ſtain which will otherwiſe indelibly diſgrace your nation. The Spaniards tender you the juſt reward for ſuch an action; with open arms will they receive you, and fight by your ſide; and when the war ſhall be terminated with that ſucceſs which they have every reaſon to expect land ſhall be given you, which you may cultivate unmoleſted, and paſs your remaining days amidſt a nation which loves and reſpects you, and where impartial juſtice ſhall incorruptibly protect all your fair enjoyments.

Italians, Germans of all the provinces of that great nation, Polanders, Swiſs, and ye all who compoſe the armies called French, will you fight for him, who oppreſſed and deſpoiled you of what you held moſt ſacred; for him, who has dragged you from your families and hopes, robbed you of your property, your wives, your children, your native country, which he has enſlaved? And will you fight againſt a nation, generous like the Spaniſh, from whom you experienced the kindeſt reception, which loves you with the tendereſt attachment, and which at the zenith of its glory and dominion reſpected your rights, becauſe it looks upon all men as brethren? Will you fight againſt a nation, which it is intended to ſubdue and enſlave, not by dint of arms, as brave men would do, but under the cloak of alliance and friendſhip, by fraudulent treachery, deteſtable and horrid beyond any precedent in hiſtory, even among barbarous nations? We hope you will not. Come to us, and you ſhall meet with valour, generoſity, and true honour. We tender the ſame rewards to you as to the French; and we truſt, you and your poſterity will enjoy them in happineſs and peace.

Don J. B. Estteller, 1ſt Sec.
Don J. B. De Pedro, 2d Sec.
Seville, May 29.

Proclamation of the Supreme Junta at Seville.

Seville could not reſiſt the impulſe of her heroic loyalty, of which ſhe has ſet the example in all ages. The king, to whom we all ſwore allegiance with emotions of joy, unprecedented in hiſtory, has been decoyed from us. The fundamental laws of our monarchy are trampled under foot; our property, our cuſtoms, our wives—all which the nation holds moſt dear, is threatened with imminent danger. Our holy religion, our only hope, is doomed to perdition, or will be reduced to mere external appearances, without ſupport and without protection. And all this is done by a foreign power, not by dint of arms, but by deceit and treachery, by taking advantage of our good nature and by converting the very perſons who call themſelves the heads of our government into inſtruments of thoſe atrocious acts; perſons who either from the baſeneſs of their ſentiments, from ſhameful fear, or perhaps from other motives, which time or juſtice will unfold, heſitate not to ſacrifice their country. It therefore become neceſſary to break the ſhackles which prevented the Spaniſh from diſplaying that generous ardour which in all ages has covered them with glory; that noble courage, with which they have always defended the honour of

of the nation, their laws, their monarchs, and their religion.

The people of Seville joined accordingly the 27th May; and, through the medium of all their magiſtrates, of all their conſtituted authorities, perfectly united, and of the moſt reſpectable individuals of every rank and deſcription, this ſupreme council of government was formed, inveſted with all neceſſary powers, and charged to defend the country, the religion, the laws, and the king. We accept the heroic truſt; we ſwear to diſcharge it, and reckon on the ſtrength and energy of the whole nation. We have again proclaimed don Ferdinand VII. our king, again we ſwore allegiance to him, ſwore to die in his defence,—and this was the ſignal of happineſs and union, and will prove ſo to all Spain.

A council of government had ſcarce been formed, when it violated the moſt ſacred laws of the realm. A preſident was appointed without any authority whatever, and who, had he poſſeſſed any lawful title, haſtened to forfeit it. In addition to his being a foreigner, which was a legal objection to his promotion, he acted with the utmoſt duplicity, and co operated for the deſtruction of the very monarchy, from whom he received his appointment, and of the laws, which alone could ſanction his authority. Under theſe circumſtances we could not reſtrain our loyalty, and much leſs could we violate the ſacred engagements, which we had before contracted, as Spaniards, as ſubjects, as Chriſtians, as freemen, independent of all foreign authority and power.

Nor could the authority of the firſt tribunal of the nation, the council of Caſtile, check or controul our exertions. The weakneſs of that council became obvious from the wavering and contradictory proceedings it adopted. The moſt momentous and moſt critical ſituation in which the nation ever hath been placed, and in which the council ſhould have diſplayed that heroic firmneſs, with which numberleſs motives and its own honour compelled it to act. The order tamely to ſubmit to, and circulate and obey the act of abdication in favour of a foreign prince, was the conſummation of its weakneſs, perhaps of its infamy, for that act was evidently void and illegal from want of authority in him who made it, becauſe the monarchy was not his own, nor was Spain compoſed of animals ſubject to the abſolute controul of their rulers; his acceſſion to the throne was founded on his royal deſcent, according to his own confeſſion, and on the fundamental laws of the realm, which invariably regulate the hereditary ſucceſſion, and with regard to which the council is not inveſted with any other power than the ſacred duty to enforce their obſervance. It is void on account of the ſtate of violence and oppreſſion in which it was made, and which is far more evident than the abdication itſelf; it is void becauſe the publiſhed act of abdication of king Ferdinand VII. and of his uncle and brother was made in the ſame ſtate of violence and compulſion, as is expreſsly declared in the very act of abdication; it is void, becauſe many royal perſonages, poſſeſſed of the right to claim the crown, have not relinquiſhed that claim, but preſerve it entire.

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Add to this the horrid treachery which has been employed to ſacrifice and degrade the Spaniſh nation. It is to our alliance and our ſacrifice that the French are indebted for what they call their triumphs: France withdrew our gallant troops from their native land, and ſent them to the moſt diſtant countries; ſhe made them fight for her intereſts, without having any occaſion for them, for the obvious purpoſe of weakening us, and deſpoiling us of our ſtrength. Her armies afterwards entered Spain, under continual profeſſions of an anxious deſire to promote our proſperity, and under the pretext of co-operating in expeditions againſt an enemy, of whom no farther mention is made. The people, by a generous effort, prevented the departure of their king, a meaſure which the French ſhould have hailed with ſhouts of joy; but far from ſo doing, they kept a profound ſilence with regard to that departure, and what is ſtill more, converted it into a motive to oppreſs us. France affected to perceive diviſions in the nation which did not exiſt; the Spaniſh nation having never been more united in the love and defence of its king. The latter was decoyed into the French territory by deceitful inſinuations and profeſſions; with a degree of generoſity, of which perhaps there does not exiſt a precedent, the king, with implicit reliance on thoſe vain profeſſions, threw himſelf into the arms of the French, who with the baſeſt treachery, unprecedented in the annals of civilized nations, made him their priſoner, treated him in a manner the moſt diſreſpectful, and forced him to the deeds of horror, which all Europe has witneſſed with aſtoniſhment, and every Spaniard with indignation and the moſt poignant grief. In a manner equally deceitful they invited the royal parents [illegible] their country, and compelled th[illegible] to unjuſt and illegal acts; acts which muſt hand down their memory to the lateſt poſterity branded with diſgrace: they alſo dragged away the reſt of the royal perſonages, to whom their tender age would have proved an inviolable ſhield, even among the moſt barbarous nations.

The French ruler ſummoned the Spaniſh nation before him; he choſe ſuch deputies as beſt ſuited his purpoſe; in a deſpotic manner of election of other deputies, appointed to deliberate in a foreign country on the moſt ſacred intereſt of the nation, while he publicly declared a private and reſpectful letter, written to him by Ferdinand the ſeventh, at the time when he was prince of Aſturias, a criminal performance, injurious to the rights of ſovereignty, although the ſame foreigner, who now affects to conſider it as an offence, perhaps induced him to write it. It is indeed a heinous offence, it is rebellion, when an independent nation ſubmits to the controul of a foreign prince, and diſcuſſes in his preſence and under his deciſion its moſt ſacred rights and public welfare; and neither Seville, nor any Spaniard, will lower himſelf to a degree of diſloyalty and meanneſs, which could induce him to a rebellion ſo atrocious, that even ſlaves would ſcorn to diſgrace themſelves by deeds of infamy like this.

He has reſorted to many other indecorous means to deceive us. He has diſtributed ſeditious libels

to corrupt the public opinion, in which under the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of reſpect for the laws, and for religion, he inſults both, leaves no means untried, however infamous they may be, to bend our necks under an iron yoke, and make us his ſlaves. He carries his audacity and deceit the length of aſſuring the public, in one of his libellous publications, that the ſupreme pontiff and vicar of Jeſus Chriſt approves and ſanctions his proceedings, while it is notorious, that in ſight of all Europe he has deſpoiled him of his dominions, and forced him to diſmiſs his cardinals, in order to prevent him from directing and governing the whole church, in the manner ſanctioned by our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

Spaniards, every conſideration calls on us to unite and fruſtrate views ſo atrocious. No revolution exiſts in Spain; nor did we declare war againſt any power; our ſole object is to defend what we hold moſt ſacred, againſt him, who, under the cloak of alliance and friendſhip, intended to wreſt it from us, and who, we have reaſon to fear, will deſpoil us, without fighting, of our laws, our monarchs, and our religion. Let us, therefore, ſacrifice every thing to a cauſe ſo juſt, and if we are to loſe our all, let us loſe it fighting, and as brave men.

Join us, therefore, all; the people are ready to take up arms; let us commit to the wiſeſt among us in all the provinces of Spain the important truſt to preſerve the public opinion, and refute thoſe inſolent libels replete with the moſt atrocious falſehoods. Let every one combat in his way; and let even the church of Spain inceſſantly implore the aſſiſtance of the God of hoſts, whoſe protection is ſecured to us by the evident juſtice of our cauſe.

And what do you fear? There is not in Spain the number of the enemy's troops which they proclaim in order to intimidate us. Thoſe who occupy part of our country are compoſed of different nations, dragged into ſervice, and who anxiouſly deſire to break their chains. The poſitions they have taken are exactly thoſe in which they can be conquered and defeated in the eaſieſt manner. They are beſides weak and diſmayed, becauſe the conſciouſneſs of guilt makes a coward of the braveſt man.

All Europe will applaud our efforts, and haſten to our aſſiſtance. Italy, Germany, and the whole North, which ſuffer under the deſpotiſm of the French nation, will eagerly avail themſelves of the favourable opportunity held out to them by Spain, to ſhake off their yoke and recover their liberty, their laws, their monarchs, and all they have been robbed of by that nation. France herſelf will haſten to eraſe the ſtain of infamy which muſt cover the tools and inſtruments of deeds moſt treacherous and heinous. She will not ſhed her blood in ſo vile a cauſe. She has already ſuffered too much under the idle pretext of a peace and happineſs, which never came, and can never be attained but under the empire of reaſon, peace, religion and laws, and in a ſtate where the rights of other nations are reſpected and obſerved.

Spaniards, your native country, your property, your laws, your liberty,

berty, your kings, your religion, nay your hopes in a better world, which that religion alone can devise to you and your descendants, are at stake, exposed to great and imminent danger.

By command of the supreme council of government.

J. B. Esteller, Sec.
J. Pardo, Sec.

Seville, June 2, 1808.

Declaration of War against the Emperor of France, Napoleon the First.

Ferdinand the Seventh, King of Spain and the Indies, and in his name, to the Supreme Junta of both.

France, under the government of the emperor Napoleon the First, has violated towards Spain the most sacred compacts—has arrested her monarch—obliged him to a forced and manifestly void abdication and renunciation; has behaved with the same violence towards the Spanish nobles whom he keeps in his power—has declared that he will elect a king of Spain, the most horrible attempt that is recorded in history—has sent his troops into Spain, seized her fortresses and her capital, and scattered her troops throughout the country—has committed against Spain all sorts of assassinations, robberies, and unheard-of cruelties; and this he has done with the most enormous ingratitude to the services which the Spanish nation has rendered France, to the friendship it has shewn her, thus treating it with the most dreadful perfidy, fraud and treachery, such as was never committed against any nation or monarch, by the most barbarous or ambitious king or people. He has, in fine, declared, that he will trample down our monarchy, our fundamental laws, and bring about the ruin of our holy catholic religion. —The only remedy, therefore, for such grievous ills, which are so manifest to all Europe, is in war, which we declare against him.

In the name therefore of our king, Ferdinand the Seventh, and of all the Spanish nation, we declare war, by land and sea, against the emperor Napoleon the First, and against France; we are determined to throw off her domination and tyranny, and command all Spaniards to act hostilely against him, to do him all possible damage according to the laws of war, to place an embargo upon all French ships in our ports, and all property and effects, in whatever part of Spain they may be, whether belonging to the government or to the individuals of that nation. In the same manner we command, that no embarrassment nor molestation be done to the English nation, nor its government, nor its ships, property, or effects, nor any individual of that nation; we declare that there shall be open and free communication with England; that we have contracted, and will keep, an armistice with her; and that we hope to conclude a durable and lasting peace.

Moreover, we protest we will not lay down our arms till the emperor Napoleon the First has restored to Spain our king, Ferdinand the Seventh, and the rest of the royal family, and has respected the rights of the nation which he has violated, as well as her liberty, integrity, and independence. And this

this we declare with the understanding and accordance of the Spaniſh nation.

We command that the preſent ſolemn declaration be printed, poſted, and circulated, among all the people and provinces of Spain and America, that it may be known in Europe, Africa, and Aſia.

Given in the royal palace of Aleazar, at Seville, this 6th of June, 1808.

By order of the Supreme Junta of government.

MANUEL MARIA AGUILAR, Sec.
JUAN BAPTISTA PARDO, Sec.

Sketch of Napoleon's New Conſtitution for Spain.

Title I.—Art. 1.—The Catholic-Apoſtolic and Romiſh religion is the predominant and ſole religion of Spain and its dominions; none other ſhall be tolerated.

Title II.—Art. 2.—Prince Joſeph Napoleon, King of Naples and Sicily, is King of Spain and the Indies. — 3. The crown of Spain and the Indies ſhall be hereditary in the male iſſue lawfully begotten of the body of the ſaid prince, according to ſeniority of birth, to the perpetual excluſion of females. —In default of ſuch iſſue male, lawfully begotten of the prince Joſeph Napoleon, the crown of Spain ſhall deſcend to us and our heirs male, and legal ſucceſſors, either of our body, or by adoption.—In default of ſuch our male deſcendants and lawful ſucceſſors, to deſcend to the iſſue male and lawful ſucceſſors of prince Louis Napoleon, king of Holland.—And in default of ſuch male deſcendants and lawful ſucceſſors of prince Louis Napoleon, to the iſſue male, and lawful ſucceſſors of prince Jerome Napoleon, king of Weſtphalia.—And in default of theſe, to the firſt born ſon, before the death of the laſt king, of the eldeſt daughter of thoſe who have male iſſue, and to his male deſcendants and lawful ſucceſſors; and in caſe the laſt king ſhould not have nominated that one of his daughters who has male iſſue, then to him whom he ſhall appoint by his will, either among his relations, or among thoſe whom he ſhall deem moſt worthy to rule over Spain. This nomination ſhall be delivered to the cortes for their acceptance. — 4. The crown of Spain ſhall never be fixed upon the ſame head with any other crown. —5. In all the edicts and laws, the title of the king of Spain ſhall be ——D.N.—— by the grace of God, and the conſtitution of the ſtate, king of Spain and the Indies. —6. The king on his acceſſion to the throne, or on his attaining his majority, ſhall take an oath to the Spaniſh people on the goſpel, in the preſence of the cortes, the ſenate, the council of ſtate, the council of Caſtile, the archbiſhops and biſhops. — 7. The form of the king's oath is:—"I ſwear, on the holy evangeliſts, to reverence and cauſe to be reverenced our holy religion; to maintain the inviolability of the Spaniſh territory; to reverence and cauſe to be reverenced, the liberty of the perſon, and to govern alone for the welfare, happineſs, and glory of the Spaniſh nation."

Title III.—*Of the Government.* — 8. The minority of the king ſhall laſt till he has attained his 18th year. During his mino-

rity there ſhall be a regent of the kingdom. — 9. The regent muſt be at leaſt 25 years old.—10. The regent ſhall be nominated by the preceding king, among the infantos who have attained the age mentioned in the preceding article. —11. In default of nomination by the preceding king, the regency belongs to the prince the fartheſt removed from the throne, according to the law of ſucceſſion, and who has attained the age of 25 years.—12. In caſe the prince fartheſt removed from the crown ſhall be in a ſtate of minority, the regency belongs to the next prince, who ſhall continue to exerciſe his functions till the king ſhall have attained his majority. — 13. The regent is not perſonally anſwerable for the acts of his adminiſtration. — 14. All the acts of the regency paſs in the name of the minor king.—15. The yearly revenue of the regent ſhall be one-fourth of the income of the crown.—16. In caſe the preceding king ſhall have nominated no regent, and all the princes ſhall be minors, then the government ſhall be carried on by the miniſters who form the council of government.—17. All ſtate affairs ſhall be determined by a majority of votes in the council of government.—18. The regency has no right to the perſonal cuſtody of the king, during his minority.—19. The care of the king during his minority is veſted in his mother, and in default of her, in the prince appointed thereto by the demiſed ſovereign. — 20. The board of guardianſhip, compoſed of the miniſters, ſhall principally be charged with ſuperintending the education of the young king; and the ſame ſhall be conſulted in every matter of importance, relative to his perſon or eſtabliſhment.

Title IV. — *Property of the Crown.*—21. The palaces of Madrid, the Eſcurial, St. Ildefonſo, Aranjuez, D'El Pardo, and all the others now forming part of the property of the crown, together with the parks, woods, domains, and eſtates of what kind ſoever, conſtitute the property of the crown. The revenues accruing from the ſaid property ſhall be paid into the treaſury of the crown; and ſhould they fall below the yearly ſum of a million of hard piaſtres, an addition of hereditary property ſhall be made, ſo as to make good the revenue to the amount ſtated.—22. The public treaſury ſhall annually pay over to that of the crown, a ſum of two millions in hard piaſtres.—23. The king's ſons, on attaining the age of twelve years ſhall receive the following annual revenues in the name of ſubſiſtence money, viz.:—the heir apparent 200,000 piaſtres; each infanto, 100,000 piaſtres; and each infanta, 50,000 piaſtres. —24. The dowry of the queen is fixed at 400,000 piaſtres, and ſhall be paid out of the treaſury of the crown.

Title V.—*Of the Officers of the Royal Houſehold.*—25. The chief and grand officers of the royal houſehold are ſix in number,—a grand almoner, grand chamberlain, grand cup-bearer, grand maſter of the horſe, grand huntſman, and grand maſter of the ceremonies.—26. The noblemen of the chamber, the ſteward's chaplains, and equerries, are officers of the royal houſehold.

Title VI.—27. There ſhall be nine miniſterial departments, viz.

of

of police, religion, foreign affairs, internal affairs, domains, war, marine, the Indies, and general police.—28. A ſecretary of ſtate, in the character of miniſter, ſhall ſign all acts of government.—29. The king may commit ſeveral miniſterial functions to one miniſter.—30. There is no other precedence among the miniſters than what reſults from their priority of nomination in point of time.—31. The miniſters, each in his own department, are reſponſible for the execution of the laws, and of his majeſty's orders.

Title VII.—*Of the Senate.*—32. The ſenate is compoſed, 1ſt, of the infants of Spain, being 18 years of age. 2d, Of twenty-four individuals, ſpecially appointed by the king from among the miniſters, captain-generals, ambaſſadors, councillors of ſtate, and members of the councils of Caſtile.—33. The exiſting councillors of ſtate are members of the ſenate. No new nomination ſhall take place until they are reduced below twenty-four, as regulated by the preceding article.—34. The preſident of the ſenate is appointed by the king. He is choſen out of the ſenate, and his functions laſt for one year.—35. The ſenate meets by the command of the king, or on the application of the junta, or one of its officers for internal affairs.—36. In the caſe of an armed inſurrection, or of apprehenſions reſpecting the ſafety of the ſtate, the ſenate may, on the propoſition of the king, ſuſpend the operation of the conſtitutional act in a particular diſtrict, and time to be limited.

[The remaining articles of this title, and thoſe of the 8th title relative to the council of ſtate, contain little that is of general intereſt. The king preſides in the council, which is to conſiſt of not leſs than 30, nor more than 60 members, divided into ſix ſections, viz. thoſe of juſtice, religion, internal affairs, police, finance, war, the marine, and the Indies.]

Title IX.—57. The cortes or juntas of the nation are compoſed of 150 members, divided into three eſtates or orders; namely, thoſe of the clergy, nobility, and people.—58. The order of the clergy ſhall conſiſt of 25 archbiſhops or biſhops—59. The order of the nobility ſhall conſiſt of 25 nobles, who ſhall have the title of grandees of the cortes.—60. The order of the people ſhall conſiſt of 40 deputies from the provinces, 30 from the principal cities, 15 from the merchants, and 15 deputies from the univerſities, to conſiſt of the moſt celebrated for their attainments in the arts and ſciences.—61. The archbiſhops or biſhops conſtituting the order of the clergy, ſhall be raiſed to the rank of members of the cortes, by a writ ſealed with the great ſeal of the ſtate. They cannot be diveſted of their functions, but by virtue of the ſentence of a competent court, pronounced in due form.—62. The nobles muſt poſſeſs an annual income of at leaſt 200,000 hard piaſtres, and have performed great ſervices in the civil or military departments, to qualify them for being elevated to the rank of grandees of the cortes. They ſhall be raiſed to the rank by a writ ſtamped with the great ſeal of the ſtate. They cannot be diveſted of their functions but by the ſentence of a competent court, pronounced in due form.—63. The deputies from the

the provinces ſhall be nominated by the ſame, in the proportion of at leaſt 1 to 300,000 inhabitants; for this purpoſe the provinces ſhall be divided into ſo many elective diſtricts as ſhall be neceſſary to furniſh the population giving the right to the election of a deputy.—[The articles from 64 to 70 incluſive, contain the forms to be obſerved in electing the deputies of the people, the commercial bodies, and the univerſities.]—71. The cortes ſhall aſſemble upon the ſummons of the king. They cannot be adjourned, prorogued, or diſſolved, but by his orders. They ſhall meet once, at leaſt, in three years.—72. The preſident of the cortes ſhall be appointed by the king, but ſhall be choſen out of three candidates to be nominated by the cortes by ballot, and an abſolute majority of votes.—73 and 74. On the opening of each ſeſſion, the cortes ſhall nominate three candidates for the preſidentſhip, two vice-preſidents, two ſecretaries, and three committees, each to conſiſt of five members, viz. a committee of juſtice, of internal affairs, and of finance.—75. The ſittings of the cortes ſhall not be public. Their votes ſhall be taken by ballot.—76. Neither the opinions nor votes ſhall be printed or publiſhed. Any act of publication, in print or in writing, by the aſſembly of the cortes, or the individual members thereof, ſhall be regarded as an act of inſurrection.—77. The alterations to be made in the civil or criminal code, or in the ſyſtem of finance, ſhall be laid before the cortes for their deciſion thereupon, by the orators of the council of ſtate.—80. Should the cortes conceive themſelves to have juſt grounds of complaint as to the conduct of any of the miniſters, a petition, containing their alleged grievances and ſuggeſtions ſhall be carried by a deputation to the foot of the throne. The king ſhall appoint a commiſſion, conſiſting of ſix councillors of ſtate, and ſix councillors of Caſtile, to examine into the ſaid petition.—81. The decrees of the king, iſſued in purſuance of the deciſion of the cortes, ſhall be introduced with the formula "upon conſulting the cortes."

Title X.—*Of the Spaniſh Colonies in America and Aſia.*—82. The Spaniſh colonies in America and Aſia ſhall enjoy the ſame privileges as the mother country.—83. Each kingdom and province ſhall always have deputies at the ſeat of government, charged to watch over their particular intereſts, and to ſerve as their repreſentatives in the cortes.—84. Theſe deputies are 20 in number, viz. two from New Spain, two from Peru, two from the new kingdom of Granada, two from Buenos Ayres, two from the Philippine iſlands, one from the iſland of Cuba, one from Porto Rico, one from the province of Venezuela, one from Charcas, one from Quito, one from Chili, one from Guatimala, or from Guadalaxara, one from the interior weſtern provinces of New Spain, and one from the eaſtern provinces.—85. The ſaid deputies ſhall exerciſe their functions during the period of eight years; and if upon the lapſe of the ſame their ſucceſſors ſhall not have yet arrived, they ſhall retain their functions until their actual arrival.

Title XI.—*Of the Adminiſtration of Juſtice.*—86. Spain ſhall be governed by one and the ſame code of

of civil laws.—87. The adminiſtration of juſtice is independent.—88. Juſtice ſhall be diſpenſed in the name of the king, by judges and courts of juſtice to be appointed by his majeſty. All courts claiming particular privileges, and all the excluſive juriſdictions of any orders or ſeigniories whatever, are aboliſhed.—[The remaining articles under this head contain nothing of general intereſt.]

Title XIII.—*General Regulations.*—107. There ſhall be a permanent alliance by ſea and land, offenſive and defenſive, between France and Spain. The contingent to be furniſhed by each of the reſpective powers, in caſe of a continental or maritime war, ſhall be regulated by a ſeparate treaty.—108. Foreigners who have performed, or may hereafter perform, great ſervices to the ſtate; who may prove uſeful from their talents, inventions, or zeal and activity; who may form great eſtabliſhments, or purchaſe funded eſtates paying a tax of fifty hard piaſtres,—are admiſſible to the rights of naturalization in Spain. The king confers this indulgence through his miniſter for internal affairs upon conſulting his council of ſtate.—109. The reſidence of every inhabitant of the Spaniſh territory is an inviolable ſanctuary. It can only be entered in the day time, and for a purpoſe commanded by law, or in execution of an order iſſued by the public magiſtracy.—110. No perſon domiciliated in the Spaniſh territory can be arreſted, except in the actual commiſſion of a crime, or by virtue of a lawful warrant in writing.—111. In order to the execution of a warrant of arreſt, it is neceſſary, 1ſt, That the reaſon of the arreſt ſhall be formally ſet forth therein, and that it ſhall ſtate the law enjoining the ſame. 2d, That it ſhall be granted by an authority formally empowered by law to grant it. 3d, That its contents ſhall be communicated, and a copy thereof given to the perſon to whom it applies.—112. No jail or priſon keeper can receive or hold any one in cuſtody, without entering in his regiſter a copy of the warrant or commitment, indictment, or ſentence, or in a word, every order whatſoever in virtue of which he holds the perſon in cuſtody.—113. Every jailor or priſon-keeper ſhall be compelled, and no order whatever ſhall be conſidered as an impediment, to bring his priſoners as often as he ſhall be required to do ſo, before the magiſtrate charged with the affairs of the police.—114. The relatives and friends of the priſoner ſhall not be prevented from entering the priſon, upon their producing an order from the magiſtrate. A ſpecific order from the judge to the jailor can alone juſtify the detaining of a priſoner in cloſe cuſtody.—115. Perſons not authoriſed by law to iſſue warrants of commitment who ſhall give orders for arreſting, or cauſe to be arreſted, any perſon whatſoever, as well as thoſe who, in caſes of legal arreſt, ſhall detain the priſoner in any place not known as a legal jail, and all jailors contravening the three preceding articles, are guilty of the crime of arbitrary impriſonment.—116. The preſent conſtitutional ſtatute ſhall ſucceſſively, and according to the importance of the reſpective articles, be carried into execution by royal decrees or edicts, ſo that the whole ſhall be in operation before the 1ſt of January, 1813.—117. The freedom of the

the preſs ſhall be regulated two years after the conſtitutional ſtatute ſhall have been in operation. The cortes ſhall paſs a law reſpecting the freedom of the preſs.

Joſeph Buonaparte's Proclamation iſſued at Vittoria.

Don Joſeph Napoleon, by the grace of God, and the conſtitution of the ſtate, king of Spain and the Indies.

Spaniards!—On entering the territory of a people, the government of whom Providence has confided to me, I feel it my duty to explain the ſentiments which I entertain. In aſcending the throne, I rely upon finding among you ſome generous ſouls, who will ſecond my efforts to reſtore this people to the poſſeſſion of their ancient ſplendour. The conſtitution, to the obſervance of which you are about to pledge yourſelves by your oaths, ſecures the exerciſe of our holy religion, and of civil and political freedom. It eſtabliſhes a national repreſentation, and reſtores your ancient cortes in a meliorated form. It appoints a ſenate forming the guarantee of individual liberty, and the ſupport of the throne in critical circumſtances, and conſtituting alſo an aſylum and reward to thoſe who ſhall have performed ſignal ſervices to the ſtate. The courts of juſtice, the interpreters of the laws, diveſted of paſſion and favour, ſhall, in pronouncing judgment, be impartial, free, and independent. Merit and virtue ſhall be the only claims to the holding of public offices. Unleſs I am diſappointed in my wiſhes, your agriculture and commerce ſhall flouriſh, free from thoſe reſtraints which have hitherto retarded their proſperity. Deſirous of ruling according to the laws, I will be the firſt to give an example of the honour which ſhould be paid to them. I enter among you with the greateſt confidence, ſurrounded by thoſe meritorious individuals, who have concealed from me nothing which they have thought neceſſary for your intereſts. Blind paſſion, falſe rumours, the intrigues of the common enemy of the continent, anxious only to ſeparate the Indies from Spain, have plunged ſome of you into the moſt dreadful ſtate of anarchy. My heart bleeds at the view of it; but this evil, however conſiderable it may be, may inſtantaneouſly ceaſe. Spaniards, only unite round my throne. Conduct yourſelves ſo as that internal diſturbances ſhall not deprive me of that time which I wiſh to employ in labouring for your happineſs, nor deprive me of the means of accompliſhing that object. I eſteem you enough to perſuade myſelf, that you will make every exertion to obtain and merit that happineſs, which is the deareſt object of my wiſhes.

I, THE KING.

Vittoria, 12th July, 1808.

By order of his Majeſty,
The miniſter ſecretary of ſtate,
MARIANO LUIS DE URQUJO.

Manifeſto of the Junta of Seville.

THE defence of our country, and of our king, that of our laws, our religion, and of all the rights of man, trodden down and violated in a manner which is without

out example by the emperor of the French, Napoleon I. and by his troops in Spain, compelled the whole nation to take up arms, and to chuſe itſelf a form of government; and in the difficulties and dangers into which the French had plunged it, all, or nearly all, the provinces, as it were, by the inſpiration of Heaven, and in a manner little ſhort of miraculous, created ſupreme juntas, delivered themſelves up to their guidance, and placed in their hands the rights and the ultimate fate of Spain.

The effects have hitherto moſt happily correſponded with the deſigns of thoſe who formed them. The provinces have armed themſelves; ſome have formed large armies of veteran troops, and have united to them the enliſted peaſants; all, or nearly all, have fought and are fighting againſt the French in behalf of their king, Ferdinand VII. with a valour and a conſtancy of which neither Greece nor Rome, nor any other nation of the world, had any idea. The French are really amazed and terrified, and the hopes of conquering them are as ſure as human certainty can reach.

The only thing which can impair or fruſtrate them is diſcord, and the want of union among the provinces themſelves. Hence the ſupreme junta paid its firſt attention to remove that danger, with which view it printed and publiſhed the official paper, entitled *Precautions*, which it communicated in every poſſible manner to all the provinces of Spain. The bringing this plan to perfection, and carrying it into complete execution, is now more than ever neceſſary. Our enemies are anxious to foment our diviſions. Human paſſions, perſonal intereſts ill-underſtood, the ignorance, the weakneſs, the blindneſs of men, may, perhaps, without their knowing it, aſſiſt the evil deſigns of our enemies, and thus deſtroy a beginning ſo glorious, and facilitate and conſummate the entire ruin of Spain. This it is that we are endeavouring to guard againſt, urged only by the moſt ſacred motives, by our honour, by our loyalty as affectionate ſubjects, by our duty as Spaniards, by our faith as Chriſtians; and here we proteſt before God and man, whoſe aid we invoke with all fervency, that we will write nothing but what is dictated to us by the love of our country, the preſervation of our king, and of our rights, not mingling with it any thing that appears to partake of paſſion, of intereſt, or of any other perſonal motive; but being always ready to hear the opinions of the other provinces, and to amend our own errors, wherever it ſhall be ſhewn that we have committed any.

Be it the chief care to avoid every thing which is not abſolutely neceſſary, and which may ſerve to ſow the ſeeds of diſunion in the provinces, and to excite diviſions among them; and of this nature we eſteem all converſations about the royal houſe, and of the order of ſucceſſion in different families which derive a right from it. There is no perſon ſo ignorant of the hiſtory of Spain, and of the manner in which the throne has been occupied, as not to know the changes which have taken place in the ſucceſſion. It is alſo known what are the legiſlative proceedings upon this point; what the manner in which endeavours were uſed to introduce

troduce an alteration into them; the different pretexts for this alteration; and, laſtly, the final ſettlement which was made by the cortes of 1789, and which ought in future to be the rule.

But are we in a ſituation to talk of theſe matters? Long live our king and indiſputable ſovereign Ferdinand VII. and long live his auguſt brothers, heirs of the crown, after his atteſted deceaſe. Why then anticipate thoſe inquiries which can only be neceſſary in default of theſe? This anticipation may produce, by the diverſity of opinions which it creates, a cruel diſunion, which, of itſelf alone, will utterly ruin the only aim and object which Spain at preſent has in view, and that is, its own entire and independent preſervation for its ſovereign lord and king Ferdinand VII. and his undiſputed ſucceſſors; and, with its king, the preſervation of its own rights and laws, and the unity of the Holy Roman Catholic Apoſtolical religion, which it has glorioufly profeſſed and defended for ſo many ages. It is, therefore, both abſurd and dangerous to diſpute about the ſucceſſion in caſes evidently remote; all the provinces of Spain ought to confine themſelves in this reſpect to this general expreſſion —"*Hereditary ſucceſſion, according to the fundamental laws of the monarchy.*"

Not ſo is it with the ſecond queſtion moved by the various juntas of the kingdom, which certainly keeps the people in a ſtate of diſquietude and agitation, is the continual object of public converſation, and may produce diviſions fatal to the generous deſign, and the virtuous obligation into which we have entered, of defending ourſelves againſt our enemies, and of preſerving our country, our king, our monarchy, our laws, and our religion. This ſecond queſtion is—is there a neceſſity for creating a ſupreme government, which may unite the ſovereign authority of all the provinces, till the reſtitution of king Ferdinand to his throne?

This ſupreme junta declares openly, that from the beginning to the preſent time it has been perſuaded that ſuch a ſupreme government is altogether neceſſary, and that without it the country is in danger, and its enemies will find means of completing its ruin; and the reaſons of this determination and declaration are ſo evident, and preſent themſelves with ſuch clearneſs to the eyes of all, that they cannot fail of convincing all who have the leaſt notion of public affairs, or a correct inſight into the nature of man, the paſſions which move him, and the order of human affairs in all ages. Various ſupreme juntas and military chiefs have expreſſed their conviction of this truth.

A conviction of the ſame ſprings from the indiſpenſable neceſſity of a civil government in every nation, whoſe duty it is to attend to the happineſs of the kingdom, and to which the military may be ſubordinate. The confidence of the nation, and conſequently the public funds and the capitals of individuals, muſt neceſſarily have a civil government for their ſupport. Without it the military power would, indiſpenſably, be under the neceſſity of employing violence, with the view of acquiring that confidence which it never could attain, and getting a command of

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thoſe capitals, which it would be equally impoſſible for it to bring within its graſp; and thus it would ultimately deſtroy that public proſperity and happineſs, which ought to be the ſole object of every government. Let us not vainly flatter ourſelves with notions of Roman dictators, and the other military chiefs of the ancient republics; they were placed under very prudent reſtraints, and the duration of their authority was limited to a very ſhort period. The dangers of complete deſpotiſm and uſurpation kept them in continual alarm, and compelled them to take very rigorous precautions, which are very incompatible with the habits of modern times. Spain has derived a leſſon of wiſdom from the hiſtory of paſt ages: ſhe has never thought of appointing a military dictator. Her military chiefs (and it is a fact moſt honourable to the Spaniſh name) have been the firſt to embrace, with the utmoſt cordiality, a ſyſtem of things as ancient in Spain as the monarchy itſelf. The experience of our times—the confidence of the people in the ſupreme juntas--the facility and abundance with which pecuniary reſources have been placed at their diſpoſal—the heroic loyalty with which the military chiefs and the army have acknowledged and obeyed them, and the happy iſſue hitherto of their civil adminiſtration, and the military enterprizes which they have directed, have placed in the moſt conſpicuous light, and eſtabliſhed beyond all doubt, this fundamental truth, and moſt eſſential political principle.

But who is to create this ſupreme civil government? Who are to compoſe it? Where ſhall be its place of reſidence? What the extent of its authority? How ſhall it be eſtabliſhed without interrupting the public tranquillity, and producing diſunion among the different provinces? How is the public opinion to be ſo regulated as that, without oppoſing it, this tranquillity ſhall be attained, and all riſk of diſturbance obviated? Theſe are the important and ſerious queſtions which we ſhall now proceed to examine; and upon which, influenced ſolely by the love of our country, and our anxiety to promote its welfare, we will enter into a frank explanation of our ſentiments.

In the various papers that have been publiſhed upon this ſubject, we are told that the cortes ſhould aſſemble; that they ſhould elect repreſentatives; and farther, that the old council of Caſtile ſhould convoke them, and the whole of the proceedings ſhould be executed under its authority.

Moſt aſſuredly we do not underſtand the grounds upon which this deciſion reſts. The council of Caſtile, though a lawful aſſembly, never convoked the cortes. Why then ſhould we give it an authority which it does not poſſeſs? Is it becauſe it lent the whole weight of its influence to ſuch important changes, with regard to which it had no powers, nor any authority whatſoever? Is it becauſe it has acted in oppoſition to thoſe fundamental laws, which it was eſtabliſhed to preſerve and defend. Is it becauſe it afforded every facility to the enemy to uſurp the ſovereignty of Spain, to deſtroy the hereditary ſucceſſion of the crown and the dynaſty legally in poſſeſſion, and recognized and ſeated on the throne a foreigner, deſtitute even of the ſhadow

ſhadow of a title to it; for it is incontrovertibly manifeſt, that the renunciation of Charles IV. in his favour gave him no ſuch claim? What confidence could the Spaniſh nation place in a government created by an authority invalid and illegal, and which had alſo rendered itſelf ſuſpected, by the previous commiſſion of acts of ſo horrible a deſcription, that they may be juſtly ranked with the moſt atrocious crimes againſt the country?

The council of Caſtile being thus excluded from all conſideration—who ſhould convoke the cortes? The authority to convoke them is a part of the peculiar and excluſive prerogative of the king. The provinces would not ſubmit to any other authority; they would not unite; there would be no cortes; and ſhould a few delegates aſſemble, that very circumſtance would expoſe the kingdom to diviſion—the evil which all wiſh to avoid.

Beſides, the cities who have votes in the cortes have not undertaken the defence of the kingdom, nor of themſelves, nor in their corporate capacity, have they made any effort to defend it. We entertain the moſt profound reſpect both for them and their rights; but truth compels us to ſpeak out.

Moſt undoubtedly, however, the cities who have votes in the cortes, in thus conducting themſelves, acted with conſummate prudence, and with a due obſervance of law. The kingdom found itſelf ſuddenly without a king, and without a government—a ſituation indeed unknown in our hiſtory, and to our laws. The people legally reſumed the power of appointing a government; and this truth has been openly avowed by various ſupreme juntas. The people created theſe juntas without paying any regard to the cities who have votes in the cortes. The legitimate power is therefore depoſited with the ſupreme juntas, and, in virtue of that power, they have governed and do govern with real authority, and have been and ſtill are acknowledged and obeyed by all ranks of ſubjects, and by all cities in their reſpective diſtricts having votes in the cortes. Their ſituation has not changed; the danger ſtill exiſts; no new authority has ſupervened; the lawful authority therefore reſides entire in the juntas which the people created, and to which they confided it.

It is, therefore, inconteſtable that the ſupreme juntas have the ſole and excluſive right of electing thoſe who are to compoſe the ſupreme government, as the only means of protecting and preſerving the kingdom, whoſe defence the people have intruſted to them, and which cannot be accompliſhed but by the eſtabliſhment of a ſupreme government. Nothing is more evident than this truth.

And whom ſhall the ſupreme junta elect? Moſt certainly individuals of their own body; for they alone derive their power from the people, and it is in their conſtituent members that the people have repoſed entire confidence. Should any other perſons be choſen, they would poſſeſs neither the confidence nor the conſent of the people, and all their acts would be null and void; and from this want of confidence, the nation would be expoſed to inteſtine diviſions, the laſt and greateſt of all our calamities.

Hence, if there be any province in which the military power has alone been retained, reſults the abſolute

abſolute neceſſity of conſtituting ſupreme juntas, in which the power of the people ſhall reſide, and by which they may act. Whether they ſhall be conſtituted by the petty cortes or any other bodies, their appointment in ſome form or other is indiſpenſable, in order to the concentration of the legitimate power of the people, and the eſtabliſhment of a civil government, which ſhall inſpire confidence into the people, and proceed to the choice of perſons who ſhall compoſe the ſupreme government, which, under the preſent circumſtances, cannot be legitimate, unleſs it has its origin in the free conſent of the people.

It ſeems then to be indiſpenſably neceſſary, that all the ſupreme juntas, meeting on the ſame day, ſhould each elect from among their own members two deputies to form the ſupreme government, and the perſons ſo elected ſhould, from that moment, be reputed, and actually be the governors-general of the kingdom; and that as ſuch they ſhould be univerſally acknowledged and obeyed.

Their authority is well known, and cannot be ſubject to any doubt. The ſupreme junta of Valencia has moſt judiciouſly marked its extent and limits, in the paper which they publiſhed on this queſtion, on the 16th of July. We ſhall, therefore, be excuſed from going more at large into the conſideration of it.

We will only add, that the ſupreme juntas ought to be continued with all their appointments and inſignia, and be inveſted with the internal governments of their reſpective provinces, until the concluſion of the preſent ſtate of things, but at the ſame time under due ſubordination to the ſupreme government. In thoſe ſupreme juntas reſides the legitimate power of thoſe portions of the people who have reſpectively created them. It is their duty to take meaſures for enſuring the happineſs of their conſtituents, through the medium of a juſt government, and vigilantly to protect and defend the rights of every individual among them. For this purpoſe they ought to give their inſtructions to their reſpective deputies, conſtituting the ſupreme government; and it will be the duty of the latter to obſerve them, and to repreſent and ſupport the claims of their provinces, as far as may be conſiſtent with the general proſperity.

If there exiſted among us a royal perſonage, capable of preſiding in this ſupreme government, reaſon and juſtice preſcribe that he, and no other, ſhould be appointed to that office. But if there be no ſuch royal perſonage, the ſupreme government muſt elect a preſident from its own body. To obviate every danger, however, the preſidency ſhould be temporary, and continue only for a fortnight, a month, or any other term agreeable to the ſupreme government, upon the lapſe of which period it ſhould be incumbent on them to chuſe a different perſon.

We have already remarked, and it is unneceſſary to repeat it, that the ſupreme juntas ſhould elect, as deputies to the ſupreme government, ſuch of their members as are moſt diſtinguiſhed for their talents, their general knowledge of legiſlation, and all the branches of public welfare and government, recollecting that they are to be the depoſitories of the hopes of the kingdom. This ſupreme junta, in full reliance

reliance upon the generous character of Spaniards, and their ardent attachment to the good of their country, assures itself that intrigue, party, or personal interest or predilections, will have no influence upon this occasion.

The supreme juntas will, in the first instance, appoint the place which shall be the seat of the supreme government, who shall afterwards adhere to or alter that appointment, as they think fit, according to a plurality of votes. The seat of government, as has been most wisely observed by the supreme junta of Valencia, ought to be at a distance from all the dangers of war, and should, as a claim to preference, possess other advantages of a local nature. Seville conceives herself to possess all these advantages, but has no anxiety to be selected; for she will most cordially sacrifice all her claims to what the other supreme juntas shall decide to be for the general prosperity of the kingdom. The supreme juntas will, therefore, make known their pleasure as to this point, when they notify the election of their deputies. In the mean time we will frankly state that La Mancha appears to us most convenient for the seat of government, and there we would particularly name its large cities of Ciudad Real or Almagro. But on this subject we are in nowise anxious; we leave it entirely to the free choice of the supreme juntas.

It remains only that we speak of this supreme junta of Seville, upon which point we shall not say much. Certain persons, either ignorant or malevolent, have endeavoured to spread the persuasion that we affected a superiority over the other provinces. Any such thought has been far from us, although the general good of the nation has been our guide, and, as it were, the soul of all our determinations. We possessed the only foundery for cannon in the kingdom, and arms and ammunition in a certain degree of abundance. Various captains-generals acknowledged us from the commencement, and veteran troops were more numerous in our province than in other parts; and thus we formed an army in a shorter time, and have harassed the enemy, who have surrendered prisoners of war, with their general Dupont, and have capitulated for the divisions of generals Vedel and Gobert, who are to be conducted to France, amounting, altogether, to 17,000 men, so that there does not remain a single French soldier in arms in the Andalusias; a victory most glorious and singular, which has been effected without the effusion of much Spanish blood, in which it appears we stand alone.

The local situation of the Andalusias presents also a more probable mode of defence against the arms of Napoleon, if he means to attack us; and, with this view, we have united with us the Portuguese provinces of Algarve and Alentexo, who have placed themselves under our protection; and the Canary Isles have sent us a deputy for the same purpose.

The greater opulence and other peculiar circumstances of these provinces offers resources which the rest want; and we have thus been enabled to make provision for immense expense, without having received any money from any other part, or imposed any contributions.

The marine arsenal of the Isle

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of Leon, perhaps the moſt conſiderable of all, obeyed us from the beginning, and with it the Spaniſh ſquadron off Cadiz, whoſe force is the greateſt, and has ſince been augmented by that of the French moored in that harbour, and ſurrendered to us at diſcretion.

Gibraltar, the famous Engliſh fortreſs, is in our territory, and one of the moſt numerous ſquadrons of that nation kept our coaſt in a ſtate of blockade. We immediately, therefore, opened a communication with Gibraltar, and with the Engliſh ſquadron, which has given us all the aſſiſtance that was in its power, ſent us a reſident miniſter at the very firſt, and conveyed our deputies to London, to requeſt ſubſidies, and ſettle a peace advantageous to the whole nation.

Amidſt ſo many ſerious cares, we have tranſmitted all the arms which it was poſſible to tranſmit to Granada. Eſtremadura has received a ſtill greater number, and has experienced our protection, and ſo has Cordova and Jaen. We have offered arms to La Mancha, to Murcia, to Tarragona, to Gerona, who requeſted them of us, and we exerted ourſelves to the utmoſt to fulfil the promiſes which we had made.

We have not forgot the reſt of the European provinces and kingdoms, and we hope in time that the effects of our zeal and vigilance will be made clear and public.

The Americas claimed at the firſt a great ſhare of our attention; in order to preſerve that ſo principal a part of the Spaniſh monarchy, we have ſent envoys and commiſſaries thither and to Aſia, in order that they may unite themſelves to us, which we could not do without qualifying ourſelves as the ſupreme junta for the government of Spain and the Indies, and we truſt that this title and our cares will not be found uſeleſs. So many labours, ſurrounded by ſo many dangers, will we truſt, deſerve ſome conſideration of our country, for the love and defence of which only we have done and ſuffered ſo much.

With all this, we repeat that we neither affect nor deſire any ſuperiority. Whatever we have done, we owed to our country; it was an indiſpenſable obligation upon us. Our only object is, that Spain may preſerve its integrity and independence, for our lord and king, Ferdinand VII. and for that object we joyfully ſacrifice our lives. May God, who has ſo clearly and marvellouſly ſhewn his protection of Spain, grant a ſafe return to its king Ferdinand VII. and then with the ſupreme government, he will determine what may be his royal will, either commanding an union of the cortes, or by ſuch other means as his prudence may ſuggeſt, and will facilitate the reform of abuſes and the general happineſs of the kingdom, ſecuring it upon ſuch foundations as are firm, and ſubject to no change.

If theſe hopes are vain, in which the clemency of God leads us to indulge, then the exiſting ſupreme government will itſelf determine what is moſt conducive to the intereſt of the kingdom, conforming itſelf to the fundamental laws thereof, defending it againſt the fury and malice of our enemies, and preſerving this monarchy, in which itſelf, the liberty of nations, and the catholic church, the beloved ſpouſe of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, is ſo deeply intereſted.

Given

Given at the royal palace of Seville, this 3d day of Auguſt, 1808.

FRANCIS SAAVEDRA, Archbiſhop of Laodicea; the Dean of the Chapter of the Holy Church; FRANCIS XAVIER CIENFUEGOS; — VINCENT HORE; FRANCIS DIAZ BERMUDO; MANUEL GIL, C.M.; Father JOSEPH RAMIREZ; JUAN FERNANDO AGUIRE; Count TILLY; Marquis de la GRAVINA; Marquis de TORRES, and eleven others.

By command of his Serene Highneſs.

PROCLAMATION

Iſſued by the Supreme Junta of Spain, to the Spaniſh Nation.

Spaniards! the ſupreme junta of government, the depoſitary of the ſupreme authority, has devoted the firſt moments which ſucceeded its formation, to the urgent meaſures which its ſituation, and the circumſtances of the time, preſcribe. But from the firſt inſtant of its inſtallation, it has believed that one of its obligations is to addreſs itſelf to you, with the dignity which becomes a great and generous nation, in order to inform you of your ſituation, and eſtabliſh in a frank and noble manner thoſe relations of reciprocal confidence which are the baſes of every juſt and prudent adminiſtration. Without theſe neither the government can fulfil the high duty impoſed upon it, nor the governed attain the objects deſired.

A tyranny of twenty years, exerciſed by the unfitteſt hands ever known, had placed our country on the brink of perdition. The oppreſſor of Europe ſaw that the time was arrived for carrying into execution the plot he had long been forming, and adding the richeſt and moſt brilliant wreath to his bloody crown. Every thing appeared to flatter his hopes. The nation was alienated from its government by hatred or contempt—the royal family was divided—the beloved heir to the crown accuſed, calumniated, and, if poſſible, degraded; the public force diſperſed and diſorganized; the reſources exhauſted; the French troops were introduced into the kingdom, and had already ſeized the ſtrong places of the frontier; finally, 60,000 men were ready to enter the capital, in order from thence to give law to the kingdom.

It was at this critical moment that, ſuddenly awaking from the ſlumber in which you lay, you precipitated the favourite from the height of power he had uſurped, and placed on the throne the prince you idolized. An act of fraud the moſt abominable which the records of human perverſity bear, deprived you of your moſt innocent king; and the aggreſſion of Bonaparte and tyranny of the French were announced to Spain by the cannonade of the 2d of May on Madrid, and by the blood and ſlaughter of its innocent and brave inhabitants —a horrible but fit preſage of the fate Napoleon was preparing for you.

From that memorable day, when the ſupreme authority was ſold to the enemy which our deceived monarch had left at the head of the government—when the other authorities were oppreſſed, and the

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ſeat of the empire occupied by the foe, the French believed that no further reſiſtance would be made, and ſpread themſelves from eaſt to ſouth, to extend their dominion, and enjoy the fruits of their perfidy. Fools! they were not aware that they were inſulting and outraging a people moſt jealous of their honour, and that they ruſhed on inevitable perdition.

The irritated provinces of Spain roſe againſt the oppreſſors ſuddenly, but with ſolemnity, and ſwore to periſh rather than ſuſtain ſo ignominious a tyranny. Europe, in aſtoniſhment, was informed at the ſame inſtant of the offence and the chaſtiſement; and a nation which but a ſhort time before had ſcarcely the ſemblance of power, became at once the object of the intereſt and admiration of the univerſe.

Our ſituation was unexampled in our hiſtory, unforeſeen by our laws, and, as it were, oppoſed to our habits. It was neceſſary to give a direction to the public force, correſponding with the will and the ſacrifices of the people; and this neceſſity created the juntas in the provinces, which collected in themſelves the whole authority of the nation, in order to expel the public enemy and maintain the peace of the interior. What their energy has been—how they have diſcharged the truſt impoſed upon them by the people—and what gratitude the nation owes them, let the fields declare which have been covered with the bodies of Frenchmen, the military ſpoils of the invader, which ſerve to deck our temples as trophies; the lives and independence of the greater part of the national magiſtrates which have been preſerved, and the applauſes of ſo many thouſands of individuals who owe to them their liberty and their vengeance.

But as ſoon as the capital was delivered from the enemy, and the communication between the provinces was re-eſtabliſhed, it was neceſſary to unite the public authority into one centre, which had been divided into as many parts as there were provincial juntas, whence the ſtrength and activity of the nation could be called into exerciſe. This was the deciſion of the public voice, and this was the meaſure adopted by the provinces. Their reſpective juntas nominated deputies, who concurred in forming the centre of authority; and in leſs time than had been in French Machiavelianiſm to deſtroy our ancient government, a new and much more formidable adminiſtration was ſeen in the central junta which is now addreſſing you.

The concurrence in the national will, which wrought this good—the univerſal freedom from ſelfiſh motives which induced the provinces to intruſt their authority and power to other hands; this has been, Spaniards, your greateſt action, this your beſt victory. The preſent age which beholds you, and poſterity, to whom you will ſerve for ſtudy and admiration, will find in this act the moſt convincing proof of your virtue and prudence. The enemies of Spain had already deſigned the moment of your ruin; they already ſaw the diviſions which would be formed by the convulſions of civil diſcord—they already triumphed, believing the provinces would be diſunited by ambition, and that ſome pretending to ſuperiority over the reſt, would apply to them for pro-

tection and aid. But, lo! a central power has been formed before their eyes, and peacefully acknowledged by all; the car of the ſtate runs upon one axle-tree, and vehemently and powerfully forces its way, cruſhing all the pretenſions and all the hopes of their iniquity.

The junta being eſtabliſhed, its attention was at once turned to the diſcharge of its duties. To drive the enemy beyond the Pyrenees, and compel him to deliver up the auguſt perſon of our auguſt king, and thoſe of his brother and uncle, recognizing at the ſame time our liberty and independence, was the firſt duty which the junta conceived the nation had impoſed upon it. Much of this it found already effected, at the period of its eſtabliſhment; the public enthuſiaſm was kindled; armies were formed, compoſed almoſt wholly of freſh troops; important victories were gained; the enemy was driven to the frontiers; the opinion in favour of his military ſkill deſtroyed, and the laurels which adorned thoſe conquerors of Europe transferred to the brows of our warriors.

This had already been done, and was what might be expected from the impulſe of the firſt moment; but having effected all that could be produced by impetuoſity and valour, it is neceſſary to avail ourſelves of the means preſcribed by prudence and conſtancy; for what we have yet to attain, Spaniards, we muſt repeat it again and again, is an arduous undertaking, and ought to call into exerciſe all your enthuſiaſm and all your virtue.

You will be convinced of this when you turn your attention to the internal and external ſituation of public affairs, at the time when the junta began to exerciſe its functions. Our armies full of ardour, and eager to march to victory, but naked and unprovided with every thing: beyond, the remains of the French armies awaiting reinforcements on the banks of the Ebro, ravaging Upper Caſtile, the Rioja, and the provinces of Biſcay: occupying Pampeluna and Barcelona with their fortreſſes; maſters of the caſtle of St. Ferdinand, ruling almoſt over the whole of Navarre and Catalonia; the deſpot of France, reſtleſs on his throne, deceiving the ſlaves who obey him by the groſſeſt impoſtures, and ſtriving to lull to inactivity all the other ſtates, in order to diſcharge on us alone the enormous weight of his military force; the powers of the continent, in fine, oppreſſed or inſulted by France, expecting with anxiety the iſſue of this firſt ſtruggle, deſiring to declare againſt the common enemy of all, but proceeding with the timid circumſpection which their paſt misfortunes counſel.

It is evident that the ſole aſylum which remains for the preſervation of their independence, is a general confederacy—a confederacy which will aſſuredly take place at laſt, for intereſt perſuades and neceſſity preſcribes it. Which is the ſtate which can hold relations of amity with Bonaparte? Who can give credit to his words and promiſes, or truſt to his loyalty and good faith? The fate of Spain will ſerve as a leſſon and a warning, her reſolution as an example, her victories as an incentive; and the reprobate who has trampled under foot the principles of equity, and the ſanctity of good faith, is placed himſelf in the hard neceſſity of having

having more power than all of them, or of being buried under the mountains raiſed by his frenzy.

The ſecurity and certainty of a league, ſo neceſſary and juſt, are to be determined by our previous exertions, and the prudence of our conduct. When we ſhall have raiſed a maſs of military force as terrible for its quantity as for its preparation—when we ſhall hold in our hands all the means of profiting by ſucceſs, or remedying a reverſe—when the ſound judgment and integrity which diſtinguiſh the Spaniſh people, among all others, will manifeſt themſelves in the regulation of all our proceedings and pretenſions: then all Europe, ſecure of triumphing, will unite itſelf to us, and avenge at once its injuries and ours. Then Spain will enjoy the glory of having ſaved the powers of the continent, and repoſing in the moderation and rectitude of her deſires, and in the ſtrength of her ſituation, ſhe will be recognized as the loyal confederate of all, but neither the ſlave nor the tyrant of any.

Let us then now employ all the means we poſſeſs, as if we had to ſuſtain alone the whole force of France. For this purpoſe, the junta has believed that it is neceſſary to maintain under arms 550,000 effective men; the 50,000 to be cavalry; an enormous maſs of ſtrength, and diſproportionate it may be confeſſed to our preſent ſituation and our ancient wants, but by no means unſuited to the preſent occaſion. The three armies which are to occupy the frontier, and the bodies of reſerve which are to ſupport their operations, and ſupply their wants, will eaſily abſorb the deſignated number. And what are they, or the ſacrifices which neceſſity requires, compared with the enterprize we have propoſed to ourſelves, and the enthuſiaſm which animates us? Spaniards, the power of our adverſary is coloſſal, his ambition is ſtill greater than his power, and his exiſtence is incompatible with our liberty. Judge of his exertions by the barbarity of his character, and the extremity of his danger; but theſe are the exertions of a tyrant, and will be confounded, oppoſed to the valour of a great and free people, who have reſolved upon no other termination to their conflict than to conquer or die.

Conſidering the magnitude and importance of this firſt object, the junta turned its attention to the vaſt means neceſſary to attain it. The neglect of the laſt government, if that may be called government which was one continued and monſtrous dilapidation, had exhauſted all the ſources of proſperity, had obſtructed the canals which brought life and food to all the members of the ſtate, diſſipating the treaſures, diſorganizing the public force, and conſuming the reſources.

The junta has already announced to the public the great ſavings which reſult from the ſuppreſſion of the expenſes of the royal houſehold, the enormous ſums which had been devoured by the greedy and inſatiable avarice of the favourite, the product of his great poſſeſſions, and that of the eſtates of thoſe unworthy Spaniards who fled with the tyrant. We may add to theſe the profit which will accrue to the ſtate from a free navigation and commerce, and from the communication already opened with America. Principally we

rely on a well-arranged adminiſtration of the public revenue, and regularly-diſtributed contributions, to the reform and management of which the junta will directly apply its attention. We may add to theſe means, the ſuccours which are now given with ſo generous a hand, and will be hereafter granted us by the Engliſh nation. But it is incumbent on us, that theſe ſuccours which have been ſo opportunely given, and ſo gratefully received, and the effects of which have been ſo beneficial, ſhould be hereafter recogniſed and recompenſed with the reciprocity and decorum which become a great and powerful nation. The Spaniſh monarchy ought not, in this reſpect, to be placed in a ſtate of inequality and dependence upon its allies.

The produce of theſe means will certainly be great, but at the ſame time it will be ſlow, and for that reaſon inſufficient for the urgent neceſſities of the ſtate. Are they ſufficient to furniſh for a time the ordinary ſupplies, diſcharge the immenſe debt which will be incurred, and maintain the formidable army which is to be kept on foot? But the junta will, in caſe the manifold events and force of circumſtances ſhould exhauſt the treaſury, have recourſe at once to the nation with the confidence which its ardent patriotiſm ought to inſpire, and the neceſſity and notoriety of the ſacrifice. For evils ſo extraordinary as the preſent, remedies as extraordinary muſt be applied; and as the government judges it to be one of its obligations to give an exact account to the nation of the application of the reſources and funds which it is about to adminiſter, it has no fear that its demands will be diſregarded through diſtruſt, or be deteſted as arbitrary.

Thus much with reſpect to the defence of the kingdom, and the means of effecting it, the moſt urgent concerns and the firſt in the order of time which the junta has under its care. But, Spaniards, there are others as neceſſary and primary as that, without attending to which the junta would fulfil but half its duties, and which is the great reward of your enthuſiaſm and ſacrifices. Political independence is nothing without felicity and interior ſecurity. Turn your eyes to the time when oppreſſed and degraded, ignorant of your own ſtrength, and finding no aſylum againſt your evils, either in the inſtitutions or in the laws, you held foreign dominion leſs odious than the waſting tyranny which internally conſumed you. The dominion of a will always capricious, and for the greater part unjuſt, has for your calamity, laſted long enough in Spain; your patience, your love of order, and your generous loyalty, have been long enough abuſed; it is time that the voice of the law only ſhould begin to command, founded on general utility. This was the deſire of our good and unfortunate monarch; this was the path he pointed out, even during an unjuſt captivity to which a perfidious traitor reduced him. Country, Spaniards! ought not to be a vague and a vain name to you: it ought to import in your ears and in your heart the ſanctuary of the laws and cuſtoms, the theatre for talents, and the reward of virtue.

Yes, Spaniards, the great day is drawing near, when, according to

the uniform desires of our beloved king, and of his loyal people, the monarchy will be established on solid and durable bases. You will then possess fundamental laws, which will be beneficial, friends of order, restrictive of arbitrary power; and these being re-established, and your genuine rights being assured, you will rejoice to behold a monument worthy of you, and of the monarch who is to watch over the preservation of it, blessing, amid so many calamities, the share which the people will have had in its erection. The junta, which holds in its hand the supreme direction of the national forces, in order, by all means, to assure its defence, felicity, and glory; the junta, which has already publicly acknowledged the great influence which a nation ought to have in the government, which alone, and without any assistance, has done every thing in the name of the king and for his cause; the junta solemnly promise to you, that you shall possess that country which you have invoked with so much enthusiasm, and defended, or rather conquered, with so much valour.

Until the military operations, slow at first, in order better to secure a happy result, shall furnish the opportunity and repose necessary for the grand and solemn reunion which it announces to you, the government will take care privately to discuss and to examine the projects of reform, and the institutions which ought to be presented for the national sanction. Without instruction, or knowledge, or data, the majestic work of legislation is the result of a blind and unstable will, and as such, exposed to error, inconsistency, and contempt! Wise Spaniards! you who, devoted to the investigation of the social principles, unite the love of humanity to the love of your country, and instruction to zeal: this concern is your's, the happy execution of which is so necessary. The junta, instead of rejecting your council, desires and seeks it. The knowledge and illustration of our ancient constitutional law; changes, which, in their re-establishment, they ought to undergo from the difference of circumstances; reforms which are to be made in the civil, criminal, and commercial codes; projects to meliorate public education, which, among us, is so greatly in decline; a system of regulated economy for the better distribution and collection of the national revenue; all these claim your attention, and form a vast series of problems and objects of meditation, in which you may manifest your talents and your acquirements. The junta will form from among you different committees, each intrusted with a particular department, to whom are to be freely addressed all writings on matters of government and administration, in which may be discussed the different objects which claim the general attention; so that each contributing by his exertions to give a just and enlightened direction to the public opinion, they may enable the nation to establish solidly and tranquilly its internal felicity.

The Spanish revolution will thus be distinguished by characteristic features, altogether the reverse of those which were seen in the French revolution. That began

began in the wretched internal intrigues of courtiers; ours, in the neceſſity of repelling an unjuſt and powerful aggreſſor: in that there were as many opinions concerning the forms of government as there were factions, or rather perſons: in ours, there is but one opinion, one general deſire; an hereditary monarchy, and Ferdinand VII. on the throne. The French, ſhedding torrents of blood during their anarchy, proclaimed no one principle which they did not afterwards reject; they made no law which they did not violate, and at laſt they ſubmitted to a barbarous deſpotiſm. The Spaniards, who, on account of the perfidious invaſion of the French, found themſelves without a government, and without communication with each other, have not ſhewn themſelves terrible or bloody, except towards their enemies, and well know how to meliorate their inſtitutions, and conſolidate their liberty, without overthrowing the ſtate.

O Spaniards! how beautiful a perſpective of glory and felicity we behold before us, if we know how to profit by the ſingular epoch; if we fulfil the high purpoſes which Providence points out to us! Inſtead of being objects of compaſſion and contempt, as we have hitherto been, we are about to become the envy and admiration of the world. The delicious climate we enjoy, the fertile ſoil whence we draw our ſubſiſtence, our geographical poſition, the riches which nature has laviſhed upon us, and the noble and generous character with which ſhe has endowed us, will not be waſted gifts in the hands of a vile and enſlaved people.

Already the Spaniſh name is pronounced with reſpect in Europe, whoſe nations, which lie trampled upon by the French, hang all their hopes upon our fortune; even the very ſlaves of the tyrant, groaning under his intolerable yoke, form vows for us. Let us be conſtant, and we ſhall gather the fruit which victory will produce: the laws of religion ſatisfied; our monarch either reſtored to the throne, or avenged; the fundamental laws of the monarchy reſtored and conſecrated, in a manner ſolemn, and conſonant with civil liberty; the fountains of public proſperity pouring benefits ſpontaneouſly, and without impediment; our relations with our colonies drawn more cloſely and become more fraternal, and conſequently more uſeful; in fine, activity, induſtry, talents and virtues ſtimulated and rewarded: to ſuch a degree of ſplendour and fortune we ſhall raiſe our country, if we ourſelves correſpond with the magnificent circumſtances which ſurround us.

Theſe are the views, and this is the plan which the junta propoſed to itſelf from the moment of its inſtallation, in order to fulfil the two primary and eſſential objects of its inſtitution. Its members charged with an authority ſo great, and making themſelves reſponſible by entertaining hopes ſo flattering, do not fail to ſee the difficulties they have to conquer in order to realize them, the enormity of the weight which hangs over them, nor the dangers to which they are expoſed; but they will think the fatigues, and the devotion of their perſons to the ſervice of the country well paid, if they ſucceed in

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inſpiring Spaniards with that confidence, without which the public good cannot be ſecured, and which the junta dares to affirm it merits, from the rectitude of its principles and the purity of its intentions.

Aranjuez, Oct. 23, 1808.

Decree for the Formation of a Militia of Honour, dated Royal Palace of Aranjuez, Nov. 23, 1808.

It would be uſeleſs to proclaim to the Spaniſh people the great obligation they are under, to deliver themſelves from the ſlavery which threatens them, and which is already ſuffered by their moſt amiable monarch, and the whole royal family, from the moſt powerful, cunning, and perfidious of tyrants. Although the continental powers of Europe, all ſubdued and held in great ſubjection, more by the ſubtle, ſordid, and immoral policy of the tyrant, than by the force of his arms, cannot aid us directly by rebelling, or declaring war againſt the common oppreſſor, yet they aſſiſt us indirectly and paſſively, by engaging a great part of his armies in the keeping in obedience ſome of them, and watching the others. All of them, even France herſelf, have their attention fixed upon Spain, hoping from its intrepid inhabitants, liberty and independence. As ſoon as the Spaniards ſhall have ſhaken the ſuperiority of their oppoſers, not one of them will fail to take up arms for his annihilation; becauſe not one of them will fail to behold his black intrigues laid bare and fruſtrated, or to convince himſelf that the terrifying opinion hitherto entertained of his power, has been more the effect of the artifices, by which he has been able to ſeduce them, than of the number, ſkill, and valour of his troops. But upon us is impoſed the duty, and to us is reſerved the glory of ſtriking the firſt blow. To us, Spaniards, Providence has left the alternative of being the firſt people of Europe, and the deliverers of all of them, or of being the moſt wretched of ſlaves. The general will of all has been long pronounced, in the moſt ſolemn and expreſſive manner. Almoſt altogether diſarmed, our beſt reſources diſperſed and diſorganized; our marine deſtroyed; our enemies maſters of the capital, and of the moſt important fortreſſes; the nation impoveriſhed, ſocial virtue deſpiſed, our manners corrupted, and vice enthroned; we have in an inſtant recovered our ancient dignity and character, and vanquiſhed obſtacles which could yield only to patriotic heroiſm. While we believed that our public diſorders might be ephemeral, being accidental, and produced by the blind confidence of our ſovereign in a perverſe favourite, our innate loyalty obliged us to endure them with reſignation and conſtancy; but no ſooner did we clearly perceive, that the tyrant of France ſought to avail himſelf of thoſe diſorders, in order to enſlave us, as he had enſlaved our ſovereign—in order to entangle us in the ſame toils in which he had already caught Italy, Holland, Switzerland, and the greater part of Germany, and in order to convert our robuſt and honourable arms into vile inſtruments of his ambition and rapacity—then it was that all our provinces, cities towns and villages, as if

if on a ſudden they had awakened from a profound lethargy, recollected their impreſcriptible rights, and recovered all the energy neceſſary to defend and preſerve them. In the ſhort ſpace of eight days, every Spaniard, animated by an enthuſiaſm as ardent as patriotic, reſolved to periſh or take vengeance of the tyrant; and Providence inſtantly favoured their juſt and valorous determination. The ſatellites of oppreſſion, who had till then arrogated to themſelves the epithet of invincible, were finally conquered, for the firſt time purſued, hunted like wild bears, and obliged to take refuge either in the receſſes of the Pyrenees, or in the ſtrong places which had been ſurprized by the baſe arts of fraud, perfidy, and treaſon. But, Spaniards, it is ſtill to be ſeen whether theſe firſt and brave efforts of your valour are to reſemble the ſudden flaſhes of an expiring torch, or the firſt flame of a pile, whoſe fire, growing every inſtant more luminous and active, does not ceaſe till it has no ſubſtance to devour. The firſt would take place were you to prefer your apparent and individual intereſts to the public welfare which is truly ſubſtantial—if you ſuffer yourſelves to be miſled by ſelfiſhneſs, or diſtracted by private paſſions—if you divide yourſelves into factions or parties—and, in a word, if you are not convinced, that it is, above all things, indiſpenſably neceſſary that you ſhould make great ſacrifices, in order to complete your great enterpriſe, and one day enjoy the glory you are to rea[illegible] with it. In this enterpriſe your [illegible]rice ſhould be, die or conquer. B[illegible] you will overcome all obſtacles, if you aſſert and boldly maintain this your irrevocable reſolution; for neither does fortune generally forſake thoſe who meet danger with unſhaken firmneſs, nor can God deny his aid to thoſe who purpoſe to defend his cauſe with ſound and deliberate reſolution. Spaniards, do not doubt it. War ought to be henceforth your chief element. Your endeavours ſhould be directed to the maintaining of it with intrepidity and conſtancy; and whatever is capable of weakening thoſe efforts, you ſhould conſider as the firſt link in the chain of your future ſlavery, and as impediments to the delivery of your adored Ferdinand.—In his name, and after the matureſt examination, the ſupreme central junta have reſolved, that beſides the increaſing numbers of troops already conſtituted and even organized, and which are now marching towards the Pyrenees, to repel, attack, and drive away the foe, 250,000 warriors ſhall be enliſted, organized, and inſtructed in arms, agreeably to the rules preſcribed in the regulations and proviſions which are to be publiſhed for that purpoſe.—But at the ſame time that his Majeſty flatters himſelf that theſe forces, added to thoſe which will be furniſhed by the Engliſh and Portugueſe, our allies, will be able to deſtroy his mortal enemy, he foreſees, at the ſame time, the great convenience and even neceſſity there will be that in the metropolis, and in all the provinces which remain without garriſon or armed force, there ſhould be raiſed loyal bodies, intereſted in preventing diſorders, and capable of arreſting banditti, deſerters, and evil-diſpoſed perſons, who may purpoſe

to

to ſatiate their ambition or rapacity by diſturbing the public tranquillity. Honour, union, fraternity, forgetfulneſs of injury, a diſregard of what is or what we may fancy due to us, internal and mutual peace and concord among the citizens, and, in a word, all the virtues which conſtitute true patriotiſm, theſe are the planks which alone can ſave us from the threatening ſhipwreck. The ſuggeſtions and diſcourſes which might ſtifle and make cool theſe virtues, would be ſo many hemlock cups fraught with death, ſo many hidden ſnares placed by malice or imprudence in our path, on the brink of the precipice.—To preſerve then thoſe virtues, and maintain tranquillity in all the towns, and eſpecially in the larger; to impoſe awe upon robbers, and apprehend deſerters, and to prevent, by prompt and inevitable puniſhment, the multiplication of crimes, his majeſty has reſolved, that in all the towns of the kingdom which are out of the theatre of war, there ſhall be raiſed bodies of militia of honour (milicias honradas), according to certain rules and regulations.

IMPERIAL DECREES.

Napoleon, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, &c. &c.

Taking into our conſideration, that one of the greateſt abuſes which have been introduced into the finances of Spain ariſes from the alienation of the different branches of the impoſts, and that, nevertheleſs, impoſts are from their nature inalienable, we have decreed, and do decree as follows:

From the publication of the preſent decree, every individual who ſhall be in poſſeſſion, either by grant from the king, or by ſale, or by any other means, of any portion whatever of the civil or eccleſiaſtical impoſts, ſhall ceaſe to receive them; and thoſe from whom they may be leviable ſhall be anſwerable for the payment of their reſpective impoſts to the agents of the king, or of the treaſury.

The preſent decree ſhall be publiſhed and regiſtered in all the councils, courts, and tribunals, in order to its being carried into execution as a law of the ſtate.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

By the emperor, miniſter ſecretary of ſtate, H. B. MARET.

Dated from the Imperial Camp at Burgos, the 12th of November, 1808.

Napoleon, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine.

Conſidering that the troubles in Spain have been principally the effect of plots, carried on by ſeveral individuals, and that the greater part of thoſe who joined in them have been either miſled or deceived, wiſhing to pardon theſe, and to grant an amneſty for the crimes which they have committed againſt us, our nation, and the king our brother, wiſhing alſo to mark thoſe who, after having ſworn fidelity to the king, have violated that oath; who, after having accepted places, have only uſed the authority which was confided to them to betray their ſovereign, and who, inſtead

of

of employing their influence to enlighten the citizens, have only uſed it to miſlead them; and wiſhing, laſtly, that the puniſhment of great offenders may ſerve as an example in future times to all thoſe, who, placed at the head of nations, inſtead of directing the people with wiſdom and prudence, miſlead them, and lead them into diſorders and popular agitations, and precipitate them into misfortunes and war:

We have decreed as follows:—

1ſt. The dukes of Infantado, of Hijar, of Medina Cœli, and of Oſſuna, the marquis of Santa Cruz, the counts of Fernan Nunez, and of Alamera, the prince of Caſtel Franco, the ſieur Pierre Cevallos, ex-miniſter of ſtate, and the biſhop of Santander, are declared traitors to France and Spain, and traitors to the two crowns. As ſuch, their perſons ſhall be ſeized, and brought before a military commiſſion and ſhot. Their property, moveable and immoveable, ſhall be confiſcated in Spain, in France, in the kingdom of Italy, in the kingdom of Naples, in the Papal States, in the kingdom of Holland, and in all the countries occupied by the French arms, to defray the expences of the war.

[The ſecond article renders null and void all ſales, or other diſpoſitions of their property.]

The third grants, in the name of Joſeph Bonaparte, a pardon to all Spaniards, who within one month after the arrival of Bonaparte, at Madrid, ſhall lay down their arms, and renounce all adheſion to and connexion with England.

Neither the members of the juntas, nor general officers, who have carried arms, are excepted from this pardon, provided they ſurrender as before-mentioned.

From our Camp at Madrid, Dec. 4.

Napoleon, emperor, &c.

Conſidering that the council of Caſtile has ſhown in the exerciſe of its functions as much falſehood as weakneſs, and that after having publiſhed throughout the kingdom the renunciation of Charles IV. and of the princes don Fernando, don Carlos, don Franciſco, and don Antonio, of the crown of Spain, and after having acknowledged and proclaimed our legitimate right to the throne, it had the baſeneſs to declare in the eyes of Europe and poſterity, that it had ſigned theſe documents with ſecret and perfidious reſervations;—We decree as follows:

1. That the members of the council of Caſtile are diſplaced as being cowards, and unworthy of being the magiſtrates of a brave and generous nation.

By the ſecond article, however, ſuch members of the council as did not ſign the deliberation of the 11th Auguſt are excepted from this decree.

From our Camp before Madrid, December 4.

Napoleon, emperor, &c.

We decree as follows:—

1. The tribunal of the inquſition is aboliſhed, as incompatible with the ſovereign power, and with the civil authority.

2. The property belonging to the inquiſition ſhall be ſequeſtrated and re-united to the domains of Spain, to ſerve as a guarantee for the vales and other effects of the public debt.

Our

In our Imperial Camp before Madrid, December 4.

Napoleon, emperor, &c.

Conſidering that the religious of the different monaſtic orders in Spain are too multiplied :—

That if a certain number be uſeful to aſſiſt the miniſters of the altar in the adminiſtration of the ſacraments, the exiſtence of too conſiderable a number is injurious to the proſperity of the ſtate :—

We decree as follows :

Art. I. The number of convents at preſent exiſting in Spain ſhall be reduced to a third.

This reduction ſhall be produced by uniting the religious of ſeveral convents in one ſingle houſe.

2. Dating from the publication of the preſent decree, no admiſſion to the noviciate, no religious profeſſion ſhall be permitted until the number of the religious of each ſex ſhall have been reduced to the third of the number of the ſaid religious now exiſting.

In conſequence, and in the ſpace of a fortnight, all the novices ſhall quit the convents into which they have been admitted.

3. All the regular eccleſiaſtics who wiſh to renounce their uſual living, and to live as ſecular eccleſiaſtics, ſhall be free to quit their houſes.

4. The religious who ſhall ſo renounce, conformably to the preceding article, ſhall be admitted to the enjoyment of a penſion, whoſe amount ſhall be regulated by their age, but which ſhall not be leſs than 3000 reals, nor exceed the maximum of 4000.

5. Upon the amount of the property of the convents which ſhall be ſuppreſſed in execution of the firſt article of the preſent decree, ſhall be raiſed the ſum neceſſary to increaſe the proportion of the cures, ſo that the minimum of the ſalary of the curates ſhall be raiſed to 2400 reals.

6. The property of the ſuppreſſed convents, which ſhall be diſpoſable after the raiſing of the ſum ordered by the foregoing article, ſhall be united to the domain of Spain, and to be employed as follows :—

1. The half of the ſaid property to guarantee the vales and other parts of the public debt.

2. The other half to reimburſe the provinces and cities the expences occaſioned by the ſupplying the French armies, and the inſurrectional armies, and to indemnify the cities and country for the damages, loſſes of houſes, and other loſſes occaſioned by the war.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

Extract from the Minutes of the Office of Secretary of State.

Imperial Camp at Madrid, Dec. 12.

We, Napoleon, emperor of the French, king of Italy, and protector of the confederation of the Rhine, have decreed and do decree as follows :

Art. 1. All ſeignorial courts of juſtice are aboliſhed in Spain.

2. There ſhall exiſt no other juriſdiction than the royal courts of juſtice.

3. The preſent decree ſhall be publiſhed and regiſtered in all the councils, courts, and tribunals, in order that it may be executed as the law of the ſtate.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

By the emperor, miniſter ſecretary of ſtate, H. B. MARET.

Proclamation

Proclamation by Napoleon.

Spaniards!—You have been miſled by perfidious men. They have engaged you in a ſenſeleſs ſtruggle, and you have had recourſe to arms. Is there one amongſt you, who after a moment's reflection upon all that has paſſed, would not be convinced that you have been the ſport of the eternal enemies of the continent, who take delight in witneſſing the effuſion of Spaniſh and French blood? What poſſible reſult would attend even the ſucceſs of ſome campaigns? An endleſs war upon your ſoil, and a tedious uncertainty reſpecting the fate of your properties and lives. Within the ſpace of a few months, you have been delivered up to all the afflictions of popular factions. The defeat of your armies has been the work of ſome marches; I have entered Madrid; the rights of war would juſtify me in making a ſignal example, by waſhing away in blood the outrage, offered to me and to my nation: but I have liſtened to the dictates of clemency only. Some men, the authors of all your calamities, ſhall alone be puniſhed. I ſhall ſpeedily drive from the peninſula that Engliſh army which has been ſent to Spain, not for the purpoſe of aſſiſtance to you, but to inſpire you with a falſe confidence and to miſlead you.

I had declared to you in my proclamation of the 2d of June, that I wiſhed to be your regenerator. To the rights which had been ceded to me by the princes of the laſt dynaſty, you wiſhed that I ſhould add the right of conqueſt. That ſhall not make any alteration in my intentions. I am even diſpoſed to praiſe all that may be generous in your efforts; I am willing to admit, that your real intereſts have been concealed from you, that the real ſtate of things had been diſguiſed from you. Spaniards, your deſtiny is in your own hands. Reject the poiſons which the Engliſh have ſpread amongſt you:—let your king be aſſured of your affection and your confidence, and you will be more powerful and more happy than ever you have been. All that obſtructed your proſperity and your grandeur I have deſtroyed: the chains, which have borne down the people, I have broken; a free conſtitution gives you a limited and conſtitutional inſtead of an abſolute monarchy. It depends upon yourſelves whether this conſtitution ſhall ſtill continue in your land.

But ſhould all my efforts prove fruitleſs, and ſhould you not merit my confidence, nothing will remain for me but to treat you as conquered provinces, and to place my brother upon another throne. I ſhall then place the crown of Spain upon my own head, and cauſe it to be reſpected by the guilty; for God has given me power and inclination to ſurmount all obſtacles!

Given at our imperial camp at Madrid, Dec. 7, 1808.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.
H. B. MARET.

Napoleon's Speech to the Corregidor of Madrid.

An Addreſs from the Corregidor and Magiſtracy of Madrid was preſented to Napoleon on the 9th December, 1808, to which he replied.

"I am

"I am pleaſed with the ſentiments of the city of Madrid. I regret the injuries ſhe has ſuffered, and am particularly happy that, under exiſting circumſtances, I have been able to effect her deliverance, and to protect her from great calamities. I have haſtened to adopt meaſures calculated to tranquillize all ranks of the citizens, knowing how painful a ſtate of uncertainty is to all men collectively and individually. I have preſerved the ſpiritual orders, but with a limitation of the number of monks. There is not a ſingle intelligent perſon who is not of opinion that they were too numerous. Thoſe of them who are influenced by a divine call, ſhall remain in their cloiſters. With regard to thoſe whoſe call was doubtful, or influenced by temporal conſiderations, I have fixed their condition in the order of ſecular prieſts. Out of the ſurplus of the monaſtic property, I have provided for the maintenance of the paſtors, that important and uſeful claſs of the clergy. I have aboliſhed that court which was a ſubject of complaint to Europe and the preſent age. Prieſts may guide the minds of men, but muſt exerciſe no temporal or corporeal juriſdiction over the citizens.

"I have accompliſhed what I owed to myſelf and my nation. Vengeance has had its due. It has fallen upon ten of the principal culprits: all the reſt have entire and abſolute forgiveneſs. I have aboliſhed thoſe privileges which the grandees uſurped, during times of civil war, when kings but too frequently are neceſſitated to ſurrender their rights, to purchaſe their own tranquillity, and that of their people. I have aboliſhed the feudal rights, and henceforth every one may ſet up inns, ovens, mills, employ himſelf in fiſhing and rabbit hunting, and give free ſcope to his induſtry, provided he reſpects the laws and regulations of the police. The ſelfiſhneſs, wealth, and proſperity of a ſmall number of individuals, were more injurious to your agriculture than the heat of the dog-days. As there is but one God, ſo ſhould there be in a ſtate but one judicial power. All peculiar juriſdictions were uſurpations, and at variance with the rights of the nation; I have aboliſhed them. I have alſo made known to every one what he may have to fear, and what he may have to hope. I ſhall expel the Engliſh army from the Peninſula. Saragoſſa, Valencia, Seville, ſhall be reduced to ſubmiſſion, either by perſuaſion, or the power of my arms. There is no obſtacle which can long reſiſt the execution of my reſolutions. But what tranſcends my power is this—to conſolidate the Spaniards as one nation, under the ſway of the king, ſhould they continue to be infected with theſe principles of averſion and hatred to France, which the partiſans of the Engliſh and the enemies of the continent have infuſed into the boſom of Spain. I can eſtabliſh no nation, no king, no independence of the Spaniards, if the king be not aſſured of their attachment and fidelity.

"The Bourbons can no longer reign in Europe. The diviſions in the royal family were contrived by the Engliſh. It was not the dethronement of king Charles, and the favourite (the Prince of the Peace), the duke of Infantado, that

that tool of England, as is proved by the papers found in his houſe, had in view. The intention was to eſtabliſh the predominant influence of England in Spain; a ſenſeleſs project, the reſult of which would have been a perpetual continental war, that would have cauſed the ſhedding of torrents of blood. No power under the influence of England can exiſt on the continent. If there be any that entertain ſuch a wiſh, their wiſh is abſurd, and will ſooner or later occaſion their fall. It would be eaſy for me, ſhould I be compelled to adopt that meaſure, to govern Spain, by eſtabliſhing as many viceroys in it as there are provinces. Nevertheleſs, I do not refuſe to abdicate my rights of conqueſt in favour of the king; and to eſtabliſh him in Madrid, as ſoon as the 30,000 citizens which this capital contains, the clergy, nobility, merchants, and lawyers, ſhall have declared their ſentiments and their fidelity, ſet an example to the provinces, enlightened the people, and made the nation ſenſible that their exiſtence and proſperity eſſentially depend upon a king and a free conſtitution, favourable to the people; and hoſtile only to the egotiſm and haughty paſſions of the grandees.

"If ſuch be the ſentiments of the inhabitants of the city of Madrid, let the 30,000 citizens aſſemble in the churches; let them, in the preſence of the Holy Sacrament, take an oath, not only with their mouths, but alſo with their hearts, and without any jeſuitical equivocation, that they promiſe ſupport, attachment, and fidelity to their king; let the prieſts in the confeſſional and the pulpit, the mercantile claſs in their correſpondence, the men of the law in their writings and ſpeeches, infuſe theſe ſentiments into the people; then ſhall I ſurrender my right of conqueſt, place the king upon the throne, and make it my pleaſing taſk to conduct myſelf as a true friend of the Spaniards. The preſent generation may differ in their opinion; the paſſions have been brought into action; but your grand-children will bleſs me as your renovator; they will reckon among their memorable feſtivals the day when I appeared; and from that will the happineſs of Spain date its commencement—"You are thus, Monſieur le Corregidor," added the emperor, "informed of the whole of my determination. Conſult with your fellow-citizens, and conſider what part you will chooſe; but whatever it be, make your choice with ſincerity, and tell me only your genuine ſentiments."

PROCLAMATION.

Bayonne, June 23.

Joſeph, King of Naples and Sicily, to the people of the kingdom of Naples:

Providence, whoſe deſigns are inſcrutable, having called us to the throne of Spain and the Indies, we have found ourſelves in the cruel predicament of withdrawing ourſelves from a people who had ſo many claims to our attachment, and whoſe happineſs was our moſt gratifying hope, and the only object of our ambition. He who alone can read the hearts of men, can judge of the ſincerity of our ſentiments, in oppoſition to which we have yielded to other impreſſions,

ſions, and accepted a kingdom, the government of which has been put into our hands, in virtue of the renunciation of the rights to the crown of Spain, which our illuſtrious brother his majeſty the emperor of the French and king of Italy had acquired.

In this important ſituation, conſidering that inſtitutions are alone capable of duration, we reflected, with regret, that your ſocial conſtitution was ſtill imperfect, and thought that the further we had removed from you, ſo much the more incumbent upon us was it to ſecure your preſent and future welfare by all the means in our power. For theſe reaſons we have put the laſt hand to our labours, and fixed the conſtitutional ſtatute upon principles already partially adopted, and which are more conformable to the age in which we live, the mutual relations of the neighbouring ſtates, and the diſpoſition of the nation, which we have employed ourſelves to aſcertain ever ſince we were called to rule over it.

The principal objects which guided us in our labours, were:—

1. The preſervation of our holy religion.

2. The eſtabliſhment of a public treaſury, ſeparate and diſtinct from the hereditary property of the crown.

3. The eſtabliſhment of an intermediate adminiſtration, and a national parliament; capable of enlightening the prince, and of performing important ſervices both to him and the nation.

4. A judicial organization, which ſhall render the deciſions of the court of juſtice independent on the will of the prince, and make all the citizens equal in the eye of the law.

5. A municipal adminiſtration, which ſhall be the property of no man, but to which all, without diſtinction, ſhall be admiſſible.

6. The maintenance of the regulations which we have made for ſecuring the payments to the creditors of the ſtate.

His majeſty the emperor of the French, and king of Italy, our illuſtrious brother, having been pleaſed to confer upon this act his powerful guarantee, we are aſſured that our hopes with regard to the proſperity of our beloved people of the kingdom of Naples, thus repoſing upon his wide-ſpread glory, ſhall not experience diſappointment.

Conſtitutional Statute of the kingdom of Naples and Sicily.

Bayonne, June 20.

Joſeph Napoleon, king of Naples and Sicily, French prince, grand elector of the empire, willing to confirm, by a conſtitutional ſtatute, thoſe fundamental principles, by which the monarchy is to be governed, has decreed, and does decree the following:—

I. OF RELIGION.

The catholic, apoſtolic, and Romiſh religion, is the religion of the ſtate.

II. OF THE CROWN.

The crown of Naples ſhall be hereditary, in the right of the male iſſue, according to the primogeniture of birth.

III. OF

PUBLIC LIBRARY, BRENTF

III. OF THE REGENCY.

1. The king is a minor till he attains the age of 18 years.

2. In caſe of the prince's minority, the regency will, by right, devolve upon the queen; and in her abſence, to a prince of the blood royal who ſhall be choſen by the emperor of the French in his capacity as head of the imperial family; and in failure thereof of a prince of the blood, the choice will devolve upon the nation.

3. The yearly ſalary of the regency is confined to a fourth of the grant to the crown.

4. The education of the minor king is entruſted to his mother, and in her abſence, to the prince nominated by the predeceſſor of the minor.

The remaining articles relate to the officers of the crown, the miniſters, the council of ſtate, &c. The article reſpecting the parliament confines the number of members to one hundred, who are to be divided into five claſſes, viz. the eccleſiaſtics, the nobles, the holders of landed property, the learned, and the merchants.

PROTEST OF THE POPE.

Napoleon, by the grace of God, &c. Whereas the temporal ſovereign of Rome has refuſed to make war againſt England, and the intereſt of the two kingdoms, that of Italy and of Naples, demand that their communications ſhould not be intercepted by a hoſtile power; and whereas the donation of Charlemagne, our illuſtrious predeceſſor, of the countries which form the holy ſee, was for the good of chriſtianity, and not for that of the enemies of our holy religion:—We therefore decree that Urbino, Ancona, Macerata, and Camerino, be for ever united with the kingdom of Italy; to which kingdom all cardinal prelates, &c. natives of thoſe diſtricts, are commanded to return by the 5th of June (paſt), on pain of confiſcation of goods, &c.

His holineſs having received the painful notification of the ſeizure of the above-mentioned four provinces, has, under the diſtreſſing feelings which this rigorous treatment has occaſioned, charged cardinal Gabrielli to make the following declaration:—

DECLARATION OF HIS HOLINESS.

Quirinal Palace, May 19, 1808.

His holineſs having received the painful notification of the union which is about to take place, of his four duchies of Urbino, Macerata, Ancona, and Camerino, with the kingdom of Italy, amid the cruel uneaſineſs which this rigorous treatment cauſes him, has charged the cardinal Gabrielli, pro-ſecretary of ſtate, to make the following frank declaration to your moſt illuſtrious highneſs.

The holy father has ſeen, with infinite pain, that the force of the reaſons contained in the note of the 19th of April, addreſſed to M. Le Febvre, the charge d'affaires, has not prevented his imperial and royal majeſty from putting his threats in execution. He has ſeen, with the ſame feelings, that this powerful monarch, in whoſe hands he placed, at the altar, the ſceptre, and the rod of juſtice, has proceeded, contrary to every ſpecies of right,

right, to inflict upon him a new ſpoliation of the beſt part of the ſtates which remained to him.

But what has been the aſtoniſhment of his holineſs in obſerving a decree, dated one day anterior to the note of M. Champagny; ſo that even before that miniſter had renewed his propoſitions, and received an anſwer, the fate of the three uſurped provinces was already decided!

The aſtoniſhment of the holy father was ſtill farther augmented, when he ſaw it aſſigned as a legitimate cauſe of this ſpoliation, that he had conſtantly refuſed to make war upon England, and to confederate with the kings of Naples and of Italy. However, his holineſs had never ceaſed to repreſent, that his ſacred character of miniſter of peace—the God, whoſe repreſentative he is upon earth, being the God of peace—that his quality of univerſal paſtor, and of the common father of all the faithful—that the holy laws of juſtice, of which, as the repreſentative of the God who is their ſource, he ought to be the guardian and the avenger—could never permit him to enter into a permanent ſyſtem of war, and much leſs ſtill to declare war, without any motive, againſt the Britiſh government, from which it had never received the ſlighteſt offence. However, the holy father conjured his majeſty to reflect, that not having, and not being in the capacity of having enemies, becauſe he is the vicar of Jeſus Chriſt, who came into the world not to foment but to deſtroy animoſities, he could not bind himſelf and his ſucceſſors, in perpetuity, as the emperor wiſhed, to make war for the quarrels of another.

But his holineſs had alſo urged the incalculable evils which would reſult to religion, ſhould he enter into a ſyſtem of perpetual confederation, and that, without compromiſing his honour, without incurring univerſal hatred, without betraying his duties and his conſcience, he could not place himſelf in the ſituation, by the league propoſed, of becoming the enemy of every ſtate, even a catholic ſovereign, and of binding himſelf to make war upon him. But all the repreſentations, and all the reaſons ſo frequently ſubmitted to his majeſty with paternal mildneſs have not produced the leaſt impreſſion.

It has been ſought to juſtify the ſpoliation upon another pretext, by aſſigning as the ſecond motive which produced it, that the intereſts of the two kingdoms, and of the two armies of Italy and Naples, demanded that their communication ſhould not be interrupted by a hoſtile power.

If by this power is meant to be underſtood England, the hiſtory of almoſt two centuries will ſhew the falſity of this ſpecies of pretence. —The catholic princes of Spain, and of the houſe of Auſtria, from the emperor Charles V. to Charles II. of Spain, poſſeſſed the kingdom of Naples and the duchy of Milan, which forms at preſent the principal part of the kingdom of Italy; and they never perceived that their intereſts were compromiſed; they never experienced this pretended obſtacle to the communication of their armies. They were frequently at war with Great Britain, and ſtill oftener with France, but they were never apprehenſive of an intermediate debarkation upon the territory of

he holy ſee; ſtill leſs did they pretend to force the pontiffs of that period to unite and confederate with them, or to deſpoil them of their poſſeſſions, ſhould they have refuſed.

But putting hiſtory aſide, what riſks could the intereſts of theſe ſeparated kingdoms ever run? The neutrality of the holy fathers, recognized and reſpected by all other powers, and the meaſures taken to prevent its violation, are more than ſufficient to place theſe intereſts in ſecurity.

To render this ſecurity ſtill greater, and to take away every ſort of pretext, his holineſs carried his compliance as far as he conſiſtently could; he declared himſelf diſpoſed to ſhut his ports againſt the Engliſh during the preſent war, and to employ his troops to guard the coaſts of his ſtates from every hoſtility whatever.

But what attack could be dreaded upon theſe two kingdoms, which border upon the ſtates of the holy ſee, while French troops, for ſo long a period, without regard to the intereſts of the public or of individuals, have violated his neutrality, occupied all his ports, and covered all his coaſts?

If, however, by a hoſtile power, it was wiſhed to deſignate the perſon of the holy father, his character itſelf, mild and pacific, puts an end to this injurious imputation; but the better to refute it, his holineſs calls to witneſs the French empire and the kingdom of Italy, in favour of which he ſigned two concordats, whoſe violation has been the ſource of perpetual grief to his heart, in having conſtantly, but in vain, preſſed their faithful execution. He calls Europe itſelf to witneſs, which has ſeen him, in his old age, in the moſt rigorous ſeaſon of the year, traverſe the Alps, and proceed to Paris, not without exciting the jealouſy and diſguſt of other great powers, in order to conſecrate and crown his imperial and royal majeſty. He calls to witneſs the whole French troops, from the commander to the meaneſt ſoldier, either thoſe who have traverſed the ſtates of the holy ſee, or thoſe who have reſided there, whether they have not experienced in the papal territory a reception the moſt friendly, and a hoſpitality the moſt generous;—a hoſpitality which coſt bitter tears to the holy father, who was indiſpenſably obliged to load his ſubjects with impoſts for the maintenance and payment of the French troops; in ſhort, his holineſs calls to witneſs his majeſty himſelf, for whom he has not ceaſed on all occaſions to teſtify the moſt particular regards.

But if his holineſs were able to teſtify the ſurpriſe excited by the two firſt articles, advanced to juſtify the ſpoliation, he wants words to expreſs the profound aſtoniſhment produced by the expreſſions contained in the third. It bears upon the donation of Charlemagne, and it is remarked that that was made for the benefit of Chriſtianity, and not for the enemies of our holy religion. It is well known that this celebrated and glorious monarch, whoſe memory will be eternally bleſſed by the church, did not give to the holy ſee the provinces which have been uſurped. It is notorious that they were, at an epoch very remote from his age, in the poſſeſſion of the Roman pontiffs, in conſequence of the voluntary

tary ſubmiſſion of the people, who were abandoned by the emperors of the eaſt; that the Lombards, having afterwards occupied the exarchate of Ravenna and the Pentapolis, which include theſe provinces, Pepin, the illuſtrious and religious father of Charlemagne, recovered them, and reſtored them to Pope Stephen; that that great emperor, who was the honour and admiration of the eighth century, far from wiſhing to revoke the generous and pious donation of his father, approved and confirmed it under pope Adrian; that far from wiſhing to ſtrip the Roman church of her poſſeſſions, he had no other intention than to ſecure and aggrandiſe them; that conſequently, in his will he laid an expreſs obligation on his three ſons, to protect the ſtates of the church, with their arms; that he reſerved to his ſucceſſors no right of revoking that which his father Pepin had done for the advantage of the chair of St. Peter; that his whole deſign was to protect the Roman pontiffs againſt their enemies, and not to compel them to excite enemies; that ten centuries which have paſſed away ſince the days of Charlemagne, a thouſand years of peaceable poſſeſſion, render uſeleſs all more ancient inveſtigations, and all ulterior interpretations; that, even if that pious prince had, inſtead of a free reſtitution or gift of theſe territories, reſtored or given them for the profit of Chriſtianity, it is exactly for the welfare of Chriſtianity, or, to ſpeak more ſtrictly, of the catholic religion, that the holy father wiſhes peace with all the world, avoids to provoke the reſentment of any power, and refuſes to interfere in political quarrels. After ſo many voices have been raiſed againſt different popes, who have, for the beſt reaſons, engaged in wars, the holy father cannot perceive why it can be attributed to him as a crime that he refuſed to aſſume a warlike character, and, at the ſuggeſtion of a foreign power, commence a war without any provocation, and which muſt be highly prejudicial to religion and his ſubjects.

His holineſs cannot on any account overlook the injury which is done him in the beforementioned decree, wherein it is remarked, *that the gift of Charlemagne was not made for the benefit of the enemies of our holy religion;* thereby accuſing his holineſs of betraying the intereſts of the church. This accuſation has made a lively impreſſion on the mind of his holineſs, who for upwards of three years has been ſuffering perſecution in behalf of religion, and for having acted faithfully in his apoſtolic capacity. He has ſuffered it, that he might not implicate himſelf in a permanent ſyſtem of warfare, and that he might not, by his conduct, obſtruct the free exerciſe of the catholic worſhip.

His holineſs has ſubmitted to it, becauſe he could not admit the principles which were frequently intimated to him, which were, that if his holineſs was biſhop of Rome, his majeſty was notwithſtanding emperor of it, and that the holy father ought to ſubmit to him in temporal matters in the ſame manner as his majeſty ſubmitted to his holineſs in religious matters; that the territories of the holy ſee belonged to the French empire, and that therefore the pope ought always to make common cauſe with

the emperor and his ſucceſſors; that he ought at all times to conſider the enemies of France as his own, and that he ought of conſequence to become a part of the federative ſyſtem of the empire.

The ſolemn oaths which the holy father has made to maintain his liberty and independence, ſo eſſential to the catholic religion, and the free exerciſe of his ſupreme ſpiritual power, do not allow him to ſubſcribe to thoſe deſtructive and fatal maxims. His holineſs ſuffers this perſecution, becauſe he would not conſent to the pretenſions of his majeſty to nominate as many French cardinals as ſhould form one-third of the ſacred college, which muſt have ſapped the fundamental baſe of its conſtitution, attacked the independence of his ſpiritual power, and again introduced thoſe unhappy diſaſters which the church ſtill deplores. His holineſs ſuffers, becauſe he would not enter into an offenſive and defenſive league againſt any power in Europe, catholic or otherwiſe, to the manifeſt injury of religion. If this refuſal implies an abandonment of religion, let heaven, the church, the world, and poſterity, judge. The holy father has the moſt conſcientious reflection, that he never did any injury to his majeſty, or to France; but if his majeſty actually had any complaints againſt his holineſs perſonally, that would not juſtify him in reſenting on the catholic church, by irrevocably and for ever robbing it of that very property which the ſame decree declares to have been beſtowed for the good of Chriſtianity, nor to rob that church, which is not the proprietor, more than the pontiff, who is only the guardian of it. That church having the ſpiritual ſuperintendance of every other, hath, ſince the peace of Conſtantine, been enriched by the piety of monarchs and people, and hath, by an admirable order of Providence, firſt accumulated conſiderable property, and afterwards different ſtates, that it might maintain its ſpiritual government with more decency, liberty, and advantage—this very church, which his majeſty would reduce to a ſtate of degradation, and incapacity of exerciſing its divine ſupremacy.

His holineſs cannot ſufficiently regret the error into which his majeſty has fallen, ſince, in his decree, whereby he deprives the holy ſee of a part of its ſtates, on the ground *'that they were not intended to benefit the enemies of the catholic religion.'* His majeſty has publiſhed in the ſame ſtates, that code againſt which his holineſs hath ſo often, but unſucceſsfully, complained, on account of the articles it contains contrary to the goſpel and the laws of the church, particularly of marriage and divorce.

His holineſs cannot conceal his aſtoniſhment at ſeeing the demand of his excellency cardinal Caprara for his paſſports made an additional motive to juſtify this ſcandalous ſpoliation. After what the underſigned had the honour of ſignifying, in anſwer to the note of his excellency M. Champagny in the month of April, his holineſs believes that the grounds of the principal accuſations are completely refuted. He hath already ſufficiently proved that the application for paſſports was accompanied with the equitable condition that the French Emperor ſhould

evacuate

evacuate Rome, and relinquiſh thoſe pretenſions which his holineſs felt inadmiſſible. His holineſs, therefore, cannot abſtain from repeating, that it was diſcretionary with his Majeſty either to permit the departure of M. Caprara, who was not only the ambaſſador of the court of Rome, but at the ſame time the apoſtolic legate, or to permit him to continue his reſidence at Paris. His departure ought not, therefore, to be made any ſubject of complaint.

If the injuſtice of this decree hath increaſed the grief wherewith the mind of his holineſs is overwhelmed, he could not but be additionally afflicted on peruſing the other decree of the ſame date, which enjoins all cardinals, prelates, and officers, holding any employment at the court of Rome, who are natives of Italy, to return, under the penalty of their whole property in caſe of diſobedience. It is, therefore, perfectly clear to his holineſs, that it is not his temporal authority, but alſo his ſpiritual, which is intended to be ſubverted, although the ſecond decree makes a ſtudied diſtinction between the temporal ſovereign of Rome, and the vicar of Jeſus Chriſt, under the pretext of ſhewing a ſeeming reſpect for the latter.—It muſt be evident to the univerſe, that the intentions of his Majeſty the Emperor are to render his holineſs incapable of fulfilling his ſacred duties, by diſperſing his ſenate, and overturning the church eſtabliſhment, and removing from him thoſe perſons moſt dear to him, thereby depriving him of the only conſolation which remained to him in the exerciſe of his apoſtolical functions, already on the decline.

The Pope is not only the biſhop of Rome, as hath been ſo improperly aſſerted, but he is at the ſame time the head of the catholic church, and in that character, he is intitled to chooſe his miniſters and coadjutors from the different nations of the earth. In fact, ſince the commencement of Chriſtianity, the clergy of Rome have been always compoſed, not only of Romans, but of individuals from all nations, as is evident from the number of ſtrangers admitted amongſt the clergy of Rome, and who, during the firſt four centuries, aſcended the chair of St. Peter. All theſe motives juſtify the grief of his holineſs, who proteſts againſt a law, which ſpares not even diſtinguiſhed eccleſiaſtics, choſen to aſſiſt him in his labours for the church of God. His holineſs at the ſame time ſtrongly proteſts, in the face of all the earth, againſt the uſurpation of his ſtates. He ſolemnly declares it to be unjuſt, vain, void, and of no avail: that it never can truly affect the impreſcriptible and legitimate rights of ſovereignty and poſſeſſion of his holineſs and ſucceſſors for ever; and if force ſhall deprive him of his poſſeſſions, he is determined to maintain the integrity of his rights, becauſe the holy ſee can recover the real poſſeſſion, when it may please *the true and faithful God, who fights for juſtice, and who hath inſcribed on his garments and forehead*, THE KING OF KINGS, AND LORD OF LORDS.

At the ſame time his holineſs addreſſes the moſt ardent vows to the Father of mercy, to inſpire his ſubjects, withdrawn from his power, and who ſhall always remain

main dear to his heart, with a ſpirit of patience and reſignation, to the end that they may one day obtain from heaven conſolation and peace, and that they may always preſerve inviolate in their hearts religion and faith. *The God of Iſrael will grant his people ſtrength and virtue.*

Theſe are the ſentiments and proteſtations which the underſigned has been required by his holineſs to make to your excellency, as charge d'affaires of the kingdom of Italy, with which theſe provinces have been incorporated. The underſigned hath made it a ſacred duty to obey faithfully the orders which he has received, and at the ſame time to renew to you the aſſurance of his ſincere conſideration.

G. CARDINAL GABRIELLI

To Signor Cavaliero Aldini, Charge d'affaires of the kingdom of Italy.

Ruſſian Declaration againſt Sweden, Feb. 10, 1808.

Juſtly indignant at the violence which England has diſplayed towards the king of Denmark, the emperor of Ruſſia, faithful to his character and to his ſyſtem of unceaſing care for the intereſts of his empire, notified to the king of Great Britain, that he could not remain inſenſible of ſo unjuſt and unexampled an aggreſſion on a ſovereign connected with him by the ties of blood and friendſhip, and who was the moſt ancient ally of Ruſſia.—His Imperial Majeſty informed the king of Sweden of this determination by a note, dated the 24th of September laſt, preſented to the Swediſh ambaſſador.—An article of the treaty concluded in 1783, between the empreſs Catharine and Guſtavus III. and another in the treaty of 1800, between the late emperor Paul and the preſent king of Sweden, contain the reciprocal and ſtipulated agreement to maintain the principle, that the Baltic is a cloſe ſea, with the guarantee of its coaſts againſt all acts of hoſtility, violence, or vexations whatever; and further, to employ for this purpoſe all the means in the power of the reſpective contracting parties. His Imperial Majeſty, referring to theſe treaties, conſidered himſelf not merely authoriſed, but bound, to call upon the king of Sweden for his co-operation againſt England.—His Swediſh Majeſty did not diſavow the obligation impoſed upon him by the treaties referred to, but refuſed all co-operation until the French troops ſhould be removed from the coaſts, and the ports of Germany opened to Engliſh ſhips. But the queſtion here was the checking of thoſe aggreſſions which England had commenced, and by which all Europe was diſturbed. The emperor demanded from the king of Sweden a co-operation founded on treaties; but his Swediſh Majeſty anſwered by propoſing to delay the execution of the treaty to another period, and by troubling himſelf with the care of opening the Dutch ports, for England. In a word, with rendering himſelf of ſervice to that England, againſt which meaſures of defence ought to have been taken. It would be difficult to find a more ſtriking proof of partiality on the part of the king of Sweden towards Great Britain, than this which he has here

here given.—His Imperial Majeſty, on the 16th of November, cauſed a ſecond note to be delivered, in which his Swediſh Majeſty was informed of the rupture between Ruſſia and England.—This note remained two months unanſwered, and the anſwer which was tranſmitted on the 9th of January to his Majeſty's miniſters, was to the ſame purport as the former.—The emperor is, however, far from regretting his moderation. He is, on the contrary, well pleaſed to recollect that he has employed every means that remained to him for bringing back his Swediſh Majeſty to the only ſyſtem of policy which is conſiſtent with the intereſts of his ſtates; but his Imperial Majeſty owes it at leaſt to his people, and to the ſecurity of his dominions, which is to a ſovereign the higheſt of all laws, no longer to leave the co-operation of Ruſſia with Sweden a matter of doubt.—Informed that the cabinet of St. James's, endeavouring to terrify Denmark into a concurrence with the intereſts of England, threatened that Swediſh troops ſhould occupy Zealand, and that the poſſeſſion of Norway ſhould be guaranteed to the king of Sweden; aſſured alſo that his Swediſh Majeſty, while he left the Ruſſian note unanſwered, was ſecretly negociating a treaty at London, his Imperial Majeſty perceived that the intereſts of his empire would be very ill ſecured, were he to permit his neighbour, the king of Sweden, at the commencement of a war between Ruſſia and England, to diſguiſe his well-known ſentiments of attachment to the latter power, under the appearance of a pretended neutrality. His Imperial Majeſty, therefore, cannot allow the relations of Sweden towards Ruſſia to remain longer in a ſtate of uncertainty. He cannot give his conſent to ſuch a neutrality.—His Swediſh Majeſty's being therefore no longer doubtful, nothing remained for his Imperial Majeſty but to reſort to thoſe means which Providence has placed in his hands, for no other purpoſe except that of giving protection and ſafety to his dominions; and he has deemed it right to notify this intention to the king of Sweden and to all Europe.—Having thus acquitted himſelf of that duty, which the ſafety of his dominions requires, his Imperial Majeſty is ready to change the meaſures he is about to take, to meaſures of precaution only, if the king of Sweden will, without delay, join Ruſſia and Denmark in ſhutting the Baltic againſt England until the concluſion of a maritime peace. He himſelf invites the king, his brother-in-law, for the laſt time, and with all the feelings of real friendſhip, no longer to heſitate in fulfilling his obligations, and in embracing the only ſyſtem of policy which is conſiſtent with the intereſts of the northern powers. What has Sweden gained ſince her king attached himſelf to England?—Nothing could be more painful to his Imperial Majeſty than to ſee a rupture take place between Sweden and Ruſſia. But his Swediſh Majeſty has it ſtill in his power to prevent this event by, without delay, reſolving to adopt that courſe which can alone preſerve a ſtrict union and perfect harmony between the two ſtates.

Ruſſian Proclamation to the Inhabitants of Finland, Feb. 18, 1808.

It is with the utmoſt concern his Imperial Majeſty, my moſt gracious maſter, finds himſelf neceſſitated to order his troops under my command to enter your country, good friends and inhabitants of Swediſh Finland.—His Imperial Majeſty feels the more concerned to take this ſtep, to which he is compelled by the tranſactions which have taken place in Sweden, as he ſtill bears in mind the generous and friendly ſentiments which the Fins diſplayed towards Ruſſia in the laſt war, when the Swediſh king engaged in an invaſion of Finland, in a manner equally unexpected and unwarrantable.—His preſent Swediſh Majeſty, far from joining his Imperial Majeſty in his exertions to reſtore the tranquillity of Europe, which alone can be effected by the coalition which ſo fortunately has been formed by the moſt powerful ſtates, has on the contrary formed a cloſer alliance with the enemy of tranquillity and peace, whoſe oppreſſive ſyſtem and unwarrantable conduct towards his Imperial Majeſty and his neareſt ally, his Imperial Majeſty cannot by any means look upon with indifference.—It is on this ground, in addition to what his Majeſty owes to the ſecurity of his own dominions, that he finds himſelf neceſſitated to take your country under his protection, in order to reſerve to himſelf due ſatisfaction, in caſe his royal Swediſh Majeſty ſhould perſiſt in his deſign not to accept the juſt conditions of peace which have been tendered to him by his French Majeſty, through the mediation of his Imperial Ruſſian Majeſty, in order to reſtore the bleſſings of peace, which are at all times the principal object of his Imperial Majeſty's attention. Good friends and men of Finland, remain quiet and fear nought, we do not come to you as enemies, but as your friends and protectors, to render you more proſperous and happy, and to avert from you the calamities which, if war ſhould become indiſpenſable, muſt neceſſarily befall you.—Do not allow yourſelf to be ſeduced to take to arms, or to treat in a hoſtile manner the troops who are committed to my orders; ſhould any one offend againſt this admonition, he muſt impute to himſelf the conſequences of his conduct, while, on the other hand, thoſe who meet his Imperial Majeſty's paternal care for the welfare of this country, may reſt aſſured of his powerful favour and protection.—And as it is his Imperial Majeſty's will, that all the affairs in your country ſhall purſue their uſual courſe, and be managed according to your ancient laws and cuſtoms, which are to remain undiſturbed as long as his troops remain in your country, all officers both civil and military, are herewith directed to conform themſelves thereto, provided that no bad uſe be made of this indulgence, contrary to the good of the country.—Prompt payment ſhall be made for all proviſions and refreſhments required for the troops, and in order that you may ſtill more be convinced of his Majeſty's paternal ſolicitude for your welfare, he has ordered ſeveral magazines to be formed, in addition to thoſe which are already eſtabliſhed, out of which the moſt indigent inhabitants

inhabitants ſhall be ſupplied with neceſſaries in common with his Majeſty's troops.—Should circumſtances ariſe to require an amicable diſcuſſion and deliberation, in that caſe you are directed to ſend your deputies, choſen in the uſual manner, to the city of Abo, in order to deliberate upon the ſubject, and adopt ſuch meaſures as the welfare of the country ſhall require.—It is his Imperial Majeſty's pleaſure, that from this moment Finland ſhall be conſidered and treated in the ſame manner as other conquered provinces of the Ruſſian empire, which now enjoy happineſs and peace under the mild government of his Imperial Majeſty, and remain in full poſſeſſion of the freedom of religion and worſhip, as well as of all its ancient rights and privileges.—The taxes payable to the crown remain in ſubſtance unaltered, and the pay of the public officers of every deſcription continues likewiſe on its ancient footing.

Swediſh Declaration againſt Ruſſia, March 11, 1808.

The firſt intimation his Majeſty received of the hoſtile entrance of Ruſſian troops into Finland on the 21ſt of February laſt, and of their public incitements to rebellion and revolt circulated in that province immediately afterwards, on behalf of his Imperial Ruſſian Majeſty, was by a telegraphic diſpatch. A breach of peace without a previous declaration of war, without a ſingle article of complaint being preferred; a breach of peace emanating from treachery, and carried on by a traitor of his native country*, placed at the ſide of the commander in chief, is an event which has but few examples, and muſt at the firſt glance create deteſtation; but when this act is examined at the ſame time with what has lately occurred between the two countries; when contemplated in its forbidding deviation from thoſe paths of truth and honour exemplified by his ally, no feeling can then expreſs, no name can compaſs the extent of ſuch depravity; its features will remain without a parallel in hiſtory, filling up the deeds of iniquity heaped together in the preſent age. —At a time when his Imperial Ruſſian Majeſty ſeemed to feel tenderly for oppreſſed princes and countries; at a time when he eſtimated the dangers which threatened all Europe, his Majeſty, actuated by ſimilar ſentiments, was led into engagements with him, founded on the confidence he placed in him as a neighbour, an ally, and as an independent monarch. The emperor of Ruſſia, in reference to the general welfare, had entered into uſeful engagements, had yet to demand of France the fulfilment of exiſting treaties, was poſſeſſed of power to ſupport his own rights and thoſe of all others concerned; his Majeſty entered into an alliance with him, and is now attacked by him on the direct ground of having been his ally. Never did a prince enter into an alliance with a more aſſured conſciouſneſs of the purity of its motives, as well as of its being inviolably kept. The empe-

* George Springporten.

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ror had been perſonally inſulted by the refuſal of the French government to fulfil a concluded and ſealed treaty; had been publicly defamed by repeated inſults levelled at his own perſon. The Ruſſian nation had been no leſs inſulted; being gazetted as ſavages and barbarians †. Thus every thing that is ſacred to a government, was connected with the common intereſt. Was it then poſſible but to look upon as irrevocable, what the Emperor himſelf had delared, "that he would reject all conditions of peace, whether more or leſs advantageous, if they were not conſiſtent with the glory of the Ruſſian name; the ſecurity of the empire; the ſanctity of alliances; and the tranquillity and peace of all Europe ‡."—In what manner, and how far theſe great objects have been obtained by the peace of Tilſit, cotemporaries have already decided, and futurity will more clearly diſcover. The king, although at his poſt on the theatre of war, was, contrary to the expreſs tenor of his convention with Ruſſia ‡, neither informed of the armiſtice, nor of the definitive negociations, till the peace was concluded, having received advice of theſe tranſactions, accompanied with a cold and ſlight invitation to aſſiſt in the object of peace ||, the king renewed his application for an armiſtice (which ought, no doubt, to have been ſtipulated in the peace of Tilſit), but received only evaſive anſwers, and diſcovered at once the value of Ruſſian co-operation. The king finding himſelf in conſequence unable to defend his German ſtates any longer, was obliged to leave them to their ſubſequent fate. Having ſuſtained this loſs, originating in the deſertion of Ruſſia, his Majeſty was again placed out of the theatre of war, and endeavoured to enjoy within his own territory that peace and quietneſs which its geographical ſituation ſeemed to enſure to him. Having faithfully acted up to his engagements towards Ruſſia, his Majeſty promiſed himſelf that notwithſtanding the different ſyſtem ſhe had adopted, a juſt and equitable retroſpect would be given to former occurrences. The king had ſupported the operations of Ruſſia with his ſhips of war; had ſhared with the Emperor his military ſtores; had rejected and immediately communicated the offers made him by

* A people (the Ruſſians) who from their barbarous cuſtoms and manners ought to create abhorrence amongſt all civilized nations.—Ordre du Jour. Vienne, le 25 Brumaire, An 14 (14th November, 1805.)—Theſe ſavage bands, whoſe aſſiſtance ſhall for the laſt time, be called forth by European governments—25 bulletin de la grand armeé, le 25 Brumaire, An. 14. If the Greek religion be allowed once to ſpread itſelf between the Baltic and the Mediterranean ſeas, we ſhall ſoon ſee our provinces attacked by a heap of mad barbarians—proclamation, the head-quarters, Warſaw, 25th Jan. 1807. Signed Napoleon Bonaparté.

† See the Ruſſian manifeſto of the 30th Auguſt, 1806.

‡ Both the high contracting parties had engaged in the moſt powerful manner, that the hoſtilities being once commenced, they ſhould not lay down their arms, or treat about any reconciliation with the French government without their mutual conſent. The convention between Sweden and Ruſſia, dated the 14th January, 1805.—Art. IX.

|| General Budberg's letter to baron de Wetterſtedt, firſt ſecretary for the foreign correſpondence, dated the 10th July, 1807.

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the French government *. Among others, one that on condition of breaking with Ruſſia while in the midſt of the war, and when the Ruſſian frontiers and her very capital were defenceleſs, Sweden ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of all the provinces loſt during the reign of Charles XII, together with ſuch further part of the Ruſſian empire as his Majeſty might determine. His Majeſty ſtands on higher ground than to make a merit of having reſiſted temptations ſo mean and contemptible; but he is not without hopes that the aggravated cenſure due to a power thus ſpared in the hour of danger, will be proportioned to its oppreſſive conduct towards this kingdom.— The conſequences of the ſecret articles of the treaty of Tilſit, which were immediately ſuſpected, and which the Ruſſian miniſtry have ſince acknowledged, began by degrees to unfold themſelves. England's commercial monopoly, that ridiculous ſcarecrow, erected by the French government, in order to uſurp to itſelf the Continent, was alſo brought forward for the contemplation of the North, for the ſake of extending, even to that part of the world, the oppreſſion and miſery which, from port to port, from ſtate to ſtate, Europe had been ſubjected to. No government is any longer left to its own light and experience; no people to their own lawful induſtry; no middle claſs muſt be acknowledged between the vaſſal and the enemy. Peace ſignifies confederacy — confederacy, ſubmiſſion; and from Paris muſt proceed the mandates which are to dictate both principles, laws, and ordinances, to the ſelf-ſtyled, independent confederacy, while they promote only a luſt for power and violate what is moſt ſacred in ſociety and between ſocieties.— Preparations were made in conformity at St. Peterſburgh laſt autumn, for a rupture with England, and they waited only for the proper ſeaſon of the year to be able, with ſomewhat more ſecurity, to carry that meaſure into effect. A propoſal was made to his royal Majeſty, in a note, dated the 6th of October, to aſſiſt agreeably to the convention made in 1780, in ſhutting the Baltic againſt foreign ſhips of war. His Majeſty, on the 13th November, returned for anſwer that ſo long as the French government was in poſſeſſion of ſo many harbours on the ſouth ſide of the Baltic, and there exerciſed their ſyſtem of excluſion, the Baltic could not be kept peaceable. His Majeſty in conſequence alſo requeſted that his Imperial Majeſty would firſt endeavour to prevail on the French to quit thoſe ports; and when the firſt-mentioned application was renewed on the 27th of the ſame month, as an objection grounded on the convention of 1780, his Majeſty circumſtantially declared on the 21ſt Jan. laſt, that by virtue of the convention made in the year 1801, between Ruſſia and England, and to which his Majeſty

* Promiſe of Norway given by general Bernadotte to a Swediſh officer, a priſoner, Nov. 1806—reſpecting the extending of dominions of the French miniſter Bourienne, to Netzel the chargé des affaires, the 14th November, 1806. General Grandjean's repreſentation to colonel baron Tavaſt, the 27th May, 1807, that Sweden was to demand what territory ſhe wiſhed to have in order that ſhe might counterbalance Ruſſia, &c. &c.

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at the preſſing inſtance of Ruſſia, and under her own guarantee, become a party, the previous armed neutrality had entirely ceaſed. That his Majeſty had then entered into direct engagements with England, in reference to that object, and which could not equitably be departed from ſo long as the latter power, on her ſide, fulfilled her obligations. That at the ſame time that the armed neutrality was done away with, the ſtipulations grounded therein, reſpecting the ſhutting of the Baltic, became null and void, and which was the leſs applicable to exiſting circumſtances, as the Daniſh naval force, then calculated upon, no longer was in being; not to mention that England had ſince that time diſcovered the paſſage through the great Belt. But that if Sweden could not with her arms contribute to the protection of the Baltic, ſhe would, on the other hand, take upon herſelf to obtain, by negociation with England, that ſhe ſhould not ſend any ſhips of war into thoſe ſeas, provided no other power made armaments there, or new hoſtilities ſhould oblige her to come there as an aſſiſtant. That Sweden ſhould be called upon to ſerve Ruſſia as outworks, becauſe ſhe had thought proper to provoke England; that Sweden ſhould ſacrifice her fleet and commerce as a defence for Cronſtadt and Revel, was aſking rather too much; yet immediately after theſe repreſentations, Ruſſia actually commenced her preparations for war on the frontiers of Finland. His Majeſty continued, notwithſtanding, to view them with calm forbearance; for as yet no ſpecific complaints had been preferred, nor had any unconditional demands been made. The propoſal (his Majeſty had made) of an agreement to protect the Baltic, preſented aſpects of tranquillity and advantage to Ruſſia, to all the north, which it would appear could not, but under great reſponſibility, be refuſed. The ports of Ruſſia would thereby become more frequented than they had been ſince the commencement of the war, and might obtain an emulation in trade reſpecting their produce, unknown for many years. Neighbourly friendſhip, commerce, repoſe after an unfortunate war, and ſome motives for applauſe after a ſtill more unfortunate peace, ſuch were the advantages to be derived from the propoſals which the king made to the Emperor. They were made with a well-grounded confidence in the concurrence of England, and his Majeſty expected Ruſſia's conſent would have arrived much earlier than the dreaded Engliſh fleet could ſhew itſelf as an avenger in the Baltic. He preſſed a ſpeedy anſwer, and it was intended that the king's ambaſſador ſhould, on the 15th of February, in a private audience with the Emperor, which was promiſed him, urge this important concern; when at once the communication of the embaſſy with Sweden was in a violent manner interrupted, and Ruſſian troops entered Finland with the following proclamations: [Here follow the Ruſſian proclamations, dated Frederikſham the 18th (6th) Feb. 1808, and Louiſa, 10th (22d) Feb. 1808, already publiſhed.] The declaration then conludes as follows:—Let every legal government, let every brave and honeſt warrior, every loyal ſubject, judge of this conduct: a treacherous invaſion of a peaceful neighbour's country,

country, preceded by manifeſtoes inviting to rebellion, are things at all times deteſtable, even in theſe latter times, otherwiſe ſo burthened with examples of violence and injuſtice. The Ruſſian empire, the ally of France, is not, it would ſeem, powerful enough to abide, upon the common terms of the law of nations, the reſiſtance of a province left to defend itſelf on account of the ſeaſon of the year. It calls forth the aid of treachery and treaſon. The government expects to purchaſe the Finlanders *en maſſe*, under promiſes of liberty; but the commander of the army offers to purchaſe the ſoldiers individually, like ſlaves, in the market of St. Peterſburgh or Riga.—Ye youthful inhabitants of Finland, a people worthy of eſteem; your king has, during the whole of his reign, paid attention to your inſtruction, to the cultivation, and proſperity of your country. A faithleſs neighbour threatens to hurl you back to the ſtate you were in in ages paſt, becauſe your neighbourhood is become a reproach to him. His ſword is brandiſhed over your heads; his plundering hands are ſtretched towards your property; his forces approach your dwelling, and his promiſes and proteſtations have no other aim than to facilitate his acceſs to you. Deeply grieved at the diſtreſſes inſeparable from war, although conſcious of in no wiſe having been the cauſe of it, your king reſts aſſured that your hearts will remain unſeduced and your courage unſubdued, till the time ſhall arrive when he can freely employ his whole force, and that of his ally, in protecting and revenging you.

Daniſh Declaration againſt Sweden, 29th February, 1808.

The Daniſh government has with juſt impatience waited to ſee the effect of the efforts employed by the Court of St. Peterſburgh for the purpoſe of recalling Sweden by the moſt friendly means, to thoſe intereſts which are common to her with all the powers of the north, and to thoſe principles which are the firſt bond of her connection with Ruſſia and Denmark. Theſe efforts having finally proved ineffectual, the Daniſh government finds itſelf placed in a poſition towards Sweden which will no longer allow its relations with that kingdom to remain uncertain. What theſe relations had become, it is indeed impoſſible to diſſemble, after a perfidious aggreſſion had ſuddenly forced Denmark from the path ſhe had followed during a long ſeries of years without the ſlighteſt deviation. All Europe has reſounded with one cry of indignation at the crime committed by Great Britain againſt a neutral and peaceful ſtate; and from all quarters has the Daniſh government received teſtimonies of the moſt lively intereſt in its cauſe. The Court of Stockholm alone, notwithſtanding the particular ties which united it with that of Copenhagen, obſerved a total ſilence, which it at length broke, only to prefer complaints the moſt unfounded and reproaches the moſt unjuſt, with reſpect to the inconveniences that had indirectly reſulted to it, from the events of the war, as well as from the rigorous meaſures which the ſituation to which the Daniſh government has been

been moſt unexpectedly reduced, has imperiouſly required it to adopt, and which the chicane and endleſs vexations of Sweden have been little calculated to induce it to abandon. The Daniſh cabinet would have been extremely embarraſſed to interpret the conduct on the part of a Sovereign, whoſe intereſts, principles, and ſentiments, it had regarded as being equally wounded by an act of atrocity, which has ſuddenly lighted the flames of war in the north, if it had not quickly ſeen cauſe to ſuppoſe, that the reſolution taken by the King of Sweden under theſe circumſtances was not merely that of indifference. The extraordinary facility with which that monarch, ſeveral weeks before the reduction of Stralſund, had conſented to the departure of the major part of the Engliſh forces in Pomerania (whether, as it ſhould ſeem, they came with no other view than to await the opportunity of being conveyed to Zealand), and the pains his Swediſh Majeſty took to inform his people that this re-embarkation took place by virtue of a ſeparate article of his convention with Great Britain, gave the firſt indications of a ſecret underſtanding at the expence of Denmark. Theſe indications were very ſoon increaſed. The Daniſh government is not acquainted with the extent of the aſſiſtance which its enemy received in the ports of Sweden; but it has felt the conſequences of that aſſiſtance in a manner the moſt lamentable to itſelf. It is eaſy to conceive the impreſſion which has been produced upon the Daniſh nation by the relations of every kind, and the uninterrupted communications which the Engliſh found no difficulty in maintaining with Sweden.—No one could fail to remark how much Denmark was inſulted by the pleaſure which the king of Sweden appeared to take in repairing to the coaſt oppoſite to the Sound, and beholding perſonally all the injuſtice and outrage committed againſt a neighbouring country; by the careſſes and numberleſs marks of diſtinction laviſhed upon the leaders of the Engliſh forces; by the honours which they, on their part, affected to render to the ally of their ſovereign; and by the demonſtrations of reſpect towards his Swediſh Majeſty, to which the ſhips of war, violently ſeized from the port of Copenhagen, were not bound; on their paſſage along the Sound, under the cannon even of that fortreſs to which their ſalute was owing. However unfavourable an aſpect the concurrence of theſe circumſtances neceſſarily caſts upon the diſpoſitions of the king of Sweden towards the government of Denmark, that government cannot reproach itſelf with having gratuitouſly exaggerated thoſe appearances, which the Court of Stockholm, far from attempting to remove, wiſhed to produce, nouriſh, and ſtrengthen, as far it was in its power. But theſe ſimple appearances were ſoon ſucceeded by facts. The government of England was the firſt to develope to Denmark the openly hoſtile diſpoſition of his Swediſh Majeſty. Europe, already knows the explanations occaſioned between Denmark and Sweden by this denunciation. The king of Sweden, when called upon in the moſt frank and friendly manner to declare

declare himſelf on this ſubject, was ſeen to endeavour eluding the neceſſity of ſuch a declaration; and when he was at length cloſely preſſed, his Majeſty gave an anſwer oblique, equivocal, and inſulting. Nevertheleſs, as this anſwer appeared in ſome meaſure to give the lie to the government of England, the government of Denmark was contented with it for the moment, and thought it becoming to diſſimulate its juſt reſentments againſt Sweden, in the hope that, enlightened concerning her true intereſts, and reflecting on the conſequences of her reſolutions, ſhe would at laſt end by yielding to the repreſentations which the court of St. Peterſburgh had made, with as much tenderneſs as patience, in order to engage her to renounce her alliance with Great Britain, evidently become incompatible with the tranquillity of the North, and eſpecially with the ſecurity of Denmark. The Daniſh government is but imperfectly acquainted with the nature and extent of the engagements which Sweden has entered into with England; whatever may be the object of them, and whatever their tendency, no one can better conceive or appreciate than itſelf the repugnance which his Swediſh Majeſty would feel in failing in any of the obligations he had contracted. But the cabinet of Copenhagen is not uninformed that the Swediſh government itſelf has admitted, that the term of its engagements recently expired; and after the cabinet of St. James's had unmaſked itſelf in the face of all Europe, it would have been inſulting the court of Stockholm to ſuppoſe that it would dare to concur in an attack upon the firſt baſes of the ſecurity, proſperity, and dignity of the powers of the north. Theſe conſiderations could not be balanced by the trifling advantage of ſubſidies, with which the cabinet of London ſhews itſelf ready at all times to purchaſe its allies, and whom it pretends to have then the right of treating as mercenaries. The reſolutions of the king of Sweden having, however, fruſtrated the laſt hopes of his neighbours, the government of Denmark could no longer heſitate, on its part, to take thoſe meaſures which its ſecurity, the general intereſt of the north, its attachment to Ruſſia, and the nature of its engagements with that power, imperiouſly preſcribe to it. At a moment when Zealand is threatened anew by the forces of England, to which the ports of Sweden ſerve as a point of re-union; when the enemy of the north has juſt aſſured himſelf of the dependence of the court of Stockholm upon him for freſh pecuniary aſſiſtance; when the public declarations of the Engliſh miniſtry ſufficiently unfold the nature of the engagements ſtill ſubſiſting or renewed between the two allies, the Daniſh government deems it right to prefer a ſtate of open hoſtility to precarious and equivocal relations towards an enemy whoſe diſpoſition is become more and more ſuſpicious, and who, during a long period, could be conſidered only as a diſguiſed enemy. His Majeſty the king of Denmark declares conſequently, that he adopts altogether the reſolutions of Ruſſia in reſpect to Sweden, and that he will not ſeparate his cauſe from that of the emperor Alexander, his auguſt and faithful ally.

Declaration

Declaration of the King of Prussia againſt Sweden, dated Konigſberg, March 6, 1808.

His Majeſty the king of Pruſſia, our moſt gracious ſovereign, has been ſolicited by both the imperial courts of Paris and St. Peterſburg, conſiſtently with the ſyſtem of the other powers of the continent, and the declaration againſt England, to extend the ſame meaſures againſt Sweden, which have been taken againſt England, on account of her freſh alliance with that power. In imitation of the declaration iſſued by the emperor of Ruſſia on the 10th (22) of February, in this year, his Majeſty has accordingly broken off all relations with Sweden, and commands all in office under him, under the penalty of ſevere puniſhment, to reſtrain from all community or intercourſe whatever with Sweden. In purſuance of this, from the preſent moment, and till farther orders, all Pruſſian harbours ſhall be utterly cloſed againſt Swediſh veſſels; Pruſſian veſſels ſhall no longer be ſent into Sweden, neither ſhall Swediſh or neutral ſhips, or wares which came from Sweden, be admitted into Pruſſian harbours.

Anſwer of Sweden to the Daniſh Declaration of War. Dated Stockholm, March 21, 1808.

The court of Denmark had made an alliance with France, was prepared to receive French troops in its country, collected tranſport veſſels in its port, fitted out all its ſhips in the road of Copenhagen, to cover a French expedition againſt Sweden, and then iſſued a declaration of war. Denmark accuſed Sweden of being the cauſe of this rupture, becauſe ſhe did not make her compliments of condolence on the loſs of her fleet, becauſe ſhe would not co-operate to avenge that humiliation, and eſpecially becauſe ſhe ſought aid from England againſt ſuch an aggreſſion. The relations of the king with his neighbouring power were thoſe of a ſimple peace. There was neither alliance, nor any convention whatever which traced out for the two courts any common courſe for their political conduct; therefore, when Sweden, Ruſſia, and Pruſſia fought in conjunction againſt France, Denmark, under the ſhade of her neutrality, appeared the friend of all. The king witneſſing this ſyſtem, and convinced by ſome explanations, demanded in the courſe of the year 1806, of the impoſſibility of obtaining a change favourable to Sweden, could not entertain a hope that the naval force of Denmark could ever be uſeful to him; on the contrary, after the peace of Tilſit, he had every reaſon to fear that, by the ſuggeſtions of Ruſſia and France, it might be one day turned againſt him. His Majeſty, therefore, thought it proper to obſerve a profound ſilence relative to the events which paſſed in his vicinity laſt autumn, leaving to England and futurity to juſtify them. It is due to truth, however, to declare, that the court of London did not invite Sweden to take part in this expedition, nor confided it to her till the moment of its being carried into execution. Therefore, not the leaſt movement was made in Sweden on this occaſion. The Engliſh fleet arrived and departed without

without entering into any port of Sweden; and the auxiliary troops, embarked in Pomerania, were reſtored in virtue of a ſeparate article in the convention concluded at London, relative to this object, on the 17th of June, 1807, when certainly there was as yet no reference to this expedition. The following is the article:—"It is fully underſtood, that, in caſe that unforeſeen circumſtances ſhould render impracticable the object of this convention, or that his Britannic Majeſty ſhould find it neceſſary to withdraw the ſaid troops (the German legion) from Swediſh Pomerania the ſtipulation of this convention ſhall in no manner prevent his Britannic Majeſty from giving ſuch orders as he may judge proper with reſpect to the ulterior diſpoſition of thoſe troops which are now placed under the orders of his Swediſh Majeſty."—The court of London has ſince fully juſtified this enterprize, and the experience of every day juſtifies it. Numerous French armies remained in Lower Saxony and over-awed the north. There were ſtill nations to ſubjugate, ports to ſhut, and forces to direct againſt England. They were to penetrate at any rate: they would have acted in any caſe and under any pretence that might have offered. At preſent, it is the expedition againſt the Daniſh fleet which is the rallying word of the whole league. What is remarkable is, that the Daniſh government, already beſet by French troops, overpowered, impelled, and even paid by France, iſſues a declaration of war againſt Sweden, without daring even to name the power which forces it to act. It ſeeks with embarraſſment grievances and reaſons, to appear to have had in this determination a will of its own. It cites the remonſtrances of Sweden againſt the arreſt of the Swediſh mails as vexatious, while in its ſeverity againſt Engliſh correſpondence, it would not ſuffer it to paſs according to treaty, and declares that it is imperiouſly obliged to take theſe meaſures. It pretends to know the thoughts of the king, and imagines them hoſtile, though for ſome months it had concerted an aggreſſion upon Sweden. It pretends to reaſon on the intereſts of the country, though it has abandoned its own intereſts, and even its exiſtence, to a foreign influence. In fine, it reproaches Sweden with having provided for her defence by a ſubſidiary treaty, though itſelf is paid for an aggreſſion; and then it pronounces, though indeed with a kind of timidity, the word mercenary, which the government that pays it had probably dictated to it.—It is propoſed here to render to his Britannic Majeſty the moſt authentic ſolemn teſtimony, that in all his tranſactions with Sweden he never demanded offenſive meaſures; nor required any thing that was not perfectly compatible with its tranquillity and independence. The moſt convincing proof of this is the promptitude with which his miniſtry acceded to the propoſition of the king for the pacification of the Baltic, by a formal promiſe not to ſend thither any ſhips of war, but on conditions uſeful and honourable to all the north. Let the Daniſh government read in this propoſition the complete refutation of the complaints of which the manifeſto againſt Sweden is compoſed; and in the moments when it ſhall return itſelf, let it compare

the ſtate of things which the king has deſired with that which France and Ruſſia wiſh. Let all the allies of France read in this conſent of England the difference between the connections which unite the two courts and thoſe which enchain them, and let them pronounce on which ſide is to be found a due regard for particular intereſts, and a juſt moderation for the general good.—Denmark herſelf has been, during a long time, the object of this moderation, and did not ceaſe to be ſo till ſhe became abſolutely dangerous. When the north was outraged by the devaſtation of Lower Saxony, the oppreſſion of the Hanſeatic towns, what did ſhe to avenge them? Sweden, England, and Ruſſia, made war for this object; but no one thought of forcing Denmark to take part in it. She was the ally of Ruſſia, then, as well as at preſent; why did ſhe not embrace her cauſe? What could ſhe then allege for her tranquillity that Sweden cannot now allege? All this is explained by the ſingle fact which ſhe endeavours to conceal—that ſhe is at preſent under the influence of the French government. Had England followed the principles of this enemy, ſhe would not have waited the moment of her ſurrender to diſarm her, ſhe would have invaded her ſeveral years before; ſhe would have guarded her, and all this with a view to the good of the north.—Her ancient alliance with Ruſſia is made a pretext for this aggreſſion, though all the world knows that it is merely defenſive, and that it remained ſuſpended during the late wars with Ruſſia, when perhaps that power might have claimed it. The court of Denmark, in order to juſtify its proceedings, heſitates not to make all kinds of aſſertions, dares to defend the injuſtice of Ruſſia, and betrays a premeditated plot; and all this it does to conceal the chief, nay, only reaſon, which is—that Denmark is the ally of France.—But injuſtice and falſehood find their end; honour and truth will triumph in their turn. His Majeſty, relying on the juſtice of his cauſe, hopes, with the conſcious pride of reigning over a brave and loyal people, ſo often tried by dangers, and held up by the Almighty, that the ſame Providence will vouchſafe to bleſs his army, and reſtore to his ſubjects a ſafe and honourable peace, to the confuſion of his enemies.

The Preſident Jefferſon's Anſwer to the Diſſent of the Republicans from the Proceedings of the Town of Boſton relative to the Embargo.

I have duly received the addreſs of that portion of the citizens of Boſton who have declared their approbation of the preſent ſuſpenſion of our commerce, and their diſſent from the repreſentation of thoſe of the ſame place who wiſhed its removal. A diviſion of ſentiment was not unexpected; on no queſtion can a perfect unanimity be hoped, or certainly it would have been on that between war and embargo, the only alternatives preſented to our choice; for the general capture of our veſſels would have been war upon one ſide, which reaſon and intereſt would repel by war and repriſal on our part.

Of the ſeveral intereſts compriſing thoſe of the United States, that of manufactures would of courſe prefer

to war a ſtate of non-intercourſe, ſo favourable to their rapid growth and proſperity.

Agriculture, although ſenſibly feeling the loſs of market for its produce, would find many aggravations in a ſtate of war.

Commerce and navigation, or that portion which is foreign, in the inactivity to which they are reduced by the preſent ſtate of things, certainly experience their full ſhare in the general inconvenience; but whether war would be to them a preferable alternative, is a queſtion their patriotiſm would never haſtily propoſe. It is to be regretted, however, that overlooking the real ſources of ſufferings, the Britiſh and French edicts, which conſtitute the actual blockade of our foreign commerce and navigation, they have with too little reflection imputed them to laws which have preſerved them from greater, and have ſaved for our own uſe, our veſſels, property, and ſeamen, inſtead of adding them to the ſtrength of thoſe with whom we might eventually have to contend.

The embargo, giving time to the belligerent powers to reviſe their unjuſt proceedings, and to liſten to the dictates of juſtice, or intereſt and reputation, which equally urge the correction of their wrongs, has availed our country of this only honourable expedient of avoiding war; and ſhould a repeal of theſe edicts ſuperſede the cauſe for it, our commercial brethren will become ſenſible, that it has conſulted their intereſt, however againſt their own will. It will be unfortunate for their country, if in the mean time theſe their expreſſions of impatience ſhould have the effect of prolonging the very ſufferings which have produced them, by exciting a fallacious hope that we may, under any preſſure, relinquiſh our equal rights of navigating the ocean, go to ſuch ports as others may preſcribe, and there pay the tributary exactions they may impoſe; an abandonment of national independance and eſſential rights revolting to every manly ſentiment. While theſe edicts are in force, no American can ever conſent to a return of peaceable intercourſe with thoſe who maintain them.

I am happy in the approach of the period when the feelings and the wiſdom of the nation will be collected in their repreſentatives aſſembled together. To them are committed our rights, to them our wrongs are known, and they will pronounce the remedy they call for; and I hear with pleaſure from all, as well thoſe who approve as who diſapprove of the preſent meaſures, aſſurances of an implicit acquieſcence in the annunciation of the general will. I beg leave, through you, to communicate this anſwer to the addreſs, on which your ſignatures had the firſt place, and to add aſſurances of my reſpect.

T. JEFFERSON.

To Colonel Edward Procter.

To T. Jefferſon, eſq. Preſident of the United States of America:

The Petition of the Subſcribers, Officers of Merchant ſhips belonging to the Port of Philadelphia,

Reſpectfully ſheweth,

That in conſequence of the preſent embargo laws, the ſituation of your petitioners is grievous and afflicting; that they have been engaged in the mercantile ſervice ſince

their infancy, with few exceptions, and accuſtomed only to conduct ſhips or veſſels acroſs the ocean; that from the operation of the preſent reſtrictive laws, they find themſelves cut off from their uſual employment, and of courſe the means of ſubſiſtence are gone.

Your petitioners are well acquainted with the duties of conducting ſhips from port to port—well verſed in naval tactics, but unable to handle the harrow or plough.

Your petitioners have for a long time borne with patience the privations incident to thoſe reſtrictive laws, without murmur or complaint; but, when imperious neceſſity compels them to diſcloſe the cauſe of their grievances, they humbly ſuppoſe they have a right ſo to do in a decent and reſpectful manner.

Your petitioners therefore pray that your excellency will take their caſe into conſideration, and adopt ſuch meaſures as will relieve the wants of your petitioners; or, if there are vacancies in the navy, to give your petitioners, or ſome of them, an opportunity of ſerving therein, as they think themſelves capable of performing ſervices of that nature. They, however, ſubmit their whole caſe to your conſideration, hoping your excellency will adopt ſuch meaſures as wiſdom and juſtice may point out, and as in duty bound will pray, &c.

Philadelphia, Aug. 10, 1808.

Preſident's Anſwer to the Bearer of the foregoing Petition.

Sir,

In anſwer to the petition which you delivered me from the officers of merchant veſſels belonging to Philadelphia, I muſt premiſe my ſincere regret at the ſacrifices which our fellow-citizens in general, and the petitioners in particular, have been obliged to meet, by the circumſtances of the times. We live in an age of affliction, to which the hiſtory of nations preſents no parallel: we have for years been looking on Europe covered with blood and violence, and ſeen rapine ſpreading itſelf over the ocean. On this element it has reached us, and at length in ſo ſerious a degree, that the legiſlature of the nation has thought it neceſſary to withdraw our citizens and property from it, either to avoid or prepare for engaging in the general conteſt. But for this timely precaution, the petitioners and their property might now have been in the hands of ſpoilers, who have laid aſide all regard to moral right! Withdrawing from the greater evil, a leſſer one has been neceſſarily encountered; and certainly, could the legiſlature have made proviſion againſt this alſo, I ſhould have had great pleaſure as the inſtrument of its execution: but it was impracticable by any general and juſt rules to preſcribe, in every caſe, the beſt reſource againſt the inconveniences of this new ſituation. The difficulties of the criſis will certainly fall with greater preſſure on ſome deſcriptions of citizens than others, and on none perhaps with greater than on our ſeafaring brethren. Should any means of alleviation occur, within the range of my duties, I ſhall with certainty advert to the ſituation of the petitioners, and in availing the nation of their ſervices, aid them with a ſubſtitute for their former occupation. I ſalute them and yourſelf with ſentiments of ſincere regard.

T. JEFFERSON.

Preſident

Preſident Jefferſon's Meſſage to the Senate and Houſe of Repreſentatives of the United States. Nov. 8.

It would have been a ſource, fellow citizens, of much gratification, if our laſt communications from Europe had enabled me to inform you, that the belligerent nations, whoſe diſregard of neutral rights has been ſo deſtructive to our commerce, had become awakened to the duty and the policy of revoking their unrighteous edicts! That no means might be omitted to produce this ſalutary effect, I loſt no time in availing myſelf of the act authoriſing a ſuſpenſion, in whole, or in part, of the ſeveral embargo laws. Our miniſters at London and Paris were inſtructed to explain to the reſpective governments there, our diſpoſition to exerciſe the authority in ſuch manner as would withdraw the pretext on which the aggreſſions were originally founded, and open the way for a renewal of that commercial intercourſe, which it was alleged, on all ſides, had been reluctantly obſtructed. As each of theſe governments had pledged its readineſs to concur in renouncing a meaſure, which reached its adverſary through the inconteſtible rights of neutrals only, and as the meaſure had been aſſumed by each as a retaliation for an aſſerted acquieſcence in the aggreſſions of the other, it was reaſonably expected that the occaſion would have been ſeized by both, for evincing the ſincerity of their profeſſions, and for reſtoring to the United States its legitimate freedom. The inſtructions to our miniſters, with reſpect to the different belligerents, were neceſſarily modified with a reference to their different circumſtances, and to the condition annexed by law to the executive power of ſuſpenſion, requiring a degree of ſecurity to our commerce, which would not reſult from a repeal of the decrees of France. Inſtead of a pledge, therefore, for a ſuſpenſion of the embargo as to her, in caſe of ſuch a repeal, it was preſumed that a ſufficient inducement might be found in other conſiderations, and particularly in the change produced by a compliance with our juſt demands, by one belligerent, and a refuſal by the other, in the relations between this other and the united States. To Great Britain, whoſe power on the ocean is ſo aſcendant, it was deemed not inconſiſtent with that condition, to ſtate, explicitly, that on her reſcinding her orders in relation to the commerce of the United States, their trade would be opened with her, and remain ſhut to her enemy, in caſe of his failure to reſcind his decrees alſo. From France no anſwer has been received, nor any indication that the requiſite change in her decrees is contemplated. The favourable reception of the propoſition to Great Britain was the leſs to be doubted, as her orders of council had not only been referred for their vindication to an acquieſcence on the part of the United States, no longer to be pretended; but as the arrangement propoſed, whilſt it reſiſted the illegal decrees of France, involved, moreover, ſubſtantially the preciſe advantages profeſſedly aimed at by the Britiſh orders. The arrangement has, nevertheleſs, been rejected.

This candid and liberal experiment

ment having thus failed, and no other event having occurred on which a ſuſpenſion of the embargo by the executive was authoriſed, it neceſſarily remains in the extent originally given to it. We have the ſatisfaction, however, to reflect, that in return for the privations impoſed by the meaſure, and which our fellow-citizens in general have borne with patriotiſm, it has had the important effect of ſaving our mariners, and our vaſt mercantile property, as well as of affording time for proſecuting the defenſive and proviſional meaſures called for by the occaſion. It has demonſtrated to foreign nations the moderation and firmneſs which govern our councils, and to our citizens the neceſſity of uniting in ſupport of the laws and rights of their country; and has thus long fruſtrated thoſe uſurpations and ſpoliations which, if reſiſted, involved war; if ſubmitted to, ſacrificed a vital principal of our national independence.

Under a continuance of the belligerent meaſures, which, in defiance of laws which conſecrate the rights of neutrals, overſpread the ocean with danger, it will reſt with the wiſdom of congreſs to decide on the courſe beſt adapted to ſuch a ſtate of things; and bringing with them, as they do, from every part of the union, the ſentiments of our conſtituents, my confidence is ſtrengthened that in forming this deciſion, they will, with an unerring regard to the eſſential rights and intereſts of the nation, weigh and compare the painful alternatives out of which a choice is to be made. Nor ſhould I do juſtice to the virtues which on other occaſions have marked the character of our fellow-citizens, if I did not cheriſh an equal confidence that the alternative choſen, whatever it may be, will be maintained with all the fortitude and patriotiſm which the criſis ought to inſpire.

The documents contained in the correſpondence on the ſubject of the foreign edicts againſt our commerce, with the inſtructions given to our miniſters at London and Paris, are now laid before you.

The communications made to congreſs at their laſt ſeſſion explained the poſture in which the cloſe of the diſcuſſion relating to the attack by a Britiſh ſhip of war on the frigate Cheſapeake, left a ſubject on which the nation had manifeſted ſo honourable a ſenſibility. Every view of what had paſſed authoriſed a belief that immediate ſteps would be taken by the Britiſh government for redreſſing a wrong, which, the more it was inveſtigated, appeared the more clearly to require what had not been provided for in the ſpecial miſſion. It is found that no ſteps have been taken for the purpoſe. On the contrary, it will be ſeen in the documents laid before you, that the inadmiſſible preliminary which obſtructs the adjuſtment is ſtill adhered to; and, moreover, that it is now brought into connexion with the diſtinct and irrelative caſe of the orders in council. The inſtructions which had been given to our miniſters at London, with a view to facilitate, if neceſſary, the reparation claimed by the United States, are included in the documents communicated.

Our relations with the other powers of Europe have undergone no material changes ſince your laſt

ſeſſion.

ſeſſion. The important negociations with Spain, which had been alternately ſuſpended and reſumed, neceſſarily experience a pauſe, under the extraordinary and intereſting criſis which diſtinguiſhes her internal ſituation.

With the Barbary powers we continue in harmony, with the exception of an unjuſtifiable proceeding of the Dey of Algiers towards our conſul to that regency. Its character and circumſtances are now laid before you, and will enable you to decide how far it may, either now or hereafter, call for any meaſures not within the limits of the executive authority.

With our Indian neighbours the public peace has been ſteadily maintained. Some inſtances of individual wrong have, as at other times, taken place, but in no wiſe implicating the will of the nation. Beyond the Miſſiſſippi, the Ioways, the Sacs, and the Alibamas, have delivered up, for trial and puniſhment, individuals from among themſelves accuſed of murdering citizens of the United States, on this ſide the Miſſiſſippi; the Creeks are exerting themſelves to arreſt offenders of the ſame kind; and the Choctaws have manifeſted their readineſs and deſire for amicable and juſt arrangements, reſpecting depredations committed by diſorderly perſons of their tribe. And generally from a conviction that we conſider them as a part of ourſelves, and cheriſh with ſincerity their rights and intereſts, the attachment of the Indian tribes is gaining ſtrength daily, is extending from the nearer to the more remote, and will amply requite us for the juſtice and friendſhip practiſed towards them; huſbandry and houſehold manufacture are advancing among them more rapidly with the ſouthern than the northern tribes, from circumſtances of ſoil and climate; and one of the two great diviſions of the Cherokee nation have now under conſideration to ſolicit the citizenſhip of the United States, and to be identified with us in laws and government, in ſuch progreſſive manner as we ſhall think beſt.

In conſequence of the appropriations of the laſt ſeſſion of congreſs for the ſecurity of our ſea-port towns and harbours, ſuch works of defence have been erected as ſeemed to be called for by the ſituation of the ſeveral places, their relative importance, and the ſcale of expence indicated by the amount of the appropriation. Theſe works will chiefly be finiſhed in the courſe of the preſent ſeaſon, except at New York and New Orleans, where moſt was to be done; and although a great proportion of the laſt appropriation has been expended on the former place, yet ſome further views will be ſubmitted to congreſs for rendering its ſecurity entirely adequate againſt naval enterprize. A view of what has been done at ſeveral places, and of what is propoſed to be done, ſhall be communicated as ſoon as the ſeveral reports are received.

Of the gun-boats authoriſed by the act of December laſt, it has been thought neceſſary to build only 103 in the preſent year; theſe, with thoſe before poſſeſſed, are ſufficient for the harbours and waters moſt expoſed, and the reſidue will require little time for their conſtruction, when it ſhall be deemed neceſſary.

Under the act of the laſt ſeſſion, for

for raiſing an additional military force, ſo many officers were immediately appointed as were neceſſary for carrying on the buſineſs of recruiting; and in proportion as it advanced, others have been added. We have reaſon to believe their ſucceſs has been ſatisfactory, although ſuch returns have not been received, as enable me to preſent you a ſtatement of the numbers engaged.

I have not thought it neceſſary, in the courſe of the laſt ſeaſon, to call for any general detachments of militia, or of volunteers, under the laws paſſed for that purpoſe; for the enſuing ſeaſon, however, they will be required to be in readineſs, ſhould their ſervice be wanted. Some ſmall and ſpecial detachments have been neceſſary to maintain the laws of embargo, on that portion of our northern frontier which offered peculiar facilities for invaſion; but theſe were replaced as ſoon as it could be done, by bodies of new recruits. By the aid of theſe, and of the armed veſſels called into ſervice in other quarters, the ſpirit of diſobedience and abuſe, which manifeſted itſelf early, and with ſenſible effect, while we were unprepared to meet it, has been conſiderably repreſſed.

Conſidering the extraordinary character of the times in which we live, our attention ſhould unremittingly be fixed on the ſafety of our country. For a people who are free, and who mean to remain ſo, a well-organized and armed militia is their beſt ſecurity. It is therefore incumbent on us, at every meeting, to reviſe the condition of the militia, and to aſk ourſelves if it is prepared to repel a powerful enemy at every point of our territories expoſed to invaſion. Some of the ſtates have paid a laudable attention to this object, but every degree of neglect is to be found among others. Congreſs alone having the power to produce an uniform ſtate of preparation in this great organ of defence, the intereſt which they ſo deeply feel in their own and their country's ſecurity will preſent this as among the moſt important objects of their deliberation.

Under the acts of March 11, and April 23, reſpecting arms, the difficulty of procuring them from abroad, during the preſent ſituation and diſpoſitions of Europe, induced us to direct our whole efforts to the means of internal ſupply; the public factories have, therefore, been enlarged, additional machineries erected, and, in proportion as artificers can be found or formed, their effect, already more than doubled, may be increaſed ſo as to keep pace with the yearly increaſe of the militia. The annual ſums appropriated by the latter act have been directed to the encouragement of private factories of arms; and contracts have been entered into with individual undertakers, to nearly the amount of the firſt year's appropriation.

The ſuſpenſion of our foreign commerce, produced by the injuſtice of the belligerent powers, and the conſequent loſſes and ſacrifices of our citizens, are ſubjects of juſt concern. The ſituation into which we have thus been forced, has impelled us to apply a portion of our induſtry and capital to internal manufactures and improvements. The extent of this converſion is daily increaſing, and little doubt remains that the eſtabliſhments formed and forming,

forming, will, under the auſpices of cheaper materials and ſubſiſtence, the freedom of labour from taxation with us, and of protecting duties and prohibitions, become permanent. The commerce with the Indians too, within our own boundaries, is likely to receive abundant aliment from the ſame internal ſource, and will ſecure to them peace and the progreſs of civilization, undiſturbed by practices hoſtile to both.

The accounts of the receipts and expenditures during the year ending on the 30th day of September laſt, being not yet made up, a correct ſtatement will hereafter be tranſmitted from the treaſury. In the mean time, it is aſcertained, that the receipts have amounted to near eighteen millions of dollars, which, with the eight millions and a half in the treaſury at the beginning of the year, have enabled us, after meeting the current demands and intereſts incurred, to pay two millions three hundred thouſand dollars of the principal of our funded debt, and left us in the treaſury on that day nearly fourteen millions of dollars; of theſe five millions three hundred and fifty thouſand dollars will be neceſſary to pay what will be due on the firſt day of January next, which will complete the reimburſement of the eight per cent. ſtock. Theſe payments, with thoſe made in the ſix years and a half preceding, will have extinguiſhed thirty-three millions five hundred and eighty thouſand dollars of the principal of the funded debt, being the whole which could be paid or purchaſed within the limits of the law, and of our contracts; and the amount of principal thus diſcharged will have liberated the revenue from about two millions of dollars of intereſt, and added that ſum annually to the diſpoſable ſurplus. The probable accumulation of the ſurpluſſes of revenue, beyond what can be applied to the payment of the public debt, whenever the freedom and ſafety of our commerce ſhall be reſtored, merits the conſideration of congreſs. Shall it be unproductive in the public vaults? Shall the revenue be reduced? or ſhall it not rather be appropriated to the improvement of roads, canals, rivers, education, and other great foundations of proſperity and union, under the powers which congreſs may already poſſeſs, or ſuch amendment of the conſtitution as may be approved by the ſtates: while uncertain of the courſe of things, the time may be advantageouſly employed in obtaining the powers neceſſary for a ſyſtem of improvement, ſhould that be thought beſt.

Availing myſelf of this, the laſt occaſion which will occur, of addreſſing the two houſes of legiſlature at their meeting, I cannot omit the expreſſion of my ſincere gratitude, for the repeated proofs of confidence manifeſted to me by themſelves and their predeceſſors, ſince my call to the adminiſtration, and the many indulgencies experienced at their hands; the ſame grateful acknowledgments are due to my fellow-citizens generally, whoſe ſupport has been my great encouragement under all embarraſſments. In the tranſaction of their buſineſs, I cannot have eſcaped error—it is incident to our imperfect nature; but I may ſay, with truth, my errors have been of the underſtanding, not of intention;

tion; and that the advancement of their rights and intereſts has been the conſtant motive for every meaſure. On theſe conſiderations, I ſolicit their indulgence. Looking forward with anxiety to their future deſtinies, I truſt, that in their ſteady character, unſhaken by difficulties in their love of liberty, obedience to law, and ſupport of the public authorities, I ſee a ſure guarantee of the permanence of our republic; and, retiring from the charge of their affairs, I carry with me the conſolation of a firm perſuaſion, that Heaven has in ſtore for our beloved country long ages to come of proſperity and happineſs.

Nov. 8. T. JEFFERSON.

CHARACTERS.

Character of the late Chriſtopher Anſtey, Eſq. From the complete Edition of his Poetical Works, publiſhed by his Son.

IT has been uſual with thoſe who have undertaken to write the lives of men, eminent for their learning and virtue, to be particular in noticing the various perſons of rank and conſequence, with whom they have aſſociated. It will be ſufficient to ſay, that my father's acquaintance was the moſt general and extenſive; his ſociety the moſt ſelect, and among thoſe only, who were exemplary for the purity and correctneſs of their moral conduct, and converſation.

He lived upon terms of good neighbourhood, and friendly intercourſe with all the moſt reſpectable inhabitants of the place where he reſided. Inſtances of extraordinary merit he frequently diſcovered in humble ſtation, and befriended it; and contrary to the vulgar opinion, he as frequently found the brighteſt examples of real worth and probity, where indeed it is moſt natural to expect that they ſhould be found, among men of rank and education, of high birth, and diſtinguiſhed talents. There was ſcarcely a perſon of this deſcription, or of any real conſequence reſorting to Bath, who did not ſeek his acquaintance, and delight in his converſation, and by whom he was not viſited in his retirement, and reſpected. His fund of anecdote was inexhauſtible, always appoſite, and introduced not merely to amuſe by the playfulneſs of the mind, and vivacity by which it was narrated, but in the aim and application of it to the ſubject, uniformly tending to promote the moral intereſts of its hearers, by expoſing the vanities, and the ridiculous, rather than the ſerious effects of the follies, and abſurdities of mankind. The turn of his wit in converſation was tempered with diſcretion, pointed, but unoffending, and accompanied with a quick motion, and a piercing ſprightlineſs of the eye, which was ſpeakingly animated and intelligent. His perceptions were juſt, his humour forcible and characteriſtic. His imagination was ever preſenting to his mind ſome new and involuntary combination of thought or expreſſion, either ſeen through a ridiculous medium, or conceived in a poetical

etical dreſs, and by a ſudden and peculiar operation of the mind (not eaſily deſcribed) reſolving itſelf, as it were, incontinently into verſe: of this, numerous inſtances might be given. In his converſation, as well as in his writings, he had more perhaps than moſt of his contemporaries, what Voltaire called the *imagination créatrice*, or the power of originating by the natural force of his genius, new and unexpected images, with the admirable talent of combining, varying, and multiplying them at pleaſure.

His ſeverity in judging, and his modeſty in ſpeaking of, his own productions, was equalled only by the candour, with which he read, and the diſintereſted zeal and liberality with which he encouraged, and not unfrequently aſſiſted, the labours of others. His ordinary converſation in his family, and among his children, was always intereſting, generally inſtructive; ſprightly and forcible in the application of his remarks and obſervations, drawn from the living manners of the time, it had all the effect of admonition, without the harſhneſs of precept. He was gifted with the gentleſt affections; and a natural modeſty, and good-breeding, peculiarly attractive in the manner of it, and accompanied with an habitual eaſe, and dignity of deportment, which won the hearts, and the eſteem, and the admiration of mankind.

In all his trials of temper, and in the little vexations and diſappointments, which ſo readily beſet us in our common intercourſe with the world, in proportion as his ſpirits were ruffled, and diſcompoſed, the goodneſs of his heart was moſt apparent, in his endeavours to repreſs its emotions. Educated in the principles of true religion, he was exemplary in all the active and moral duties of Chriſtianity: regular in public worſhip, in private prayer and meditation, temperate and devout, without the ſmalleſt tincture of gloom or ſuperſtition: and ever, both as a ſubject and a chriſtian, a determined enemy to the revolutionary jargon of the French philoſophy, which has deſolated Europe, and at one period ſhook the very foundations of all religion, and of all government and ſocial order in the civilized world.

In the decline of life, and at that period when the mind of man, worn down by ſickneſs, and too frequently ſoured by diſappointment, becomes habitually fretful, and ſometimes contracted, his frame and conſtitution were vigorous, his mind active, and his heart expanded with benevolence, in acts of charity to the diſtreſſed, in kindneſs and liberality to his children. His anxiety for their happineſs was the ruling paſſion of his mind; it occupied all his thoughts, it unfolded itſelf in all his actions; he ſeemed to live only for the purpoſe of conſulting the welfare, and promoting the moral and permanent intereſts of his family. Of nine children that ſurvived to him in his latter days, he had the rare and ſingular felicity of ſeeing five ſons and two daughters happily married and ſettled in life, to the entire ſatisfaction and comfort of his declining years; a gratification and a bleſſing, which he owed, in a great meaſure, to the exceſs of his parental fondneſs and affection; to his prudence in huſbanding, and his liberality in beſtowing, and

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ſparing from the bulk of his fortune, during his life-time, the means he had wiſely provided, and ſo ſucceſsfully employed, to promote the happineſs of their lives. His reſources were in the improvement, and judicious application of his income; and an early exemption from the ſlavery and oppreſſion of thoſe taxes, which mankind voluntarily impoſe upon themſelves by their follies and their vices. In his ſelf-denial, in his freedom from vanity, and a philoſophical contempt of every thing that wore the reſemblance of ſplendour and oſtentation, of pride or extravagance, he found the means of indulging the wiſhes, and of adminiſtering to the neceſſities of others.

Character of Mr. Bruce. From his life, by Mr. Murray.

"Mr. Bruce's ſtature was ſix feet four inches; his perſon was large and well-proportioned; and his ſtrength correſpondent to his ſize and ſtature. In his youth he poſſeſſed activity; but, in the latter part of his life, he became corpulent; though, when he choſe to exert himſelf, the effects of time were not perceptible. The colour of his hair was a kind of dark red; his complexion was ſanguine; and the features of his face elegantly formed. The general tone of his voice was loud and ſtrong, but his articulation was ſometimes careleſs and indiſtinct. His walk was ſtately; his air noble and commanding. He was attentive to his dreſs, and was particularly ſucceſsful in wearing that of the nations through which he paſſed, in an eaſy and graceful manner, to which he was indebted in part for his good reception, eſpecially in Abyſſinia.

"The leading qualities of his mind were courage, magnanimity, and prudence. He was endowed with a large portion of that elevated ſpirit, without which no enterpriſe of importance is conceived or executed. He was ambitious to be known as the performer of honourable and uſeful undertakings, and was equally intrepid and dextrous in effecting his deſigns. Though he juſtly aſcribed his ſucceſs to cauſes which no man can controul or direct, he owed much of it to his own precaution and ſuperior good ſenſe. His mode of travelling was peculiar to himſelf. He omitted no opportunity of ſecuring the means of ſafety in foreign countries, by methods which other travellers have ſometimes neglected, to their great diſadvantage. To uſe his own expreſſion, he was not to be duped by ordinary letters of recommendation; he knew the ſtyle of the Eaſt, and always attempted to gain the protection of great men, by ſome hold on their intereſt.

"His perſonal accompliſhments fitted him, in a ſuperior manner, for the undertakings in which he engaged. His conſtitution was robuſt; he had inured himſelf to every kind of fatigue and exerciſe. His long reſidence among the Barbary Arabs, the beſt horſemen in the world, had enabled him to excel in the management of the horſe, and in the exerciſe of the lance and javelin. His ſkill in the uſe of fire-arms was uncommonly great. He knew alſo how to diſplay thoſe accompliſhments to the beſt advantage

vantage among barbarians, and ſeldom failed to excite their applauſe and aſtoniſhment.

"In qualifications of a different deſcription, he equalled, if not ſurpaſſed the generality of travellers. His memory was excellent, and his underſtanding vigorous and well cultivated. He found no difficulty in acquiring languages of any kind. He underſtood French, Italian, Spaniſh, and Portugueſe, the two firſt of which he ſpoke and wrote with facility. Beſides Greek and Latin, which he read well, though not critically, he knew the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac; and in the latter part of his life, compared ſeveral portions of the Scriptures in thoſe related dialects. He read and ſpoke with eaſe, Arabic, Ethiopic, and Amharic. Neceſſity had made him acquainted with theſe laſt, and impreſſed them deeply on his mind. He had applied, during the greateſt part of his life, to the ſtudy of aſtronomy, and other practical branches of mathematical learning. His abilities in drawing muſt have been conſiderable, as his taſte in this particular was acknowledged to be excellent. Though the attempts which were made to depreciate his character after his return, prevented him from mentioning the exact ſhare of aſſiſtance which he had in executing his beautiful collection of drawings, it is certain that he received occaſional help, and uſed it to much advantage.

"Mr. Bruce's temper, as he candidly confeſſes, was irritable and paſſionate; but his heart was warm; his affections ardent; and his moral feelings extremely acute. His friendſhips were ſincere, and, in general, permanent, though ſometimes interrupted by ſuſpicion. He enjoyed the eſteem and regard of almoſt every eminent literary character in Britain and France; of the Comte de Buffon, M. Guys, M. Daubenton; of the Barrington family, of Drs. Douglas, Blair, and Herſchel: and of many others of the very firſt ranks of virtue and ſcience. He was an eaſy, cheerful, and inſtructive companion. As he had a fixed regard for honour, juſtice, and integrity, he could not bear the ſlighteſt inſinuation againſt his character; and, to relieve himſelf from the vexations of anonymous abuſe, he publicly declared his reſolution of never paying the ſmalleſt attention to any criticiſms made on his writings by perſons who concealed their names.

"When he obſerved other men deficient in moral conduct, he uſually expreſſed his contempt of them in the moſt open unqualified manner. This procured him many enemies. Perſons of a doubtful character avoided him, and declaimed againſt his haughtineſs, vanity, and other vices of their own creation. Like moſt men of high ſpirit and ſuperior knowledge, he was a jealous neighbour to ſuch as aſſumed to themſelves claims of pre-eminence in the country, to which he did not conſider them as entitled; to others, who purſued a different conduct, he was friendly, affable, and attentive.

"He diſcharged the public duties of ſociety with ſuperior ability and judgment. In private life he was, if poſſible, ſtill more reſpectable. As a huſband and a father, he deſerved the higheſt praiſe. He entertained his friends, and ſtrangers,

gers, with elegance, hoſpitality, and the moſt affable politeneſs. He loved to diſplay, as far as ſuitable, the magnificence that had long diſtinguiſhed the name which he inherited. He was kind and indulgent to his ſervants, and pleaſed to ſee every one around him proſperous and happy. He uſed to celebrate, with his tenants and domeſtics, the ſtated feſtivals obſerved by his forefathers, in the feudal times, and always enjoyed, in the higheſt degree, the common happineſs on theſe occaſions. He was fond of ruſtic pleaſantry and humour; and this, it will be readily obſerved, from the hiſtories of Aboucouffi, Strates, Woldo, and others in *the Travels*, conſtituted a particular feature of his mind.

"There was nothing peculiar in Mr. Bruce's habits of life. He neither roſe very early, nor ſat late, except on particular occaſions. His journeys in the Eaſt were generally made in the morning, for obvious reaſons; and, in warm climates, he took much exerciſe, and paid great attention to his health. He was moderate in his uſe of liquors of all kinds, but not abſtemious beyond the uſual practice of ſociety. He was a hard ſtudent when engaged in any literary purſuit, and eager in the proſecution of every deſign which he had begun to execute.

"The moſt defective part of his character aroſe from his conſtitutional temper, which diſpoſed him to be ſuſpicious, and haſty in taking offence. His enmities therefore were ſometime capricious, though, in general, well founded. His love of anceſtry, and practice of telling his own exploits, though magnified into vices by the weakeſt of his enemies, ſcarcely deſerve notice as imperfections, though they certainly were prominent features in his character. A brave and virtuous man muſt always feel a pleaſure in remembering that he is like ſuch of his forefathers as moſt deſerved to be imitated and remembered; and no ſatisfactory reaſon can be aſſigned why a traveller ſhould not relate his adventures. The pride of anceſtry is ridiculous only when it is ſubſtituted for perſonal merit; and the practice of telling one's own actions, is reprehenſible only when theſe are well known, trifling, or exaggerated.

"Diſtinguiſhed by his regard for the memory of anceſtors who had been eminently loyal and patriotic, it is not ſurpriſing that Mr. Bruce loved his king and country with the warmeſt affection. He would have been the firſt to ſupport either of theſe on any dangerous emergency. He conſidered the French revolution, and all ſuch violent attempts at reformation, merely as a ſubverſion of ſociety, for the purpoſe of filling the places of the great with new adventurers. He knew the French nation well, predicted the conſequences of its republican frenzy, and ſhed tears on receiving an account of the fate of the king.

"His religious principles were founded on the beſt baſis, the Scriptures, and a firm belief of an over-ruling Providence. He was not attached to any ſect; he deteſted fanaticiſm; and frequently took occaſion to expoſe it. He uſed to recommend a diligent peruſal of the Scriptures, as preferable to that of all other theological writings. His mind, accuſtomed

to

to dangerous ſituations, from which Providence alone could deliver him, had contracted a ſlight and amiable tinge of ſuperſtition; ſometimes an attendant on warm unaffected piety, though never ariſing, in underſtandings like his, from its ordinary cauſes.

"On eſtimating, therefore, the various merits of Mr. Bruce's character, the ſuperior and numerous endowments and accompliſhments which he employed in executing undertakings uſeful to ſociety, and the uniform regularity with which he combined the practice of morality and religion with the eaſe and active life of a gentleman, it will not be conſidered as preſumptous to affirm, that his name is juſtly entitled to a place in the liſt of thoſe, who have been eminently conſpicuous for genius, valour, and virtue."

Some Account of Mr. Fox's Literary Purſuits.

(From Lord Holland's Preface to Mr. Fox's Hiſtory of the early part of the reign of James the Second.)

THE preciſe period at which Mr. Fox firſt formed the deſign of writing a hiſtory, cannot be aſcertained. In the year 1797, he announced publicly his intention of devoting "a greater* portion of his time to his private purſuits:" he was even on the point of relinquiſhing his ſeat in parliament, and retiring altogether from public life, a plan which he had formed many years before, and to the execution of which he always looked forward with the greateſt delight. The remonſtrances, however, of thoſe friends, for whoſe judgment he had the greateſt deference, ultimately prevailed. He conſequently confined his ſcheme of retreat to a more uninterrupted reſidence in the country, than he had hitherto permitted himſelf to enjoy. During his retirement, that love of literature, and fondneſs of poetry, which neither pleaſure nor buſineſs had ever extinguiſhed, revived with an ardour, ſuch as few in the eagerneſs of youth, or in purſuit of fame or advantage, are capable of feeling. For ſome time, however, his ſtudies were not directed to any particular object. Such was the happy diſpoſition of his mind, that his own reflections, whether ſupplied by converſation, deſultory reading, or the common occurrences of a life in the country, were always ſufficient to call forth the vigour and exertion of his faculties. Intercourſe with the world had ſo little deadened in him the ſenſe of the ſimpleſt enjoyments, that even in the hours of apparent leiſure and inactivity, he retained that keen reliſh of exiſtence, which, after the firſt impreſſions of life, is ſo rarely excited but by great intereſts and ſtrong paſſions. Hence it was, that in the interval between his active attendance in parliament, and the undertaking of his hiſtory, he never felt the tedium of a vacant day. A verſe in Cowper, which he frequently repeated,

How various his employments whom the world
Calls idle!

* Vide Parliamentary Debates, May 26, 1797.

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was an accurate deſcription of the life he was then leading; and I am perſuaded, that if he had conſulted his own gratification only, it would have continued to be ſo. The circumſtances which led him once more to take an active part in public diſcuſſions, are foreign to the purpoſe of this preface. It is ſufficient to remark, that they could not be foreſeen, and that his notion of engaging in ſome literary undertaking was adopted during his retirement, and with the proſpect of long uninterrupted leiſure before him. When he had determined upon employing ſome part of it in writing, he was no doubt actuated by a variety of conſiderations, in the choice of the taſk he ſhould undertake. His philoſophy had never rendered him inſenſible to the gratification which the hope of poſthumous fame ſo often produces in great minds; and, though criticiſm might be more congenial to the habits and amuſements of his retreat, an hiſtorical work ſeemed more of a piece with the tenour of his former life, and might prove of greater benefit to the public and to poſterity. Theſe motives, together with his intimate knowledge of the Engliſh conſtitution, naturally led him to prefer the hiſtory of his own country, and to ſelect a period favourable to the illuſtration of the great general principles of freedom, on which it is founded; for his attachment to thoſe principles, the reſult of practical obſervation, as well as philoſophical reflection, far from having abated, had acquired new force and freſh vigour in his retirement.

"With theſe views it was almoſt impoſſible that he ſhould not fix on the revolution of 1688. The event was cheering and animating. It was the moſt ſignal triumph of that cauſe to which his public life had been devoted; and in a review of its progreſs, he could not fail to recognize thoſe principles which had regulated his own political conduct. But the choice of that period was recommended by yet higher conſiderations; the deſire of reſcuing from miſrepreſentation the moſt glorious tranſaction of our hiſtory; the opportunity of inſtructing his countrymen in the real nature of their conſtitution; and the hope of impreſſing on mankind thoſe leſſons applicable to all times, which are to be drawn from that memorable occurrence.

"The manner in which the moſt popular hiſtorians, and other writers of eminence, had treated the ſubject, was likely to ſtimulate him more ſtrongly to ſuch an undertaking. It could not eſcape the obſervation of Mr. Fox, that ſome, from the bias of their individual opinions, had given a falſe colour to the whole tranſaction; that others had wilfully diſtorted the facts to ſerve ſome temporary purpoſe; and that Bolingbroke, in particular, had confounded the diſtinct and even oppoſite views of the two leading parties, who, though they concurred in the meaſure, retained even in their union, all their reſpective tenets and fundamental diſtinctions.

"According to his firſt crude conceptions of the work, it would, as far as I recollect, have begun at the Revolution; but he altered his mind, after a careful peruſal of the latter part of Hume's hiſtory. An apprehenſion of the falſe impreſſions, which that great hiſtorian's

partiality might have left on the minds of his readers, induced him to go back to the acceſſion of King James the Second, and even to prefix an introductory chapter, on the character and leading events, of the times immediately preceding.

From the moment his labour commenced, he generally ſpoke of his plan as extending no farther than the ſettlement at the Revolution. His friends, however, were not without hopes, that the habit of compoſition might engage him more deeply in literary undertakings, or that the different views which the courſe of his enquiries would open, might ultimately allure him on further in the hiſtory of his country. Some caſual expreſſions, both in converſation and correſpondence, ſeemed to imply that the poſſibility of ſuch a reſult was not entirely out of his own contemplation. He acknowledged that ſome papers which I had the good fortune to procure in Spain, "though they did not relate to his period exactly, might be very uſeful to him, and at all events entertaining; nay, poſſibly, that they might make him go on further than he intended *." As his work advanced, his alluſions to various literary projects, ſuch as an edition of Dryden, a Defence of Racine and the French Stage, Eſſay on the Beauties of Euripides, &c. &c. became more frequent, and were more confidently expreſſed. In a letter written to me in 1803, after obſerving, that a modern writer did not ſufficiently admire Racine, he adds, "It puts me quite in a paſſion. *Je veux contre eux faire un jour un gros livre*, as Voltaire ſays. Even Dryden, who ſpeaks with proper reſpect of Corneille, *vilipends* † Racine. If ever I publiſh my edition of his works, I will give it him for it, you may depend. Oh how I wiſh that I could make up my mind to think it right, to devote all the remaining part of my life to ſuch ſubjects, and ſuch only! Indeed I rather think I ſhall; and yet, if there were a chance of re-eſtabliſhing a ſtrong whig party (however compoſed)

"Non adeo has exoſa manus victoria fugit
Ut tantâ quicquam pro ſpe tentare recuſem."

Even while his undertaking was yet freſh, in the courſe of an enquiry into ſome matters relating to the trial of Somerſet in King James the Firſt's reign, he ſays to his correſpondent, "but what is all this, you will ſay, to my hiſtory? Certainly nothing; but one hiſtorical enquiry leads to another; and I recollect that the impreſſion upon my mind was, that there was more reaſon than is generally allowed, for ſuſpecting that prince Henry was poiſoned by Somerſet, and that the king knew of it after the fact. This is not, to be ſure, to my preſent purpoſe; but I have thought of prefixing to my work, if it ever ſhould be finiſhed, a diſquiſition upon Hume's Hiſtory of the Stewarts, and in no part of it would his partiality appear ſtronger than in James the Firſt ‡."

* MS Correſpondence.
† Mr. Fox often uſed this word in ridicule of pedantic expreſſions.
‡ MS Correſpondence to Lord Lauderdale.

About

About the ſame time he talked of writing, either in the form of a dedication or a dialogue, a treatiſe on the three arts of Poetry, Hiſtory, and Oratory; which, to my ſurpriſe, he claſſed in the order I have related. The plan of ſuch a work ſeemed, in a great meaſure, to be digeſted in his head, and from the ſketch he drew of his deſign to me, it would, if completed, have been an invaluable monument of the great originality of thought, and ſingular philoſophical acuteneſs, with which he was accuſtomed to treat of ſubjects in his moſt careleſs converſations. But though a variety of literary projects might occaſionally come acroſs him, he was very cautious of promiſing too much; for he was aware, that whatever he undertook, his progreſs in it would neceſſarily be extremely ſlow. He could not but foreſee, that as new events aroſe, his friends would urge him to return to politics; and though his own inclinations might enable him to reſiſt their entreaties, the very diſcuſſion on the propriety of yielding, would produce an attention to the ſtate of public affairs, and divert him in ſome degree from the purſuit in which he was engaged. But it was yet more difficult to fortify himſelf againſt the ſeductions of his own inclination, which was continually drawing him off from his hiſtorical reſearches, to critical enquiries, to the ſtudy of the claſſics, and to works of imagination and poetry. Abundant proof exiſts of the effect of theſe interruptions, both on his labours and on his mind. His letters are filled with complaints, of ſuch as aroſe from politics, while he ſpeaks with delight and complacency of whole days devoted to Euripides and Virgil.

The ſcale which his various purſuits occupied in his eſtimation, is very naturally deſcribed in ſeveral of his letters. And as it is not entirely foreign to the purpoſe of this preface, my readers may not be diſpleaſed with the inſertion of one, as a ſpecimen of his familiar correſpondence.

"Dear Grey,

"In defence of my opinion about the nightingales, I find Chaucer, who of all poets ſeems to have been fondeſt of the ſinging birds, calls it a *merry* note; and though Theocritus mentions nightingales ſix or ſeven times, he never mentions their note as plaintive or melancholy. It is true, he does not call it any where merry, as Chaucer does; but by mentioning it with the ſong of the blackbird, and as anſwering it, he ſeems to imply, that it was a cheerful note. Sophocles is againſt us; but even *he* ſays, lamenting *Itys*, and the compariſon of her to Electra, is rather as to perſeverance day and night, than as to ſorrow. At all events, a tragic poet is not half ſo good authority in this queſtion as Theocritus and Chaucer. I cannot light upon the paſſage in the Odyſſey, where Penelope's reſtleſſneſs is compared to the nightingale; but I am ſure that it is only as to reſtleſſneſs and watchfulneſs that he makes the compariſon. If you will read the laſt twelve books of the Odyſſey, you will certainly find it, and I am ſure you will be paid for your hunt, whether you find it or not. The paſſage in Chaucer is in the Flower and Leaf, p. 99. The one I par-

ticularly allude to in Theocritus, is in his epigrams, I think in the fourth. Dryden has transferred the word *merry* to the goldfinch, in the Flower and the Leaf; in deference, may be, to the vulgar error; but pray read his deſcription of the nightingale there: it is quite delightful. I am afraid I like theſe reſearches as much better than thoſe that relate to Shafteſbury, Sunderland, &c. as I do thoſe better than attending the Houſe of Commons.

"Your's, affectionately,

"C. J. Fox."

The fact is, he ſtruggled ſo little againſt ſuch inclinations, that when preſſed to ſacrifice his Greek ſtudies for a time, he anſwers, "I have no thoughts of throwing away my Greek books, and would give up the whole plan if I thought it incompatible with my giving a little time to them *."

But it was not merely the interference of other occupations, whether of buſineſs or amuſement, that impeded the progreſs of his work.

He knew by experience, that he was as ſlow in compoſition as he was rapid in public ſpeaking. He had employed many days in writing his letter to the electors of Weſtminſter, in 1793; and even the publication of his ſpeech † on the late Duke of Bedford, (the only inſtance in which he ever reviſed what he had delivered in public) occupied a greater portion of his time than could be eaſily imagined by thoſe who were unacquainted with his ſcrupulous attention to all the niceties of language. In addition to theſe circumſtances he ſoon perceived that his ſcrupulous exactneſs, with reſpect to all the circumſtances of any fact which he was obliged either to relate or advert to, would retard him by the multiplicity and minuteneſs of the reſearches it would occaſion—"Hiſtory goes on, (he remarked) but it goes on very ſlowly. The fact is, I am a very ſlow writer, but I promiſe I will perſevere. I believe I am too ſcrupulous both about language and facts; though with reſpect to the latter, it is hardly poſſible. It is aſtoniſhing how many facts one finds related, for which there is no authority whatever. Tradition, you will ſay, does in ſome caſes, but it will not apply to others ‡."

Even while he was employed on the Introduction, in which, "as it was rather a diſcuſſion alluding to known facts, than a minute enquiry into diſputed points ‖," he acknowledged that it was not

* MS. Correſpondence.

† Having mentioned theſe works, I take this opportunity of adding, that with the exception of the 14th, 16th, and perhaps a few other numbers of a periodical publication in 1779, called the Engliſhman, and an epitaph on the late Biſhop of Downe, they are the only pieces of proſe he ever printed; unleſs, indeed, one were to reckon his advertiſements to electors, and the parliamentary papers which he may have drawn up. There are ſeveral ſpecimens of his compoſition in verſe, in different languages; but the lines on Mrs. Crewe, and thoſe to Mrs. Fox, on her birth-day, are, as far as I recollect, all that have been printed. An Ode to Poverty, and an Epigram upon Gibbon, though very generally attributed to him, are certainly not his compoſitions.

‡ MS. Correſpondence.

‖ MS. Correſpondence.

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ſo important to be exact to a nicety; he nevertheleſs found ſome difficulty in tracing the information of hiſtorians to their original ſources. Upon this, as upon all other occaſions, where he ſtood in need of active aſſiſtance, he had recourſe to the advice and friendſhip of Lord Lauderdale; and the following letter was the firſt ſtep he took in thoſe reſearches, which, after a long ſeries of enquiries, enabled him both to aſcertain the nature, and the fate of the Scotch college manuſcripts, and to procure a valuable collection of papers from the Depôt of Foreign Affairs at Paris.

*To the Earl of Lauderdale.**

"Dear Lauderdale,

"'I am ſeriouſly thinking of becoming an hiſtorian, and have indeed begun; but my progreſs is ſo little, that it is not worth mentioning, except upon the principle of *dimidium qui cepit*. As to what people may expect, I know not. If much, they will be diſappointed; but I certainly do not intend to decline the labour of any ſearch, which I am able to make, and much leſs to refuſe any aſſiſtance I can have in ſuch reſearch. I hope, therefore, you will not be ſatisfied with merely recommending to me to make uſe of aſſiſtance, but give me ſome hint of what nature, and from whom I may get it. To enable you to do this better, it is neceſſary to inform you, that the death of Charles the Second is the period from which I commence my hiſtory; though in my introduction, I take a pretty full view of his reign, and, conſequently, ſhould be glad enough to get new lights with regard to it. Even this introductory chapter, however, is not yet finiſhed. Next, it is fit you ſhould know, that ſo far from having as yet examined, or even looked into any manuſcript papers, or other documents not generally known, I do not even know where any ſuch exiſt, and, therefore, any information on that head will be very welcome. I find one of my greateſt difficulties to be, how to diſcover the authorities upon which hiſtorians advance their facts, for they very often do not refer to them. Hitherto, where I am only taking a curſory review, this is of no great importance. But in regard to the Popiſh and Rye-houſe plots particularly, I find both Rapin and Hume advancing ſo many facts, for which I cannot gueſs their authorities, that if I were to give a regular hiſtory of theſe tranſactions, I ſhould be much puzzled. Now, when I am under difficulties of this ſort, can you either direct me to whom I can apply for a ſolution of them? or, if I ſend queries to you, can you give me anſwers to them?"'

"With both the above requeſts Lord Lauderdale complied; and by his own diligence, and the aſſiſtance of Mr. Laing, was enabled to tranſmit to Mr. Fox much uſeful information. In a very ſhort time afterwards that gentleman publiſhed his Hiſtory of Scotland, a work which Mr. Fox em-

* This letter was written in the beginning of the year 1800.

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phatically termed "a treasure," and which so animated his labours, by opening new sources of information, and new views of transactions, that at no period was he so ardent in the prosecution of his plan, as when fresh from the perusal of that valuable performance. The advantages he derived from it he frequently declared to be incalculable; and it certainly was not among the least, that it afforded him an opportunity of cultivating the friendship of the author, and consulting him on many points connected with his own undertaking. As the early part of his correspondence is of a general nature, I subjoin his first letter, and an extract from the second.

To Malcolm Laing, Esq.

"Sir,

"I ought long since to have acknowledged the receipt of your History of Scotland, and to have returned you my thanks for your early communication to me of that excellent work. It has given me the greatest satisfaction; and there are several points relating to *English* history in it, which you appear to me to have cleared up much more than any other of those historians who have professedly treated of them.

"What you say in answer to Hume, upon the subject of Glamorgan's powers, is quite conclusive; but I rather regret that you have not taken notice of that part of his argument which is built upon what he calls Glamorgan's defeazance, and which is the most plausible part of it.

"In Charles the Second's reign I observe, that you do not mention the atrocious case of Wier, which Hume details; but that which you say of Laurie of Blackwood is very like what he relates of Wier. Would it be too much trouble to ask of you to let me know whether Hume's statement of Wier is a correct one?

"I had detected the trick of Hume's theatrical and false representation of Charles the First hearing the noise of his scaffold, but did not know that he had had Herbert's authentic account so lately under his eye. In general, I think you treat him (Hume) too tenderly. He was an excellent man, and of great powers of mind, but his partiality to kings and princes is intolerable. Nay, it is, in my opinion, quite ridiculous, and is more like the foolish admiration which women and children sometimes have for kings, than the opinion, right or wrong, of a philosopher.

"I wanted no conviction on the point of Ossian; but if I had, you afforded abundance.

"Whether your book, coming out at a period when the principles upon which it appears to be written, are becoming so unfashionable, will be a popular one or not, I know not; but to all who wish to have a true knowledge of the history of your country, it is a most valuable acquisition, and will serve to counteract the mischief which Hume, Dalrymple, Macpherson, Somerville, and others of your countrymen have done. You will easily believe that I do not class Hume with the others, except as to the bad tendency of their representations.

"I

"I shall desire my friend Lord Lauderdale to transmit this to you.

"I am with great regard,

"Your most obedient servant,

St. Anne's Hill, "C. J. Fox."

Sept. 24, 1800.

Extract of a second Letter to Mr. Laing.

"Many thanks to you, my dear Sir, for yours of the 10th. I have found the place in Ralph, and a great deal more important matter relative to the transactions of those times, which is but slightly touched by other historians. I am every day more and more surprised, that Ralph should have had so much less reputation as an historian than he seems to deserve.

"I will trouble you freely when I shall have further questions to ask; but I should take it very ill if you were so to confine your answer to mere matter of reference, as not to give me your opinion, when you form any, upon the points in question."

"A correspondence ensued, from which it appears that he took indefatigable pains to investigate the authority for every assertion in the writers he consulted, and to correct the slightest variation in their accounts, though apparently of little importance. Before he drew any inference whatever, the weight of evidence was so carefully balanced in his mind, that the authority for each particular circumstance was separately examined, and distinctly ascertained. Indeed, the necessity and even use of such extreme circumspection, such scrupulous sifting of his most minute materials, might at first sight appear questionable. But many parts of the work are sufficient to prove that such labours were far from being fruitless. An instance is easily selected. His enquiries concerning the seizure and execution of the Earl of Argyle, are contained in the correspondence with Mr. Laing, and they are of the nature I have described; but on reading his narrative of those events, the advantages he derived from the circumstantial minuteness of his materials, will not be found less striking, than his diligence in procuring and analyzing them.

"One of the earliest and greatest difficulties that he encountered in the course of his labours, arose from the manner in which Mr. Macpherson and Sir J. Dalrymple had explained and conducted their respective publications, and which he always considered as unsatisfactory. His complaints of both these authors were frequent; and the more he examined and studied their books, the more he perceived the necessity of making some further researches. He was anxious, if possible, to consult the original documents from which their extracts were made; and he was at first apprehensive, that nothing short of an examination of all the manuscripts of the Scotch college at Paris, could enable him to determine the degree of credit due to the extracts of Macpherson. But he must very soon have despaired of obtaining that satisfaction, for he had strong reasons to suspect, even before his journey to Paris in 1802, that the most valuable part, if not the whole of them, had been destroyed. Three important

portant points, however, might yet be ascertained:—1st, Of what the manuscripts, so long preserved in the Scotch College of Paris, actually consisted;—2ndly, To what part of them either Carte or Macpherson had access; 3dly, Whether any portion, copies, or fragments, of the papers were still in existence. The result of his enquiries will be best given in his own words, though upon the first point he had ascertained * something more than appears from the following extract of his letter to Mr. Laing.

"'With respect to Carte's extract, I have no doubt but it is faithfully copied; but on this extract it is necessary to make an observation, which applies to all the rest, both of Carte's and Macpherson's, and which leads to the detection of an imposture of the latter, as impudent as Ossian itself. The extracts are evidently made, not from a journal, but from a narrative; and *I have now ascertained beyond all doubt*, that there were in the Scotch College *two distinct* manuscripts, one in James's own hand, consisting of papers of different sizes bound up together, and the other a sort of historical narrative, compiled from the former. The narrative was *said* to have been revised and corrected, as to style, by Dryden † the poet (meaning probably Charles Dryden, the great poet's son), and it was not known in the college whether it was drawn up in James's life, or by the direction of his son, the Pretender. I doubt whether Carte ever saw the original journal; but I learn, from undoubted authority, that Macpherson never did; and yet to read his Preface, page 6 and 7 (which pray advert to), one would have supposed, not only that he had inspected it accurately, but that all *his* extracts at least, if not Carte's also were taken from it. Macpherson's impudence in attempting such an imposition at a time when almost any man could have detected him, would have been in another man incredible, if the internal evidence of the extracts themselves against him were not corroborated by the testimony of the principal persons of the college. And this leads me to a point of more importance to me. Principal Gordon thought, when I saw him at Paris, in October, 1802, that all the papers were lost. I now hear from a well-informed person, that the most material, viz. those written in James's own hand-writing, were indeed lost, and in the way mentioned by Gordon, but that the narrative, from which only Macpherson made his extracts, is still

* "Among Mr. Fox's papers was found a list of "the works which were placed in the Scotch college at Paris, soon after the death of James the Second, and were there at the time of the French Revolution." It is as follows:

"Four volumes folio, six volumes quarto—[Memoirs in James the Second's own hand-writing, beginning from the time that he was sixteen years of age.]

"Two thin quarto volumes—[Containing letters from Charles the Second's ministers to James the Second (then Duke of York), when he was at Brussels and in Scotland, MS.].

"Two thin quarto volumes—[Containing letters from Charles the Second to his brother, James Duke of York, MS.]

† It is the opinion of the present possessor of the narrative, that it was compiled from the original documents by Thomas Innes, one of the superiors of the College, and author of a work entitled, *A Critical Essay on the ancient Inhabitants of Scotland.*

ſtill exiſting, and that Mr. Alexander Cameron, Blackfriars Wynd, Edinburgh, either has it himſelf, or knows where it is to be found.' "

" The above information was correct. There is ſtrong preſumptive evidence, that the manuſcripts of King James the Second were deſtroyed, but the narrative as deſcribed, was then, and is now, in the hands of Dr. Cameron, Roman Catholic biſhop in Edinburgh. It could not be in poſſeſſion of a perſon who is better qualified to judge of its merits, and on whoſe fidelity, ſhould he be induced to print it, the public might more implicitly rely. I am indebted to his accuracy and friendſhip, for ſome additional information reſpecting the manner in which the manuſcripts of the Scotch college were loſt. As the facts are in themſelves curious, I lay before the reader his ſuccinct and intereſting relation of them, contained in a letter to me, dated Edinburgh, March 2, 1808.

" ' Before Lord Gower, the Britiſh ambaſſador left Paris, in the beginning of the French revolution, he wrote to Principal Gordon, and offered to take charge of thoſe valuable papers (King James's manuſcripts, &c.), and depoſit them in ſome place of ſafety in Britain. I know not what anſwer was returned, but nothing was done. Not long thereafter, the Principal came to England, and the care of every thing in the college devolved on Mr. Alexander Innes, the only Britiſh ſubject who remained in it. About the ſame time, Mr. Stapleton, then Preſident of the Engliſh College of St. Omer, afterwards Biſhop in England, went to Paris, previouſly to his retiring from France, and Mr. Innes, who had reſolved not to abandon his poſt, conſulted with him about the means of preſerving the manuſcripts. Mr. Stapleton thought, if he had them at St. Omer, he could, with ſmall riſk, convey them to England. It was therefore reſolved, that they ſhould be carefully packed up, addreſſed to a Frenchman, a confidential friend of Mr. Stapleton, and remitted by ſome public carriage. Some other things were put up with the manuſcripts. The whole arrived without any accident, and was laid in a cellar. But the patriotiſm of the Frenchman becoming ſuſpicious, perhaps upon account of his connection with the Engliſh College, he was put in priſon; and his wife, apprehenſive of the conſequences of being found to have Engliſh manuſcripts, richly bound, and ornamented with royal arms, in her houſe, cut off the boards and deſtroyed them. The manuſcripts thus diſfigured, and more eaſily huddled up in any ſort of bundle, were ſecretly carried, with papers belonging to the Frenchman himſelf, to his country-houſe; and buried in the garden. They were not, however, permitted to remain long there; the lady's fears increaſed, and the manuſcripts were taken up and reduced to aſhes.

" ' This is the ſubſtance of the account given to Mr. Innes, and reported by him to me in June, 1802, in Paris. I deſired it might be authenticated by a *proces verbale*. A letter was therefore written to St. Omer, either by Mr. Innes, or by Mr. Cleghorn, a lay gentleman, who had reſided in the Engliſh college of St. Omer, and was perſonally acquainted with the Frenchman, and happened

happened to be at Paris at this time. The anſwer given to this letter was, that the good man, under the preſſure of old age and other infirmities, was alarmed by the propoſal of a diſcuſſion and inveſtigation, which revived in his memory paſt ſufferings, and might, perhaps, lead to a renewal of them. Any further correſpondence upon the ſubject ſeemed uſeleſs, eſpecially as I inſtructed Mr. Innes to go to St. Omer, and clear up every doubt, in a formal and legal manner, that ſome authentic document might be handed down to poſterity concerning thoſe valuable manuſcripts. I did not foreſee that war was to be kindled up anew, or my friend Mr. Innes was to die ſo ſoon.

"'Mr. Cleghorn, whom I mentioned above, is at preſent in the Catholic ſeminary of Old Hall Green, Puckeridge, Hertfordſhire. He can probably name another gentleman who ſaw the manuſcripts at St. Omer, and ſaved ſome ſmall things (but unconnected with the manuſcripts), which he carried away in his pocket, and has ſtill in his poſſeſſion.

"'I need not trouble your Lordſhip with my reflections upon this relation; but I ought not to omit that I was told, ſometimes, that all the manuſcripts, as well as their boards, were conſumed by fire in the cellar in which they had been depoſited upon their arrival at St. Omer.'"

"The gentleman alluded to in the latter part of the above letter, is Mr. Moſtyn, from whom Mr. Butler of Lincoln's Inn very kindly procured a ſtatement of the particulars relating to this ſubject, in the year 1804, and tranſmitted it to Mr. Fox. It contains in ſubſtance, though with ſome additional circumſtances and ſlight variations, the ſame account as Mr. Cameron's, up to the period of the writer's leaving St. Omer, which was previous to the impriſonment of the Frenchman*.

"Mr. Fox, in a letter to Mr. Laing, remarks, that, "'to know that a paper is loſt, is next beſt to getting a ſight of it, and in ſome inſtances nearly as good.'" So many rumours have been circulated and ſo many miſapprehenſions prevailed, reſpecting the contents and the fate of the manuſcripts formerly depoſited in the Scotch College at Paris, that it is hoped the above account, the reſult of the Hiſtorian's reſearches, will not be deemed out of its place in a preface to the hiſtory of the times to which thoſe manuſcripts related.

"The Scotch College papers were not, however, the only, nor even the chief object of Mr. Fox's hiſtorical enquiries at Paris. He had remarked, that Sir John Dalrymple frequently 'quotes, or rather refers to,' † documents in the *Depôt des Affaires Etrangères*, without printing the letter, or extracting the paſſage from which his ſtatements are taken, and his inferences drawn. This made him particularly deſirous of examining the Original Letters of Barillon; and he was not without hopes that many other papers in the *Depôt des Affaires*

* Mr. Moſtyn's letter to Mr. Butler, was publiſhed in one of the magazines, it would therefore be ſuperfluous to reprint it. The name of the Frenchman was M. Charpentier, and his country-houſe was at St. Momelin, near St. Omer.

† MS. Correſpondence.

Etrangères,

Etrangères, might prove equally intereſting and important. It was obvious, however, that during war, he could not have perſonal acceſs to ſuch documents. He was therefore on the point of applying, through ſome private friends at Paris, for a copy of ſuch letters as he could diſtinctly deſcribe to his correſpondent, when the reſtoration of peace enabled him to repair thither; and the liberality of the French government opened to him the archives of the Foreign Affairs without reſerve, and afforded him every facility and convenience for conſulting and copying ſuch papers as appeared to him to be material. He loſt no time in availing himſelf of this permiſſion, and while he remained at Paris, he paſſed a great part of every morning at the *Depôt des Affaires Etrangères*, accompanied by his friends Lord St. John, Mr. Adair, and Mr. Trotter, who aſſiſted him in examining and tranſcribing the original papers.

"The correſpondence of Barillon did not diſappoint his expectations. He thought the additional information contained in thoſe parts of it, which Sir John Dalrymple had omitted to extract or to publiſh, ſo important that he procured copies of them all; he obſerved to one of his correſpondents, 'my ſtudies at Paris have been uſeful beyond what I can deſcribe:' and his expreſſion to me was, that 'Barillon's letters were worth their weight in gold *.' It ſhould ſeem that he diſcovered ſome curious circumſtances from the correſpondence of D'Avaux, for he copied out thoſe letters alſo at length, though a large collection or abſtract of them had been formerly publiſhed.

"The correſpondence of the above-mentioned French miniſters with their Court, formed the chief materials which he brought over with him from France. He was diſappointed at my failing to procure him that of the Spaniſh ambaſſador †, reſident in London during the ſame period, 'which,' he ſaid 'would have given him advantages of the greateſt conſequence over all other hiſtorians.' The papers, however, of which he was already in poſſeſſion, were, in his judgment, ſufficient to throw new light upon many tranſactions of the reign of king James the Second. If, therefore, unforeſeen circumſtances had not occurred, ſoon after his return, to retard the progreſs of his work, there can be little doubt but he would have compoſed more during that year, than he had been able to complete ſince the commencement of the undertaking. He was at firſt occupied in inſerting into the parts he had finiſhed, ſuch additional information as he had drawn from the ſources opened to him by his reſearches at Paris. This was to him a taſk of greater labour than at firſt ſight might be expected. 'I find,' he ſays, 'piecing in the bits which I have written from

* MS. Correſpondence.

† Don Pedro Ronquillo. Mr. Fox commiſſioned me to obtain for him, copies of his Letters from 1685 to 1688 inclusive. By a perverſe piece of luck, I fell in with and purchaſed his original Letters from 1689 to 1691; but never could find any traces whatever of his previous correſpondence.

my

my Parisian materials, a troublesome job*.' It is indeed probable, that his difficulties upon this occasion, were greater than any modern historian would have had to encounter. I have mentioned them more particularly, because they in some measure arose from his scrupulous attention to certain notions he entertained on the nature of an historical composition. If, indeed, the work were finished, the nature of his design would be best collected from his execution of it; but as it is unfortunately in an incomplete and unfinished state, his conception of the duties of an historian may very possibly be misunderstood. The consequence would be, that some passages, which, according to modern taste, must be called peculiarities, might, with superficial critics, pass for defects which he had overlooked, or imperfections which he intended to correct. It is therefore necessary to observe, that he had formed his plan so exclusively on the model of ancient writers, that he not only felt some repugnance to the modern practice of notes, but he thought that all which an historian wished to say, should be introduced as part of a continued narration, and never assume the appearance of a digression, much less of a dissertation annexed to it. From the period therefore that he closed his introductory chapter, he defined his duty as an author, to consist in recounting the facts as they arose, or in his simple and forcible language, *in telling the story of those times*. A conversation which passed on the subject of the literature of the age of James the Second, proves his rigid adherence to these ideas, and perhaps the substance of it may serve to illustrate and explain them. In speaking of the writers of that period, he lamented that he had not devised a method of interweaving any account of them or their works, much less any criticism on their style, into his history. On my suggesting the example of Hume and Voltaire, who had discussed such topics at some length, either at the end of each reign, or in a separate chapter, he observed, with much commendation of their execution of it, that such a contrivance might be a good mode of writing critical essays, but that it was in his opinion, incompatible with the nature of his undertaking, which, if it ceased to be a narrative, ceased to be a history.

"Such restraints undoubtedly operated as taxes upon his ingenuity, and added to that labour which the observance of his general laws of composition rendered sufficiently great. On the rules of writing he had reflected much, and deeply. His own habits naturally led him to compare them with those of public speaking, and the different, and even opposite principles upon which excellence is to be attained in these two great arts, were no unusual topics of his conversation. The difference did not, in his judgment, consist so much in language or diction, as in the arrangement of thoughts, the length and construction of sentences, and if I may borrow a phrase familiar to public speakers, in the mode of putting an argument. A writer, to preserve his perspicuity, must

* MS. Correspondence.

keep

keep diſtinct and ſeparate thoſe parts of a diſcourſe, which the orator is enabled by modulation of voice, and with the aid of action, to bring at once into view, without confounding or perplexing his audience. Frequency of alluſion, which in ſpeaking produces the happieſt effect, in writing renders the ſenſe obſcure, and interrupts the ſimplicity of the diſcourſe. Even thoſe ſudden turns, thoſe unforeſeen flaſhes of wit which, ſtruck out at the moment, dazzle and delight a public aſſembly, appear cold and inanimate, when deliberately introduced into a written compoſition.

" A peruſal of the Letter to the Electors of Weſtminſter, will ſhow how ſcrupulouſly Mr. Fox attended to theſe diſtinctions. That work was written in the heat of a ſeſſion of parliament. It treated profeſſedly of ſubjects upon which the writer was daily in the habit of ſpeaking, with his uſual force of argument and variety of illuſtration. Notwithſtanding theſe circumſtances, no political tract of any note in our language, is in form or ſtyle leſs oratorical, or, with the exception of one paſſage, more free from thoſe peculiarities, which the practice of public ſpeaking ſeems calculated to produce. Such a ſtrict obſervance of theſe principles muſt have coſt him great trouble and attention. He was ſo apprehenſive that his writings might retain ſome traces of that art, in the exerciſe of which he had employed the greater part of his life, that he frequently rejected paſſages, which in any other author would not have appeared liable to ſuch an objection. He ſeems even to have diſtruſted his own judgment upon this ſubject; and after having taken the greateſt pains, he was never ſufficiently ſatisfied of his own ſucceſs. If we except the account of the Earl of Argyle, the Introductory Chapter is unqueſtionably the moſt correct and finiſhed part of the preſent publication. He did not, however, conceive it to be entirely exempt from a defect to which he apprehended that his works muſt be peculiarly expoſed. He ſays to his correſpondent, " I have at laſt " finiſhed my Introduction, which " after all is more like a ſpeech " than it ſhould be."

" Simplicity, both in expreſſion and conſtruction, was the quality in ſtyle which he moſt admired, and the beauty he chiefly endeavoured to attain. He was the moſt ſcrupulouſly anxious to preſerve this character in his writings, becauſe he thought that the example of ſome great writers had, in his own time, perverted the taſte of the public, and that their imitators had corrupted the purity of the Engliſh language. Though he frequently commended both Hume's and Blackſtone's ſtyle, and always ſpoke of Middleton's with admiration, he once aſſured me, that he would admit no word into his book, for which he had not the authority of Dryden.

" He was ſcarcely leſs nice about phraſes and expreſſions. It is indeed poſſible, that thoſe of his readers who have formed their taſte upon Johnſon or Gibbon, or taken their notions of ſtyle from the criticiſms of late years, may diſcover, in the courſe of the work, ſome idioms which are now ſeldom admitted into the higher claſſes of compoſition. To ſpeak without reſerve

ſerve upon a ſubject in which his judgment, as an author, may be called in queſtion, it appears to me more likely, that ſuch phraſes ſhould have been introduced upon ſyſtem, than that they ſhould have eſcaped his obſervation, and crept in through inadvertence. The work is indeed, "*incomplete and unfiniſhed*;" but it is not with reference to any phraſes, which may be ſuppoſed to be too familiar, or colloquial, that ſuch a deſcription has been given of it. Such was the author's abhorrence of any thing that ſavoured of pedantry or affectation, that if he was ever reduced to the alternative of an inflated or homely expreſſion, I have no doubt but he preferred the latter. This perſuaſion, in addition to many other conſiderations, has induced me religiouſly to preſerve, in the publication of this work, every phraſe and word of the original manuſcript. Thoſe who are diſpoſed to reſpect his authority, may have the ſatisfaction of knowing, that there is not one ſyllable in the following chapters, which is not the genuine production of Mr. Fox. That there are ſeveral paſſages, (eſpecially in the latter end of the text) which he might, that there are ſome which he obviouſly would, have corrected, is unqueſtionable; but, with the knowledge of ſuch ſcrupulous attention to language in an author, to have ſubſtituted any word or expreſſion, for that which he had written, would not have been preſumption only but injuſtice.

"The manuſcript book from which this work has been printed is, for the moſt part, in the handwriting of Mrs. Fox. It was written out under the inſpection of Mr. Fox, and is occaſionally corrected by him. His habit was ſeldom or ever to be alone, when employed in compoſition. He was accuſtomed to write on covers of letters or ſcraps of paper, ſentences which he, in all probability, had turned in his mind, and in ſome degree formed in the courſe of his walks, or during his hours of leiſure. Theſe he read over to Mrs. Fox; ſhe wrote them out in a fair hand in the book; and before he deſtroyed the original paper he examined and approved of the copy. In the courſe of thus dictating from his own writing, he often altered the language, and even the conſtruction of the ſentence. Though he generally tore the ſcraps of paper as ſoon as the paſſages were entered in the book, ſeveral have been preſerved; and it is plain, from the eraſures and alterations in them, that they had undergone much reviſion and correction before they were read to his Amanuenſis."

Character of the Protectorſhip and of the Reſtoration.

(From the Introductory Chapter to Mr. Fox's Hiſtory.)

"With the life of the Protector almoſt immediately ended the government which he had eſtabliſhed. The great talents of this extraordinary perſon had ſupported, during his life, a ſyſtem condemned equally by reaſon and by prejudice; by reaſon, as wanting freedom; by prejudice, as an uſurpation; and it muſt be confeſſed to be no mean teſtimony to his genius, that, notwithſtanding the radical defects of ſuch a ſyſtem, the ſplendor

dor of his character and exploits render the æra of the Protectorſhip one of the moſt brilliant in Engliſh hiſtory. It is true his conduct in foreign concerns is ſet off to advantage, by a compariſon of it with that of thoſe who preceded, and who followed him. If he made a miſtake in eſpouſing the French intereſt inſtead of the Spaniſh, we ſhould recollect, that in examining this queſtion we muſt diveſt our minds entirely of all the conſiderations which the ſubſequent relative ſtate of thoſe two empires ſuggeſt to us, before we can become impartial judges in it; and at any rate, we muſt allow his reign, in regard to European concerns, to have been moſt glorious when contraſted with the puſillanimity of James the Firſt, with the levity of Charles the Firſt, and the mercenary meanneſs of the two laſt Princes of the Houſe of Stuart. Upon the whole the character of Cromwell muſt ever ſtand high in the liſt of thoſe who raiſed themſelves to ſupreme power by the force of their genius; and among ſuch, even in reſpect of moral virtue, it would be found to be one of the leaſt exceptionable, if it had not been tainted with that moſt odious and degrading of all human vices, hypocriſy.

"The ſhort interval between Cromwell's death and the Reſtoration, exhibits the picture of a nation either ſo wearied with changes as not to feel, or ſo ſubdued by military power as not to dare to ſhow, any care or even preference with regard to the form of their government. All was in the army; and that army, by ſuch a concurrence of fortuitous circumſtances as hiſtory teaches us not to be ſurpriſed at, had fallen into the hands of one, than whom a baſer could not be found in its loweſt ranks. Perſonal courage appears to have been Monk's only virtue: reſerve and diſſimulation made up the whole ſtock of his wiſdom. But to this man did the nation look up, ready to receive from his orders the form of government he ſhould chooſe to preſcribe. There is reaſon to believe, that, from the general bias of the Preſbyterians, as well as of the Cavaliers, monarchy was the prevalent wiſh; but it is obſervable, that although the Parliament was, contrary to the principle upon which it was pretended to be called, compoſed of many avowed royaliſts, yet none dared to hint at the reſtoration of the King, till they had Monk's permiſſion, or rather command, to receive and conſider his letters. It is impoſſible, in reviewing the whole of this tranſaction, not to remark that a general who had gained his rank, reputation, and ſtation in the ſervice of a republic, and of what he, as well as others, called, however falſely, the cauſe of liberty, made no ſcruple to lay the nation proſtrate at the feet of a monarch, without a ſingle proviſion in favour of that cauſe; and if the promiſe of indemnity may ſeem to argue that there was ſome attention, at leaſt, paid to the ſafety of his aſſociates in arms, his ſubſequent conduct gives reaſon to ſuppoſe, that even this proviſion was owing to any other cauſe, rather than to any generous feeling of his breaſt. For he afterwards not only acquieſced in the inſults ſo meanly put upon the illuſtrious corpſe of Blake, under whoſe auſpices and command he had

had performed the moſt creditable ſervices of his life, but in the trial of Argyle, produced letters of friendſhip and confidence, to take away the life of a nobleman *, the zeal and cordiality of whoſe co-operation with him, proved by ſuch documents, was the chief ground of his execution; thus gratuitouſly ſurpaſſing in infamy thoſe miſerable wretches who, to ſave their own lives, are ſometimes perſuaded to impeach, and ſwear away the lives of their accomplices.

"The reign of Charles the Second forms one of the moſt ſingular, as well as of the moſt important periods of hiſtory. It is the æra of good laws and bad government. The abolition of the Court of Wards, the repeal of the Writ de Heretico Comburendo, the Triennial Parliament Bill, the eſtabliſhment of the rights of the Houſe of Commons in regard to impeachment, the expiration of the Licenſe Act, and, above all, the glorious ſtatute of Habeas Corpus, have therefore induced a modern writer of great eminence to fix the year 1679 as the period at which our conſtitution had arrived at its greateſt theoretical perfection; but he owns, in a ſhort note upon the paſſage alluded to, that the times immediately following were times of great practical oppreſſion. What a field for meditation does this ſhort obſervation, from ſuch a man, furniſh! What reflection does it not ſuggeſt to a thinking mind, upon the inefficacy of human laws, and the imperfection of human conſtitutions! We are called from the contemplation of the progreſs of our conſtitution, and our attention fixed with the moſt minute accuracy to a particular point, when it is ſaid to have ariſen to its utmoſt perfection. Here we are then at the beſt moment of the beſt conſtitution that ever human wiſdom framed. What follows? A time of oppreſſion and miſery, not ariſing from external or accidental cauſes, ſuch as war, peſtilence, or famine, nor even from any ſuch alteration of the laws as might be ſuppoſed to impair this boaſted perfection, but from a corrupt and wicked adminiſtration, which all the ſo much admired checks of the conſtitution were not able to prevent. How vain then, how idle, how preſumptuous, is the opinion, that laws can do every thing? and how weak and pernicious the maxim founded upon it, that meaſures, not men, are to be attended to?"

Character of Charles the Second.

(*From the ſame*).

"With reſpect to the character of this Prince, upon the delineation of which ſo much pains have been employed by the various writers who treat of the hiſtory of his time, it muſt be confeſſed that the facts which have been noticed in the foregoing pages, furniſh but too many illuſtrations of the more unfavourable parts of it. From theſe we may collect, that his ambition was directed ſolely againſt his ſubjects, while he was completely indifferent concerning the figure which he or they might make in the general affairs of Eu-

* Burnet. Baillie's Letters, II. 431.

rope;

tope; and that his desire of power was more unmixed with the love of glory than that of any other man whom history has recorded; that he was unprincipled, ungrateful, mean, and treacherous, to which may be added, vindictive and remorseless. For Burnet, in refusing to him the praise of clemency and forgiveness seems to be perfectly justifiable, nor is it conceivable upon what pretence his partizans have taken this ground of panegyric. I doubt whether a single instance can be produced, of his having spared the life of any one whom motives, either of policy or of revenge, prompted him to destroy. To allege that of Monmouth, as it would be an affront to human nature, so would it likewise imply the most severe of all satires against the monarch himself, and we may add too an undeserved one. For in order to consider it as an act of meritorious forbearance on his part, that he did not follow the example of Constantine, and Philip the Second, by imbruing his hands in the blood of his son, we must first suppose him to have been wholly void of every natural affection, which does not appear to have been the case. His declaration, that he would have pardoned Essex, being made when that nobleman was dead, and not followed by any act evincing its sincerity, can surely obtain no credit from men of sense. If he had really had the intention, he ought not to have made such a declaration, unless he accompanied it with some mark of kindness to the relations, or with some act of mercy to the friends, of the deceased. Considering it as a mere piece of hypocrisy, we cannot help looking upon it as one of the most odious passages of his life. This ill-timed boast of his intended mercy, and the brutal taunt with which he accompanied his mitigation (if so it may be called) of Russel's sentence, show his insensibility and hardness to have been such, that in questions where right and feelings were concerned, his good sense, and even the good taste for which he has been so much extolled, seemed wholly to desert him.

"On the other hand, it would be want of candour to maintain, that Charles was entirely destitute of good qualities; nor was the propriety of Burnet's comparison between him and Tiberius ever felt, I imagine, by any one but its author. He was gay and affable, and, if incapable of the sentiments belonging to pride of a laudable sort, he was at least free from haughtiness and insolence. The praise of politeness, which the Stoics are not perhaps wrong in classing among the moral virtues, provided they admit it to be one of the lowest order, has never been denied him; and he had, in an eminent degree, that facility of temper which, though considered by some moralists as nearly allied to vice, yet, inasmuch as it contributes greatly to the happiness of those around us, is, in itself, not only an engaging, but an estimable quality. His support of the Queen during the heats raised by the Popish plot, ought to be taken rather as a proof that he was not a monster, than to be ascribed to him as a merit; but his steadiness to his brother, though it may and ought,

in a great meaſure, to be accounted for upon ſelfiſh principles, had at leaſt a ſtrong reſemblance to virtue.

"The beſt part of this Prince's character ſeems to have been his kindneſs towards his miſtreſſes, and his affection for his children, and others nearly connected to him by the ties of blood. His recommendation of the Ducheſs of Portſmouth and Mrs. Gwyn, upon his death-bed, to his ſucceſſor, is much to his honour; and they who cenſure it ſeem, in their zeal to ſhow themſelves ſtrict moraliſts, to have ſuffered their notions of vice and virtue to have fallen into ſtrange confuſion. Charles's connection with thoſe ladies might be vicious, but at a moment when that connection was upon the point of being finally and irrevocably diſſolved, to concern himſelf about their future welfare, and to recommend them to his brother with earneſt tenderneſs, was virtue. It is not for the intereſt of morality, that the good and evil actions, even of bad men, ſhould be confounded. His affection for the Duke of Glouceſter, and for the Ducheſs of Orleans, ſeems to have been ſincere and cordial. To attribute, as ſome have done, his grief for the loſs of the firſt to political conſiderations, founded upon an intended balance of power between his two brothers, would be an abſurd refinement, whatever were his general diſpoſition; but when we reflect upon that careleſſneſs which, eſpecially in his youth, was a conſpicuous feature of his character, the abſurdity becomes ſtill more ſtriking. And though Burnet more covertly, and Ludlow more openly, inſinuate that his fondneſs for his ſiſter was of a criminal nature, I never could find that there was any ground whatever for ſuch a ſuſpicion; nor does the little that remains of their epiſtolary correſpondence give it the ſmalleſt countenance. Upon the whole, Charles the Second was a bad man, and a bad king; let us not palliate his crimes; but neither let us adopt falſe or doubtful imputations, for the purpoſe of making him a monſter.

"Whoever reviews the intereſting period which we have been diſcuſſing, upon the principle recommended in the outſet of this chapter, will find, that, from the conſideration of the paſt, to prognoſticate the future, would, at the moment of Charles's demiſe, be no eaſy taſk. Between two perſons, one of whom ſhould expect that the country would remain ſunk in ſlavery, the other, that the cauſe of freedom would revive and triumph, it would be difficult to decide, whoſe reaſons were better ſupported, whoſe ſpeculations the more probable. I ſhould gueſs that he who deſponded, had looked more at the ſtate of the public, while he who was ſanguine, had fixed his eyes more attentively upon the perſon who was about to mount the throne. Upon reviewing the two great parties of the nation, one obſervation occurs very forcibly, and that is, that the great ſtrength of the Whigs conſiſted in their being able to brand their adverſaries as favourers of Popery; that of the Tories, (as far as their ſtrength depended upon opinion, and not merely upon the power of the crown) in their finding colour to repreſent the Whigs as republicans.

From

From this obſervation we may draw a further inference, that in proportion to the raſhneſs of the Crown, in avowing and preſſing forward the cauſe of Popery, and to the moderation and ſteadineſs of the Whigs, in adhering to the form of monarchy, would be the chance of the people of England, for changing an ignominious deſpotiſm for glory, liberty, and happineſs."

Deſcription of the Defeat and Death of the Duke of Monmouth.

(*From Mr. Fox's Hiſtory.*)

"His preparations for this march were all made, when, on the afternoon of the fifth, he learnt, more accurately than he had before done, the true ſituation of the royal army, and from the information now received, he thought it expedient to conſult his principal officers, whether it might not be adviſable to attempt to ſurpriſe the enemy by a night attack upon their quarters. The prevailing opinion was, that if the infantry were not intrenched, the plan was worth the trial; otherwiſe not. Scouts were diſpatched to aſcertain this point, and the report being that there was no intrenchment, an attack was reſolved on. In purſuance of this reſolution, at about eleven at night, the whole army was in march, Lord Grey commanding the horſe, and Colonel Wade the vanguard of the foot. The Duke's orders were, that the horſe ſhould firſt advance, and puſhing into the enemy's camp, endeavour to prevent their infantry coming together; that the cannon ſhould follow the horſe, and the foot the cannon, and draw all up in one line, and ſo finiſh what the cavalry ſhould have begun, before the King's horſe and artillery could be got in order. But it was now diſcovered, that though there were no intrenchments, there was a ditch which ſerved as a drain to the great moor adjacent, of which no mention had been made by the ſcouts. To this ditch the horſe under Lord Grey advanced, and no farther; and whether immediately, as according to ſome accounts, or after having been conſiderably haraſſed by the enemy in their attempts to find a place to paſs, according to others, quitted the field. The cavalry being gone, and the principle upon which the attack had been undertaken being that of ſurpriſe, the Duke judged it neceſſary that the infantry ſhould advance as ſpeedily as poſſible. Wade, therefore, when he came within forty paces of the ditch, was obliged to halt to put his battalion into that order, which the extreme rapidity of the march had for the time diſconcerted. His plan was to paſs the ditch, reſerving his fire; but while he was arranging his men for that purpoſe, another battalion, newly come up, began to fire, though at a conſiderable diſtance; a bad example, which it was impoſſible to prevent the vanguard from following, and it was now no longer in the power of their commander to perſuade them to advance. The King's forces, as well horſe and artillery as foot, h dnow full time to aſſemble. The Duke had no longer cavalry in the field, and though his artillery, which con-

ſiſted only of three or four iron guns, was well ſerved under the direction of a Dutch gunner, it was by no means equal to that of the royal army, which, as ſoon as it was light, began to do great execution. In theſe circumſtances, the unfortunate Monmouth, fearful of being encompaſſed and made priſoner by the king's cavalry, who were approaching upon his flank, and urged, as it is reported, by the ſame perſon who had ſtimulated him on to his fatal enterpriſe, quitted the field, accompanied by Lord Grey and ſome others. The left wing, under the command of colonel Holmes and Matthews, next gave way, and Wade's men, after having continued for an hour and a half, a diſtant and ineffectual fire, ſeeing their left diſcomfited, began a retreat, which ſoon afterwards became a complete rout.

"Thus ended the deciſive battle of Sedgemore; an attack which ſeems to have been judiciouſly conceived, and in many parts ſpiritedly executed. The general was deficient neither in courage or conduct; and the troops, while they diſplayed the native bravery of Engliſhmen, were under as good diſcipline as could be expected from bodies newly raiſed. Two circumſtances ſeem to have principally contributed to the loſs of the day; firſt, the unforeſeen difficulty occaſioned by the ditch, of which the aſſailants had had no intelligence; and ſecondly, the cowardice of the commander of the horſe. The diſcovery of the ditch was the more alarming, becauſe it threw a general doubt upon the information of the ſpies, and the night being dark, they could not aſcertain that this was the only impediment of the kind which they were to expect. This diſperſion of the horſe was ſtill more fatal, inaſmuch as it deranged the whole order of the plan, by which it had been concerted that their operations were to facilitate the attack to be made by the foot. If Lord Grey had poſſeſſed a ſpirit more ſuitable to his birth and name, to the illuſtrious friendſhip with which he had been honoured, and to the command with which he was intruſted, he would doubtleſs have perſevered till he found a paſſage into the enemy's camp, which could have been effected at a ford not far diſtant: the loſs of time occaſioned by the ditch might not have been very material, and the moſt important conſequences might have enſued; but it ſurely would be raſhneſs to aſſert, as Hume does, that the army would after all have gained the victory, had not the miſconduct of Monmouth and the cowardice of Grey prevented it. This raſh judgment is the more to be admired at, as the hiſtorian has not pointed out the inſtance of miſconduct to which he refers. The number of Monmouth's men killed is computed by ſome at two thouſand, by others at three hundred; a diſparity, however, which may be eaſily reconciled, by ſuppoſing that the one account takes in thoſe who were killed in battle, while the other comprehends the wretched fugitives who were maſſacred in ditches, corn-fields, and other hiding places, the following day.

"In general I have thought it right to follow Wade's narrative, which appears to me by far the moſt authentic, if not the only authentic account of this important tranſaction. It is imperfect, but its imperfection ariſes from the nar-

rator's omitting all thoſe circumſtances of which he was not an eye-witneſs, and the greater credit is on that very account due to him for thoſe which he relates. With reſpect to Monmouth's quitting the field, it is not mentioned by him, nor is it poſſible to aſcertain the preciſe point of time at which it happened. That he fled while his troops were ſtill fighting, and therefore too ſoon for his glory, can ſcarcely be doubted; and the account given by Ferguſon, whoſe veracity however is always to be ſuſpected, that Lord Grey urged him to the meaſure, as well by perſuaſion as by example, ſeems not improbable. The miſbehaviour of the laſt mentioned nobleman is more certain; but as, according to Ferguſon, who has been followed by others, he actually converſed with Monmouth in the field, and as all accounts make him the companion of his flight, it is not to be underſtood that when he firſt gave way with his cavalry, he ran away in the literal ſenſe of the words, or if he did, he muſt have returned. The exact truth, with regard to this and many other intereſting particulars, is difficult to be diſcovered; owing, not more to the darkneſs of the night in which they were tranſacted, than to the perſonal partialities and enmities by which they have been diſfigured, in the relations of the different contemporary writers.

"Monmouth with his ſuite firſt directed his courſe towards the Briſtol channel, and as is related by Oldmixon, was once inclined, at the ſuggeſtion of Dr. Oliver, a faithful and honeſt adviſer, to embark for the coaſt of Wales, with a view of concealing himſelf ſome time in that principality. Lord Grey, who appears to have been in all inſtances his evil genius, diſſuaded him from this plan, and the ſmall party having ſeparated, took each ſeveral ways. Monmouth, Grey, and a gentleman of Brandenburg, went ſouthward, with a view to gain the New Foreſt in Hampſhire, where, by means of Grey's connections in that diſtrict, and thorough knowledge of the country, it was hoped they might be in ſafety, till a veſſel could be procured to tranſport them to the continent. They left their horſes, and diſguiſed themſelves as peaſants; but the purſuit, ſtimulated as well by party zeal, as by the great pecuniary rewards offered for the capture of Monmouth and Grey, was too vigilant to be eluded. Grey was taken on the 7th in the evening; and the German, who ſhared the ſame fate early on the next morning, confeſſed that he had parted from Monmouth but a few hours ſince. The neighbouring country was immediately and thoroughly ſearched, and James had, ere night, the ſatisfaction of learning, that his nephew was in his power. The unfortunate Duke was diſcovered in a ditch, half concealed by fern and nettles. His ſtock of proviſion, which conſiſted of ſome peas, gathered in the fields through which he had fled, was nearly exhauſted, and there is reaſon to think, that he had little, if any other ſuſtenance, ſince he left Bridgewater on the evening of the 5th. To repoſe he had been equally a ſtranger: how his mind muſt have been haraſſed, it is needleſs to diſcuſs. Yet that in ſuch circumſtances he appeared diſpirited and creſt fallen, is, by the unrelenting malignity of party

party writers, imputed to him as cowardice and meanneſs of ſpirit. That the failure of his enterpriſe, together with the bitter reflection, that he had ſuffered himſelf to be engaged in it againſt his own better judgment, joined to the other calamitous circumſtances of his ſituation, had reduced him to a ſtate of deſpondency is evident; and in this frame of mind, he wrote on the very day of his capture, the following letter to the king:

"SIR,

"Your majeſty may think it the misfortune I now lie under, makes me make this application to you; but I do aſſure your majeſty, it is the remorſe I now have in me of the wrong I have done you in ſeveral things, and now in taking up arms againſt you. For my taking up arms, it was never in my thoughts ſince the king died. The Prince and Princeſs of Orange will be witneſs for me of the aſſurance I gave them, that I would never ſtir againſt you. But my misfortune was ſuch, as to meet with ſome horrid people, that made me believe things of your majeſty, and gave me ſo many falſe arguments, that I was fully led away to believe, that it was a ſhame and a ſin before God, not to do it. But, Sir, I will not trouble your majeſty at preſent with many things I could ſay for myſelf, that I am ſure would move your compaſſion; the chief end of this letter being only to beg of you, that I may have that happineſs as to ſpeak to your majeſty; for I have that to ſay to you, Sir, that I hope may give you a long and happy reign.

"I am ſure, Sir, when you hear me, you will be convinced of the zeal I have of your preſervation, and how heartily I repent of what I have done. I can ſay no more to your majeſty now, being this letter muſt be ſeen by thoſe that keep me. Therefore, Sir, I ſhall make an end, in begging of your majeſty to believe ſo well of me, that I would rather die a thouſand deaths, than excuſe any thing I have done, if I really did not think myſelf the moſt in the wrong that ever a man was; and had not, from the bottom of my heart, an abhorrence for thoſe that put me upon it, and for the action itſelf. I hope, Sir, God Almighty will ſtrike your heart with mercy and compaſſion for me, as he has done mine with abhorrence of what I have done: Wherefore, Sir, I hope I may live to ſhew you how zealous I ſhall ever be for your ſervice; and could I but ſay one word in this letter, you would be convinced of it; but it is of that conſequence that I dare not do it. Therefore, Sir, I do beg of you once more to let me ſpeak to you; for then you will be convinced how much I ſhall ever be,

"Your majeſty's
"Moſt humble and dutiful,
"MONMOUTH."

"The only certain concluſion to be drawn from this letter, which Mr. Echard, in a manner perhaps not ſo ſeemly for a churchman, terms ſubmiſſive *, is, that Monmouth ſtill wiſhed anxiouſly for life, and was willing to ſave it, even at the cruel price of begging and receiving it as a boon from his enemy. Ralph conjectures, with great pro-

* Echard, p. 771. "His former ſpirit ſunk into puſillanimity, and he meanly endeavoured, by the following ſubmiſſive letter," &c. E.

bability,

bability, that this unhappy man's feelings were all governed by his exceſſive affection for his miſtreſs; and that a vain hope of enjoying, with Lady Harriet Wentworth, that retirement which he had ſo unwillingly abandoned, induced him to adopt a conduct, which he might otherwiſe have conſidered as indecent. At any rate it muſt be admitted, that to cling to life is a ſtrong inſtinct in human nature, and Monmouth might reaſonably enough ſatisfy himſelf, that when his death could not by any poſſibility, benefit either the public or his friends, to follow ſuch inſtinct, even in a manner that might tarniſh the ſplendor of heroiſm, was no impeachment to the moral virtue of a man.

"With reſpect to the myſterious part of the letter, where he ſpeaks of *one word*, which would be of ſuch infinite importance, it is difficult, if not rather utterly impoſſible, to explain it by any rational conjecture. Mr. Macpherſon's favourite hypotheſis, that the Prince of Orange had been a party to the late attempt, and that Monmouth's intention, when he wrote the letter, was to diſcloſe this important fact to the king*, is totally deſtroyed by thoſe expreſſions, in which the unfortunate priſoner tells his majeſty he had aſſured the Prince and Princeſs of Orange that he would never ſtir againſt him. Did he aſſure the Prince of Orange that he would never do that which he was engaged to the Prince of Orange to do? Can it be ſaid that this was a falſe fact, and that no ſuch aſſurances were in truth given? To what purpoſe was the falſehood? In order to conceal, from motives whether honourable or otherwiſe, his connection with the Prince? What? a fiction in one paragraph of the letter in order to conceal a fact, which in the next he declares his intention of revealing? The thing is impoſſible†.

"The intriguing character of the ſecretary of ſtate, the Earl of Sunderland, whoſe duplicity in many inſtances cannot be doubted, and the myſtery in which almoſt every thing relating to him is involved, might lead us to ſuſpect that the expreſſions point at ſome diſcovery in which that noblemen was concerned; and that Monmouth had it in his power to be of important ſervice to James, by revealing to him the treachery of his miniſter. Such a conjecture might be ſtrengthened by an anecdote that has had ſome currency, and to the truth of which in part, king James's memoirs, if the extracts from them can be relied on, bear teſtimony. It is ſaid that the Duke of Monmouth told Mr. Ralph Sheldon, one of the king's chamber who came to meet him on his way to London, that he had had reaſon to expect Sunderland's co-operation, and authoriſed Sheldon to mention this to the king; that while Sheldon was relating this to his Majeſty, Sunderland entered, Sheldon heſitated, but was ordered to go on. 'Sun-

* Macpherſon's Hiſt.

† Even if this complete refutation were wanting, the whole ſyſtem of conduct imputed to the Prince of Orange by the abovementioned author, by which he is made to act in concert with Monmouth at this time, is ſo contrary to common ſenſe, that the hypotheſis never could have been offered to the belief of mankind by one whoſe mind was not fortified by ſome previous experience of their unbounded credulity.

derland

derland ſeemed at firſt ſtruck,' (as well he might whether innocent or guilty) 'but after a ſhort time, ſaid with a laugh, if that be all he (Monmouth) can diſcover to ſave his life, it will do him little good'*. It is to be remarked that in Sheldon's converſation, as alluded to by king James, the Prince of Orange's name is not even mentioned, either as connected with Monmouth or with Sunderland. But, on the other hand, the difficulties that ſtand in the way of our interpreting Monmouth's letter as alluding to Sunderland, or of ſuppoſing that the writer of it had any well-founded accuſation againſt that miniſter, are inſurmountable. If he had ſuch an accuſation to make, why did he not make it? The king ſays expreſsly, both in a letter to the Prince of Orange, and in the extract from his memoirs, above cited, that Monmouth made no diſcovery of conſequence, and the explanation ſuggeſted, that his ſilence was owing to Sunderland the Secretary's having aſſured him of his pardon, ſeems wholly inadmiſſible. Such aſſurances could have their influence no longer than while the hope of pardon remained. Why then did he continue ſilent, when he found James inexorable? If he was willing to accuſe the Earl before he had received theſe aſſurances, it is inconceivable that he ſhould have any ſcruple about doing it when they turned out to have been deluſive, and when his mind muſt have been exaſperated by the reflection that Sunderland's perfidious promiſes and ſelf-intereſted ſuggeſtions, had deterred him from the only probable means of ſaving his life.

"A third, and perhaps the moſt plauſible, interpretation of the words in queſtion is, that they point to a diſcovery of Monmouth's friends in England, when, in the dejected ſtate of his mind, at the time of writing, unmanned as he was by misfortune, he might ſincerely promiſe what the return of better thoughts forbade him to perform. This account, however, though free from the great abſurdities belonging to the two others, is by no means ſatisfactory. The phraſe "one word," ſeems to relate rather to ſome ſingle perſon, or ſome ſingle fact, and can hardly apply to any liſt of aſſociates that might be intended to be ſacrificed. On the other hand, the ſingle denunciation of Lord Delamere, of Lord Brandon, or even of the Earl of Devonſhire, or of any other private individual, could not be conſidered as of that extreme conſequence, which Monmouth attaches to his promiſed diſcloſure. I have mentioned Lord Devonſhire, who was certainly not implicated in the enterpriſe, and who was not even ſuſpected, becauſe it appears from Grey's narrative, that one of Monmouth's agents had once given hopes of his ſupport; and therefore there is a bare poſſibility that Monmouth may have reckoned upon his aſſiſtance. Perhaps, after all, the letter has been canvaſſed with too much nicety, and the words of it weighed more ſcrupulouſly, than, proper allowance being made for the ſituation and ſtate of mind of the writer, they ought to have been. They may have been thrown out at hazard, merely as means to obtain an interview, of which the unhappy priſoner

* Macpherſon's State Papers, I. 146.

thought

thought he might, in ſome way or other, make his advantage. If any more preciſe meaning exiſted in his mind, we muſt be content to paſs it over as one of thoſe obſcure points of hiſtory, upon which, neither the ſagacity of hiſtorians, nor the many documents ſince made public, nor the great diſcoverer, Time, has yet thrown any diſtinct light.

" Monmouth and Grey were now to be conveyed to London, for which purpoſe they ſet out on the 11th, and arrived in the vicinity of the metropolis on the 13th of July. In the mean while, the Queen Dowager, who ſeems to have behaved with a uniformity of kindneſs towards her huſband's ſon that does her great honour, urgently preſſed the king to admit his nephew to an audience. Importuned, therefore, by intreaties, and inſtigated by the curioſity which Monmouth's myſterious expreſſions, and Sheldon's ſtory had excited, he conſented, though with a fixed determination to ſhew no mercy. James was not of the number of thoſe, in whom the want of an extenſive underſtanding is compenſated by a delicacy of ſentiment, or by thoſe right feelings which are often found to be better guides for the conduct, than the moſt accurate reaſoning. His nature did not revolt, his blood did not run cold, at the thoughts of beholding the ſon of a brother whom he had loved, embracing his knees, petitioning, and petitioning in vain, for life; of interchanging words and looks with a nephew on whom he was inexorably determined, within forty-eight ſhort hours, to inflict an ignominious death.

" In Macpherſon's extract from king James's memoirs, it is confeſſed that the king ought not to have ſeen, if he was not diſpoſed to pardon the culprit; * but whether the obſervation is made by the exiled Prince himſelf, or by him who gives the extract, is in this, as in many other paſſages of thoſe memoirs, difficult to determine. Surely if the king had made this reflection before Monmouth's execution, it muſt have occurred to that monarch, that if he had inadvertently done that which he ought not to have done, without an intention to pardon, the only remedy was to correct that part of his conduct which was ſtill in his power, and ſince he could not recal the interview, to grant the pardon.

" Purſuant to this hard-hearted arrangement, Monmouth and Grey, on the very day of their arrival, were brought to Whitehall, where they had ſeverally interviews with his majeſty. James, in a letter to the Prince of Orange, dated the following day, gives a ſhort account of both theſe interviews. Monmouth, he ſays, betrayed a weakneſs, which did not become one who had claimed the title of king; but made no diſcovery of conſequence. Grey was more ingenuous, † (it is not certain in what ſenſe his majeſty uſes the term, ſince he does not refer to any diſcovery made by that Lord,) and never once begged his life. Short as this account is, it ſeems the only authentic one of thoſe interviews. Biſhop Kennet, who has been followed by moſt of the modern hiſtorians, relates that ' This unhappy captive, by the in-

* Macpherſon's State Papers, I. 144.
† Dalrymple's Memoirs, II. 134.

terceſſion

terceſſion of the Queen Dowager, was brought to the king's preſence, and fell preſently at his feet, and confeſſed he deſerved to die; but conjured him, with tears in his eyes, not to uſe him with the ſeverity of juſtice, and to grant him a life which he would be ever ready to ſacrifice for his ſervice. He mentioned to him the example of ſeveral great princes, who had yielded to the impreſſions of clemency on the like occaſions, and who had never afterwards repented of thoſe acts of generoſity and mercy; concluding, in a moſt pathetic manner, Remember, Sir, I am your brother's ſon, and if you take my life, it is your own blood that you will ſhed. The king aſked him ſeveral queſtions, and made him ſign a declaration that his father told him he was never married to his mother: and ſaid, he was ſorry indeed for his misfortunes; but his crime was of too great a conſequence to be left unpuniſhed, and he muſt of neceſſity ſuffer for it. The Queen is ſaid to have inſulted him in a very arrogant and unmerciful manner. So that when the Duke ſaw there was nothing deſigned by this interview, but to ſatisfy the Queen's revenge, he roſe up from his majeſty's feet with a new air of bravery, and was carried back to the Tower*.

"The topics uſed by Monmouth are ſuch as he might naturally have employed, and the demeanour attributed to him, upon finding the king inexorable, is conſiſtent enough with general probability, and his particular character: but that the king took care to extract from him a confeſſion of Charles's declaration with reſpect to his illegitimacy, before he announced his final refuſal of mercy; and that the queen was preſent for the purpoſe of reviling and inſulting him, are circumſtances too atrocious to merit belief, without ſome more certain evidence. It muſt be remarked, alſo, that Burnet, whoſe general prejudices would not lead him to doubt any imputations againſt the queen, does not mention her majeſty's being preſent. Monmouth's offer of changing religion is mentioned by him, but no authority quoted; and no hint of the kind appears either in James's letters, or in the extract from his memoirs.

"From Whitehall, Monmouth was at night carried to the Tower, where no longer uncertain as to his fate, he ſeems to have collected his mind, and to have reſumed his wonted fortitude. The Bill of Attainder that had lately paſſed, having ſuperſeded the neceſſity of a legal trial, his execution was fixed for the next day but one after his commitment. This interval appeared too ſhort even for the worldly buſineſs which he wiſhed to tranſact, and he wrote again to the king, on the 14th, deſiring ſome ſhort reſpite, which was peremptorily refuſed. The difficulty of obtaining any certainty concerning facts, even in inſtances where there has not been any apparent motive for diſguiſing them, is no where more ſtriking, than in the few remaining hours of this unfortunate man's life. According to King James's ſtatement in his memoirs, he refuſed to ſee his wife, while other accounts aſſert poſitively that ſhe refuſed to ſee him, un-

* Kennet, III. 432. Echard, III. 771.

leſs

leſs in preſence of witneſſes. Burnet, who was not likely to be miſtaken in a fact of this kind, ſays they did meet, and parted very coldly, a circumſtance which, if true, gives us no very favourable idea of the lady's character. There is alſo mention of a third letter written by him to the king, which being entruſted to a perfidious officer of the name of Scott, never reached its deſtination* ; but for this there is no foundation. What ſeems moſt certain is, that in the Tower, and not in the cloſet, he ſigned a paper, renouncing his pretenſions to the crown, the ſame which he afterwards delivered on the ſcaffold ; and that he was inclined to make this declaration, not by any vain hope of life, but by his affection for his children, whoſe ſituation he rightly judged would be ſafer and better under the reigning monarch and his ſucceſſors, when it ſhould be evident that they could no longer be competitors for the throne.

"Monmouth was very ſincere in his religious profeſſions, and it is probable, that a great portion of this ſad day was paſſed in devotion and religious diſcourſe with the two prelates, who had been ſent by his Majeſty to aſſiſt him in his ſpiritual concerns. Turner, Biſhop of Ely, had been with him early in the morning, and Kenn, Biſhop of Bath and Wells, was ſent, upon the refuſal of a reſpite, to prepare him for the ſtroke, which it was now irrevocably fixed he ſhould ſuffer the enſuing day. They ſtayed with him all night, and in the morning of the fifteenth were joined by Dr. Hooper, afterwards, in the reign of Anne, made Biſhop of Bath and Wells, and by Dr. Tenniſon, who ſucceeded Tillotſon in the ſee of Canterbury. This laſt divine is ſtated by Burnet to have been moſt acceptable to the Duke, and though he joined the others in ſome harſh expoſtulations, to have done what the right reverend hiſtorian conceives to have been his duty, in a ſofter, and leſs peremptory manner. Certain it is, that none of theſe holy men ſeem to have erred on the ſide of compaſſion or complaiſance to their illuſtrious penitent. Beſides endeavouring to convince him of the guilt of his connection with his beloved Lady Harriet, of which he could never be brought to a due ſenſe, they ſeem to have repeatedly teaſed him with controverſy, and to have been far more ſolicitous to make him profeſs what they deemed the true creed of the Church of England, than to ſoften or conſole his ſorrows, or to help him to that compoſure of mind ſo neceſſary for his ſituation. He declared himſelf to be a member of their church, but they denied that he could be ſo, unleſs he thoroughly believed the doctrine of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance. He repented generally of his ſins, and eſpecially of his late enterpriſe, but they inſiſted that he muſt repent of it in the way they preſcribed to him, that he muſt own it to have been a wicked reſiſtance to his lawful king, and a deteſtable act of rebellion †. Some hiſtorians have imputed this ſeemingly

* Dalrymple's Memoirs, I. 127.
† Burnet, II. 330. Echard III. 772.

cruel

cruel conduct to the king's particular inſtructions, who might be deſirous of extracting, or rather extorting, from the lips of his dying nephew, ſuch a confeſſion as would be a matter of triumph to the royal cauſe. But the character of the two prelates principally concerned, both for general uprightneſs, and ſincerity as church of England men, makes it more candid to ſuppoſe, that they did not act from motives of ſervile compliance, but rather from an intemperate party zeal for the honour of their church, which they judged would be ſignally promoted, if ſuch a man as Monmouth, after having throughout his life acted in defiance of their favourite doctrine, could be brought in his laſt moments to acknowledge it as a divine truth. It muſt never be forgotten, if we would underſtand the hiſtory of this period, that the truly orthodox members of our church regarded monarchy not as a human but as a divine inſtitution, and paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance, not as political maxims, but as articles of religion.

"At ten o'clock on the 15th, Monmouth proceeded in a carriage of the Lieutenant of the Tower, to Tower Hill, the place deſtined for his execution. The two biſhops were in the carriage with him, and one of them took that opportunity of informing him, that their controverſial altercations were not yet at an end; and that upon the ſcaffold, he would again be preſſed for more explicit and ſatisfactory declarations of repentance. When arrived at the bar, which had been put up for the purpoſe of keeping out the multitude, Monmouth deſcended from the carriage, and mounted the ſcaffold with a firm ſtep, attended by his ſpiritual aſſiſtants. The ſheriffs and executioners were already there. The concourſe of ſpectators was innumerable, and if we are to credit traditional accounts, never was the general compaſſion more affectingly expreſſed. The tears, ſighs, and groans, which the firſt ſight of this heart-rending ſpectacle produced, were ſoon ſucceeded by an univerſal and awful ſilence; a reſpectful attention, and affectionate anxiety, to hear every ſyllable that ſhould paſs the lips of the ſufferer. The duke began by ſaying he ſhould ſpeak little: he came to die, and he ſhould die a Proteſtant of the Church of England. Here he was interrupted by the aſſiſtants, and told, that, if he was of the Church of England, he muſt acknowledge the doctrine of non-reſiſtance to be true. In vain did he reply, that if he acknowledged the doctrine of the church in general, it included all: they inſiſted he ſhould own *that* doctrine particularly with reſpect to his caſe, and urged much more concerning their favourite point, upon which, however, they obtained nothing but a repetition in ſubſtance of former anſwers. He was then proceeding to ſpeak of Lady Harriet Wentworth, of his high eſteem for her, and of his confirmed opinion that their connection was innocent in the ſight of God; when Goſlin the Sheriff aſked him, with all the unfeeling bluntneſs of a vulgar mind, whether he was ever married to her. The duke refuſing to anſwer, the ſame magiſtrate, in the like ſtrain, though changing the ſubject, ſaid he hoped to have heard of his repentance for

for the treaſon and bloodſhed which had been committed; to which the priſoner replied with great mildneſs, that he died very penitent. Here the churchmen again interpoſed, and renewed their demand of *particular* penitence and *public* acknowledgment upon public affairs, Monmouth referred them to the following paper, which he had ſigned that morning:

"'I declare, that the title of king was forced upon me; and, that it was very much contrary to my opinion, when I was proclaimed. For the ſatisfaction of the world, I do declare that the late king told me, he was never married to my mother. Having declared this, I hope the king, who is now, will not let my children ſuffer on this account. And to this I put my hand this fifteenth day of July, 1685.

"'MONMOUTH.'"

"There was nothing, they ſaid, in that paper about reſiſtance; nor, though Monmouth quite worn out with their importunities, ſaid to one of them in a moſt affecting manner, "I am to die,—Pray my lord,—I refer to my paper," would theſe men think it conſiſtent with their duty to deſiſt. They were only a few words they deſired on one point. The ſubſtance of theſe applications on one hand, and anſwers on the other, was repeated, over and over again, in a manner that could not be believed, if the facts were not atteſted by the ſignature of the perſons principally concerned *. If the duke, in declaring his ſorrow for what had paſſed, uſed the word invaſion, "give it the true name," ſaid they, "and call it rebellion." "What name you pleaſe," replied the mild-tempered Monmouth. He was ſure he was going to everlaſting happineſs, and conſidered the ſerenity of his mind in his preſent circumſtances, as a certain earneſt of the favour of his Creator. His repentance, he ſaid, muſt be true, for he had no fear of dying, he ſhould die like a lamb. "Much may come from natural courage," was the unfeeling and ſtupid reply of one of the aſſiſtants. Monmouth, with that modeſty inſeparable from true bravery, denied that he was in general leſs fearful than other men, maintaining that his preſent courage was owing to his conſciouſneſs that God had forgiven him his paſt tranſgreſſions, of all which generally he repented with all his ſoul.

"At laſt the reverend aſſiſtants conſented to join with him in prayer; but no ſooner were they riſen from their kneeling poſture, than they returned to their charge. Not ſatisfied with what had paſſed, they exhorted him to a *true* and *thorough* repentance; would he not pray for the king? and ſend a dutiful meſſage to his Majeſty, to recommend the ducheſs and his children? "As you pleaſe;" was the reply, "I pray for him and for all men." He now ſpoke to the executioner, deſiring that he might have no cap over his eyes, and began undreſſing. One would have thought that in this laſt ſad ceremony, the poor priſoner might have been unmoleſted, and that the divines would have been ſatiſ-

* Vide Somers's Tracts, I. 435.

fied,

fied, that prayer was the only part of their function for which their duty now called upon them. They judged differently, and one of them had the fortitude to requeſt the duke, even in this ſtage of the buſineſs, that he would addreſs himſelf to the ſoldiers then preſent, to tell them he ſtood a ſad example of rebellion, and entreat the people to be loyal and obedient to the king. "I have ſaid I will make no ſpeeches," repeated Monmouth, in a tone more peremptory than he had before been provoked to; "I will make no ſpeeches. I come to die." "My lord, ten words will be enough," ſaid the perſevering divine, to which the duke made no anſwer, but turning to the executioner, expreſſed a hope that he would do his work better now than in the caſe of Lord Ruſſel. He then felt the axe, which he apprehended was not ſharp enough, but being aſſured that it was of proper ſharpneſs and weight, he laid down his head. In the mean time, many fervent ejaculations were uſed by the reverend aſſiſtants, who, it muſt be obſerved, even in theſe moments of horror, ſhewed themſelves not unmindful of the points upon which they had been diſputing; praying God to accept his *imperfect* and *general* repentance.

"The executioner now ſtruck the blow, but ſo feebly or unſkilfully, that Monmouth being but ſlightly wounded, lifted up his head, and looked him in the face as if to upbraid him, but ſaid nothing. The two following ſtrokes were as ineffectual as the firſt, and the headſman in a fit of horror, declared he could not finiſh his work. The ſheriffs threatened him; he was forced again to make a further trial, and in two more ſtrokes ſeparated the head from the body.

"Thus fell, in the thirty-ſixth year of his age, James, Duke of Monmouth, a man againſt whom all that has been ſaid by the moſt inveterate enemies both to him and his party, amounts to little more than this, that he had not a mind equal to the ſituation in which his ambition, at different times, engaged him to place himſelf. But to judge him with candour, we muſt make great allowances, not only for the temptations into which he was led by the ſplendid proſperity of the earlier parts of his life, but alſo for the adverſe prejudices with which he was regarded by almoſt all the cotemporary writers from whom his actions and character are deſcribed. The Tories of courſe are unfavourable to him; and even among the Whigs, there ſeems, in many, a ſtrong inclination to diſparage him; ſome to excuſe themſelves for not having joined him, others to make a diſplay of their excluſive attachment to their more ſucceſsful leader, King William. Burnet ſays of Monmouth, that he was gentle, brave, and ſincere: to theſe praiſes, from the united teſtimony of all who knew him, we may add that of generoſity, and ſurely thoſe qualities go a great way in making up the catalogue of all that is amiable and eſtimable in human nature. One of the moſt conſpicuous features in his character, ſeems to have been a remarkable, and as ſome think, a culpable degree of flexibility. That ſuch a diſpoſition is preferable to its oppoſite extreme, will be admitted by all who think that modeſty, even in exceſs, is more

more nearly allied to wiſdom, than conceit and ſelf ſufficiency. He who has attentively conſidered the political, or indeed the general concerns of life, may poſſibly go ſtill further, and rank a willingneſs to be convinced, or in ſome caſes even without conviction, to concede our own opinion to that of other men, among the principal ingredients in the compoſition of practical wiſdom. Monmouth had ſuffered this flexibility, ſo laudable in many caſes, to degenerate into a habit, which made him often follow the advice, or yield to the entreaties, of perſons whoſe characters by no means entitled them to ſuch deference. The ſagacity of Shafteſbury, the honour of Ruſſel, the genius of Sidney, might, in the opinion of a modeſt man, be ſafe and eligible guides. The partiality of friendſhip, and the conviction of his firm attachment, might be ſome excuſe for his liſtening ſo much to Grey; but he never could, at any period of his life, have miſtaken Ferguſon for an honeſt man. There is reaſon to believe that the advice of the two laſt mentioned perſons had great weight in perſuading him to the unjuſtifiable ſtep of declaring himſelf king. But far the moſt guilty act of this unfortunate man's life, was his lending his name to the declaration which was publiſhed at Lyme; and in this inſtance, Ferguſon, who penned the paper, was both the adviſer and the inſtrument. To accuſe the king of having burnt London, murdered Eſſex in the Tower, and finally, poiſoned his brother, unſupported by evidence to ſubſtantiate ſuch dreadful charges, was calumny of the moſt atrocious kind; but the guilt is ſtill heightened, when we obſerve, that from no converſation of Monmouth, nor indeed from any other circumſtance whatever, do we collect that he himſelf believed the horrid accuſations to be true. With regard to Eſſex's death, in particular, the only one of the three charges which was believed by any man of common ſenſe, the late king was as much implicated in the ſuſpicion as James. That the latter ſhould have dared to be concerned in ſuch an act without the privacy of his brother, was too abſurd an imputation to be attempted, even in the days of the Popiſh plot. On the other hand, it was certainly not the intention of the ſon to brand his father as an aſſaſſin. It is too plain, that in the inſtance of this declaration, Monmouth, with a facility highly criminal, conſented to ſet his name to whatever Ferguſon recommended as advantageous to the cauſe. Among the many dreadful circumſtances attending civil wars, perhaps there are few more revolting to a good mind, than the wicked calumnies with which, in the heat of contention, men, otherwiſe men of honour, have in all ages and countries permitted themſelves to load their adverſaries. It is remarkable that there is no trace of the divines who attended this unfortunate man, having exhorted him to a particular repentance of his manifeſto, or having called for a retraction or diſavowal of the accuſations contained in it. They were ſo intent upon points more immediately connected with orthodoxy of faith, that they omitted preſſing their penitent to the only declaration, by which he could make

make any ſatisfactory atonement to thoſe whom he had injured."

Deportment of the Earl of Argyle from the time of his Capture to that of his Execution, 1685.

(From the Same.)

Before he left the Caſtle (of Edinburgh) he had his dinner at the uſual hour, at which he diſcourſed, not only calmly, but even cheerfully, with Mr. Charteris and others. After dinner he retired, as was his cuſtom, to his bed-chamber, where, it is recorded, that he ſlept quietly for about a quarter of an hour. While he was in bed, one of the members of the council came and intimated to the attendants a deſire to ſpeak with him: upon being told that the earl was aſleep, and had left orders not to be diſturbed, the manager diſbelieved the account, which he conſidered as a device to avoid further queſtionings. To ſatisfy him, the door of his bed-chamber was half opened, and he then beheld, enjoying a ſweet and tranquil ſlumber, the man who, by the doom of him and his fellows, was to die within the ſpace of two ſhort hours? Struck with the ſight, he hurried out of the room, quitted the Caſtle with the utmoſt precipitation, and hid himſelf in the lodgings of an acquaintance who lived near, where he flung himſelf upon the firſt bed that preſented itſelf, and had every appearance of a man ſuffering the moſt excruciating torture. His friend, who had been appriſed by the ſervant of the ſtate he was in, and who naturally concluded that he was ill, offered him ſome wine. He refuſed, ſaying, "No, no, that will not help me; I have been in at Argyle, and ſaw him ſleeping as pleaſantly as ever man did, within an hour of eternity. But as for me ——." The name of the perſon to whom this anecdote relates, is not mentioned, and the truth of it may therefore be fairly conſidered as liable to that degree of doubt, with which men of judgment receive every ſpecies of traditional hiſtory. Woodrow, however, whoſe veracity is above ſuſpicion, ſays he had it from the moſt unqueſtionable authority. It is not in itſelf unlikely, and who is there that would not wiſh it true? What a ſatisfactory ſpectacle to a philoſophic mind, to ſee the oppreſſor, in the zenith of his power, envying his victim! What an acknowledgment of the ſuperiority of virtue! what an affecting, and forcible teſtimony to the value of that peace of mind, which innocence alone can confer! We know not who this man was; but when we reflect, that the guilt which agonized him was probably incurred for the ſake of ſome vain title, or at leaſt of ſome increaſe of wealth, which he did not want, and poſſibly knew not how to enjoy, our diſguſt is turned into ſomething like compaſſion for that very fooliſh claſs of men, whom the world calls wiſe in their generation.

Soon after his ſhort repoſe Argyle was brought, according to order, to the Laigh council-houſe, from which place is dated the letter to his wife; and thence to the place of execution. On the ſcaffold he had ſome diſcourſe, as well with Mr.

Mr. Annand, a miniſter appointed by government to attend him, as with Mr. Charteris. He deſired both of them to pray for him, and prayed himſelf with much fervency and devotion. The ſpeech which he made to the people, was ſuch as might be expected from the paſſages already related. The ſame mixture of firmneſs and mildneſs is conſpicuous in every part of it. "We ought not," ſays he, "to deſpiſe our afflictions, nor to faint under them. We muſt not ſuffer ourſelves to be exaſperated againſt the inſtruments of our troubles, nor by fraudulent, nor puſillanimous compliances bring guilt upon ourſelves; faint hearts are ordinarily falſe hearts, chooſing ſin rather than ſuffering." He offers his prayers to God for the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and that an end may be put to their preſent trials. Having then aſked pardon for his own failings, both of God and man, he would have concluded; but being reminded that he had ſaid nothing of the royal family, he adds, that he refers, in this matter, to what he had ſaid at his trial concerning the teſt; that he prayed there never might be wanting one of the royal family to ſupport the Proteſtant religion, and if any of them had ſwerved from the true faith, he prayed God to turn their hearts, but at any rate to ſave his people from their machinations. When he had ended, he turned to the South ſide of the ſcaffold, and ſaid, "Gentlemen, I pray you do not miſconſtruct my behaviour this day: I freely forgive all men their wrongs and injuries done againſt me, as I deſire to be forgiven of God." Mr. Annand repeated theſe words louder to the people. The earl then went to the North ſide of the ſcaffold, and uſed the ſame or the like expreſſions. Mr. Annand repeated them again, and ſaid, "This nobleman dies a Proteſtant." The earl ſtept forward again, and ſaid, "I die not only a Proteſtant, but with a heart-hatred of popery, prelacy, and all ſuperſtition whatſomever." It would perhaps have been better if theſe laſt expreſſions had never been uttered, as there appears certainly ſomething of violence in them, unſuitable to the general tenour of his language; but it muſt be remembered, firſt, that the opinion that the Pope is Antichriſt was at that time general among almoſt all the zealous Proteſtants in theſe kingdoms; ſecondly, that Annand, being employed by government, and probably an Epiſcopalian, the earl might apprehend that the declaration of ſuch a miniſter, might not convey the preciſe idea, which he, Argyle, affixed to the word Proteſtant.

He then embraced his friends, gave ſome tokens of remembrance to his ſon-in-law, Lord Maitland, for his daughter and grand-children, ſtript himſelf of part of his apparel, of which he likewiſe made preſents, and laid his head upon the block. Having uttered a ſhort prayer, he gave the ſignal to the executioner, which was inſtantly obeyed, and his head ſevered from his body. Such were the laſt hours, and ſuch the final cloſe, of this great man's life. May the like happy ſerenity in ſuch dreadful circumſtances, and a death equally glorious, be the lot of all, whom tyranny, of whatever denomination

mination or deſcription, ſhall in any age, or in any country, call to expiate their virtues on the ſcaffold!

Anecdotes of Buchanan.

(From Memoirs of his Life, by Mr. Irving.)

It was, perhaps, the alarming ſtate of France that induced Buchanan to haſten his return to his native country. The preciſe period of his return has not been aſcertained; but it is certain that he was at the Scottiſh Court in January, 1562; and that in the month of April, he was officiating as claſſical tutor to the queen, who was then in the twentieth year of her age. Every afternoon ſhe peruſed with Buchanan a portion of Livy. This author is not commonly recommended to very young ſcholars; and indeed the ſtudy of the Latin language is known to have occupied a conſiderable ſhare of her previous attention. She had been ſent to France in the ſixth year of her age, and had acquired every accompliſhment that could adorn her ſtation. The charms of her perſon were ſo conſpicuous as to place her above the moſt elegant of her fair cotemporaries; and the poliſh of her mind correſponded to the native elegance of her external form. She was acquainted not only with the Scottiſh and French, but alſo with the Italian and Spaniſh languages; and her knowledge of the Latin tongue was ſuch as modern ladies have not very often ſurpaſſed. In the fourteenth year of her age, ſhe pronounced, before a ſplendid auditory of the French court, a Latin declamation againſt the opinion of thoſe who would debar the female ſex from the liberal purſuits of ſcience and literature. This oration, which ſhe had herſelf compoſed, ſhe afterwards tranſlated into French; but neither the original nor the verſion has ever been publiſhed. Some of her Italian and French verſes are, however, preſerved. Mary was, unqueſtionably, entitled to the character of a learned princeſs; but her ſubſequent conduct rather ſerves to confirm than to refute the cauſtic obſervation of Muretus.

"The æra at which Buchanan finally returned to his native country, was highly important. After a violent ſtruggle between the old and the new religion, the latter had at length prevailed: its doctrines and diſcipline received the ſanction of parliament in the year 1560. For the manly principles of the Reformation he had always cheriſhed a ſecret affection; and his attachment, as he candidly owns, had been confirmed by the perſonal malignity of the grey friars. As he now reſided in a country where he could avow his ſentiments without reſtraint, he profeſſed himſelf a member of the reformed church of Scotland; and this acceſſion to their cauſe was duly appreciated by the leaders of the party. The Earl of Murray was then riſing towards that ſummit of power which he afterwards attained. He was one of the few Scottiſh nobles of the age who reverenced literature, and patronized its profeſſors. His own education had not been neglected; he had been committed to the tuition of Ramus, who then preſided over the College of de Prêle at Paris. For Buchanan he ſoon

ſoon procured a ſtation of ſome dignity and importance: as commendator of the priory of St. Andrews, he enjoyed the right of nominating the principal of St. Leonard's College; and a vacancy occurring about the year 1566, he placed Buchanan at the head of that ſeminary. The maſterſhips of the Scottiſh colleges are generally conferred on eccleſiaſtics: this practice does not, however, in each inſtance, reſult from the fundamental ſtatutes, but from the influence of eſtabliſhed modes. It has indeed been aſſerted, that Buchanan was not a mere layman, but a doctor and profeſſor of divinity. This ſuppoſition is evidently devoid of foundation; and its author ought to have recollected the diſtinction between doctors by office, and doctors by faculty. The tenure of his appointment would ſeem to have impoſed the taſk of delivering occaſional lectures on theology; and the ſkill with which he diſcuſſed the ſubject of prophetic inſpiration is commemorated in the unpubliſhed hiſtory of Calderwood. The theological prelections of a gay and ſatirical poet muſt have excited no ordinary curioſity. Buchanan was a man of univerſal talent: and the ſtudy of theology had recently occupied a conſiderable ſhare of his attention.

"On his return to Scotland, he determined to publiſh, in a correct manner, the poetical works which he had compoſed at many different periods of his variegated life. His paraphraſe of eighteen pſalms had already appeared as a ſpecimen; and the whole verſion having received the poliſh of his maſterly hand, he committed it to H. Stephanus. That famous printer is repreſented as having long deferred the impreſſion; and it is at leaſt certain that the manuſcript was in his cuſtody ſo early as the year 1562. Its ſuppreſſion might be imputed to various cauſes; but, according to the very learned Hadrianus Junius, he had protracted the edition with the ſecret view of claiming this verſion as his own, in the event of Buchanan's deceaſe. Many circumſtances render this ſuppoſition highly improbable: and it muſt be recollected that Junius regarded with manifeſt hoſtility, the man to whom he imputes ſo flagitious a ſcheme. The date of this firſt complete edition is uncertain; for it has been abſurdly omitted in the book itſelf. It was printed by Henricus Stephanus and his brother Robertus. In the year 1566 they publiſhed a ſecond edition, which includes the author's tragedy of Jepthes. Buchanan, in the title-page of both impreſſions, is ſtyled "Poetarum noſtri ſæculi facile princeps:" and his paraphraſe was recommended to the learned world by the poetical encomiums of ſeveral reſpectable ſcholars; by the Greek verſes of H. Stephanus, Franciſcus Portus, and Fredericus Jamotius, and by the Latin verſes of Stephanus and Caſtelvetro. The name of Jamotius is not ſo familiar to learned ears, but he was a man of conſiderable erudition. He was a native of Bethune in Artois, and by profeſſion a phyſician. Caſtelvetro, an Italian critic of high reputation, is ſtill regarded as one of the moſt ſubtle commentators on Ariſtotle's poetics. Of Buchanan's ſuperlative genius, Stephanus was a zealous admirer; it was he who conferred upon him the appellation of chief poet of the age; and this

honourable title was afterwards recognized by the ſcholars of France, Italy, Germany, and other countries. Of this celebrated printer, it may be ſafely affirmed that he was at leaſt as much inclined to cenſure as to commend: his cotemporary Joſeph Scaliger, though very willing to applaud his erudition, has characterized him as a man of arrogant and moroſe temper; and even his ſon-in-law, the candid and amiable Caſaubon, however anxious he might be to conceal his infirmities, has occaſionally mentioned him in terms of ſimilar import. The erudition of Stephanus was however extenſive and profound; inſomuch that he is juſtly regarded as the moſt learned printer who has yet appeared. He was one of the beſt Grecians of that laborious age; and was eminently ſkilled in the Latin as well as in his vernacular language. The Greek tongue he ſtudied before the Latin; and this unuſual method he afterwards recommended as the moſt eligible. The ſervices which he rendered to the cauſe of literature were ſuch as entitle him to perpetual gratitude: before his time, Greek books were extremely rare; and the numerous editions which proceeded from his preſs, are generally diſtinguiſhed for their correctneſs and elegance. Of his own compoſitions it is more difficult to ſpeak. By his Theſaurus Linguæ Græcæ, as well as by ſome of his philological annotations, he undoubtedly rendered eſſential ſervice to claſſical learning; but his efforts at a higher ſpecies of excellence are for the moſt part attended with very indifferent ſucceſs. He produced an infinite number of little works, which certainly diſplay but a ſlender ſhare of judgment. Among other critical lucubrations, he publiſhed a diſſertation De Criticis Veteribus Græcis et Latinis; and on ſuch a ſubject, a curious and intereſting treatiſe might have been expected from ſo learned a man: this diſſertation, however, is ſufficiently trifling and jejune. Another book he has profeſſedly written on the Latinity of Lipſius; but a great part of it is occupied with conſiderations reſpecting a war with the Turks. This, ſays Scaliger, appeared ſo ridiculous, that ſome perſon propoſed to entitle it 'De Lipſii Latinite adverſus Turcam.' He was judiciouſly adviſed by Thuanus and by P. Pithœus to reſtrict himſelf to the publication of ancient authors; a plan by which he would have contributed more effectually to the advancement of learning.

"Stephanus, who was ambitious of univerſal excellence, might perhaps expect to obtain the ſame preeminence among the Greek, as was due to Buchanan among the Latin paraphraſts of the Pſalms. But like his countryman Serranus, he did not complete the verſion of which he publiſhed a ſpecimen. A Greek tranſlation had formerly been exhibited by Apollinarius; and at a more recent æra, others were executed with different degrees of ſucceſs by Æmilius Portus, Petavius, and Duport. The Latin verſions amount to a very large number; and by every competent and impartial judge, the ſuperiority has always been awarded to Buchanan. In this renowned work, he has employed no fewer than twenty-nine varieties of metre; and each of them with the utmoſt propriety

propriety and ſkill. The adaptation of the meaſures, the harmony of the verſe, the elegance and purity of the diction, the pious and dignified ſtrain of the phraſeology, would have been ſufficient to ſecure a high reputation independent of his original compoſitions. This production indeed diſplays all the ſpirit and freedom of an original: the poet ſeems unfettered by the neceſſity of adhering to a preſcribed train of thought; and he often riſes to all the enthuſiaſm and ſublimity of his divine prototype. His verſion of the hundred and fourth pſalm might alone have conferred upon him the character of a poet. The next in merit is, perhaps, the hundred and thirty-ſeventh; which he has clothed in elegiac verſe that has ſeldom or never been ſurpaſſed. His work is profeſſedly a paraphraſe; and indeed it would be impoſſible to execute a ſtrict tranſlation with any degree of elegance. That he has frequently dilated the original thought, is ſufficiently evident; but no tranſlator has been more ſucceſsful in retaining the ſpirit and eſſence. It is not certain that Buchanan was intimately acquainted with the Hebrew language; but he muſt have conſulted with diligence the principal commentators on the book of Pſalms. He is reported to have enjoyed the particular friendſhip of Franciſcus Vatablus; and to have derived from that famous profeſſor ſome more curious elucidations of the Hebrew text.

"From his admirable verſion, he has carefully excluded ſuch expreſſions as are ſtrictly and ſolely applicable to ſubjects of claſſical mythology; but as he had adopted a claſſical language, it would have been utterly impoſſible to exclude every word or phraſe, capable of ſuggeſting the mythological alluſions of his Pagan predeceſſors. The ancient Pagans often addreſſed Jupiter, whom they regarded as the Supreme Being, in a ſtrain of phraſeology which may reverently be applied to the true God; and ſometimes perhaps a Chriſtian could not ſelect words more ſuitable to the devotional ideas that may ariſe in his mind. When he writes in a language which derives its vital principles from a people whoſe objects of worſhip were fictitious, he cannot expreſs himſelf without employing words originally appropriated by mythology: the boundaries of ſpeech are already aſcertained, and the only expedient that remains is a happy and judicious adaptation. Buchanan has, however, been cenſured by a late writer. 'In the tranſlation of a pſalm,' ſays Lord Woodhouſelee, 'we are ſhocked when we find the Almighty addreſſed by the epithets of a heathen divinity, and his attributes celebrated in the language and alluſions proper to the Pagan mythology.'—In the entire tranſlation of the pſalms by Johnſton, we do not find a ſingle inſtance of ſimilar impropriety. And in the admirable verſion by Buchanan, there are (to my knowledge) only two paſſages which are cenſurable on that account. The one is the beginning of the fourth pſalm:

"O pater, O hominum *divúmque* æterna poteſtas!"

which is the firſt line of the ſpeech of Venus to Jupiter, in the 10th Æneid: and the other is the beginning of pſalm lxxxii, where two entire

tire lines, with the change of one ſyllable; are borrowed from Horace:

Regum timendorum in proprios greges,
Reges in ipsos imperium eſt *Jovæ*.

'In the latter example, the poet probably judged that the change of *Jovis* into *Jovæ* removed all objection; and Ruddiman has attempted to vindicate the *divûm* of the former paſſage, by applying it to ſaints or angels: but allowing there were ſufficient apology for both theſe words, the impropriety ſtill remains; for the aſſociated ideas preſent themſelves immediately to the mind, and we are juſtly offended with the literal adoption of an addreſs to Jupiter in a hymn to the Creator.' Whatever may be the general effect of the two paſſages, it may at leaſt be affirmed that thoſe particular words are employed without any degree of impropriety. In the original Scriptures, the angels are repeatedly denominated gods: and *Jova* is manifeſtly the tetragrammaton of the Hebrews, or that name of the Supreme Being which conſiſts of four letters. To inſert the word Jehovah in the tranſlation of a pſalm, certainly cannot be deemed reprehenſible.

"Some feeble attempts have been made to diſpoſſeſs Buchanan of his high pre-eminence in this department. Dr. Egliſham had the vanity to ſuppoſe himſelf capable of executing a paraphraſe, ſuperior to that of his illuſtrious countryman; and was even ſo infatuated as to exhibit a verſion of the hundredth and fourth pſalm in contraſt with his. On Buchanan's tranſlation of that pſalm, he at the ſame time publiſhed a furious criticiſm; which he concludes very complacently, by ſubmitting his lucubrations to the judgment of the Univerſity of Paris. His fever of vanity was however expelled, and by a very violent remedy. Dr. Johnſton, who was aware that the reputation of his native land was cloſely connected with that of Buchanan, expoſed the phrenſy of Egliſham in a galling ſatire; and Dr. Barclay, another learned phyſician, refuted his captious criticiſms, and expoſed the puerility of the verſion which he had exhibited in ſo hazardous a poſition.

"Arthur Johnſton was one of the beſt Latin poets of the age in which he flouriſhed. His original compoſitions are diſtinguiſhed by a ſpirit of claſſical elegance; and he has executed a complete paraphraſe of the Pſalms, which is regarded as ſuperior to that of every other poet except Buchanan. Of Buchanan's ſuperiority he profeſſes to have been abundantly aware; but ſome of his fervent admirers have attempted to elevate him 'above all Greek, above all Roman fame.' Lauder, a man notorious for his impoſtures, was the firſt who endeavoured to eſtabliſh Johnſton's reputation on the ruin of Buchanan's; and his project found an immediate abettor in Mr. Benſon, an Engliſh gentleman of ſome ſmall ſcholarſhip, and of more than ſufficient confidence in his own powers. Buchanan's defence againſt Lauder was undertaken by Mr. Love; againſt Benſon, by Mr. Ruddiman, a more formidable antagoniſt. Not ſatisfied with overwhelming Johnſton with hyperbolical praiſe, Mr. Benſon had laboured to prove that Buchanan's paraphraſe is unworthy the commendation which it has received: but his

his magiſterial and ſhallow criticiſms were moſt completely expoſed by that excellent grammarian, whoſe elaborate performance, though perhaps ſomewhat deficient in compreſſion, may ſtill be recommended for its intrinſic value.

" The elegant and melodious verſion of Johnſton is almoſt entirely reſtricted to the elegiac meaſure, in which he had attained to great proficiency. In the hundredth and nineteenth pſalm alone, his metre is varied; and each ſtanza is exhibited in a new ſpecies of verſe. Buchanan's plan of varying the meaſure according to the characteriſtics of the poem, was evidently more eligible to a writer who poſſeſſed ſuch verſatility of talent. His friend Beza has likewiſe adopted a variety of metres; but he has not perhaps ſelected them with equal judgment.

" Sir Thomas Hope, who was king's advocate from 1626 till 1641, and who is well known to Scottiſh lawyers, muſt alſo be commemorated among the Scottiſh poets who have executed Latin paraphraſes of this ſacred book. His verſion ſtill remains in manuſcript; and its merit is not perhaps ſufficient to render its publication an object of much ſolicitude.

" Buchanan's paraphraſe continues to be read in the principal ſchools of Scotland, and perhaps in thoſe of ſome other countries. Lauder's attempt to ſupplant it by that of Johnſton proved unſucceſsful. During the life-time of Buchanan, it had begun to be introduced into the ſchools of Germany; and its various meaſures had been accommodated to appropriate melodies for the purpoſe of being chaunted by academics. Pope Urban the Eighth, himſelf a poet of no mean talents, is ſaid to have averred that ' 'twas pity it was written by ſo great a heretic, for otherwiſe it ſhould have been ſung in all churches under his authority.' The famous Biſhop Bedell ' loved it beyond all other Latin poetry;' and Nicolas Bourbon, who was himſelf a poet of conſiderable celebrity, declared that he would rather have been the author of this paraphraſe than Archbiſhop of Paris.'

" When Buchanan conſigned his pſalms to the printer, he was probably engaged in ſuperintending the claſſical ſtudies of Queen Mary; and to that moſt accompliſhed and moſt hopeful princeſs, he gratefully inſcribed a work deſtined for immortality. His dedication has received, and indeed is entitled to the higheſt commendation for its terſeneſs, compreſſion, and delicacy.

" Nympha, Caledoniæ quæ nunc felicitur oræ
Miſſa per innumeros sceptra tueris avos;
Quæ ſortem antevenis meritis, virtutibus annos,
Sexum animis, morum nobilitate genus,
Accipe (ſed facilis) cultu donata Latino
Carmina, fatidici nobile regis opus.
Illa quidem Cirrha procul et Permeſſide lympha,
Pene ſub Arctoi ſidere nata poli:
Non tamen auſus eram male natum exponere fœtum,
Ne mihi diſpliceant quæ placuere tibi.
Nam quod ab ingenio domini ſperare nequibant,
Debebunt genio forſitan illa tuo."

" Buchanan recommended himſelf to the queen by other poetical tributes. One of his moſt beautiful productions is the epithalamium which he compoſed on her firſt nuptials. This attractive ſubject had alſo excited the poetical talents of

De l'Hoſpital and Turnebus; but the rival compoſition of Buchanan diſplays a fertility of fancy, and a felicity of diction, which preclude all compariſon.

"The elegant poem which he compoſed on the birth of his future pupil king James, affords an intereſting proof of the early ſolicitude with which he regarded his deſtiny, as connected with the welfare of his native country.

"Vos quoque felices felici prole parentes,
Jam tenerum teneris puerum conſueſcite ab annis
Juſtitiæ, ſanctumque bibat virtutis amorem
Cum lacte; et primis pietas comes addita cunis
Conformetque animum, et pariter cum corpore creſcat.
Non ita converſi puppis moderamine clavi
Flectitur, ut populi pendent a principe mores.
Non carcer, legumque minæ, torvæque ſecures
Sic animos terrent trepidos formidine pœnæ,
Ut veræ virtutis honos, moreſque modeſti
Regis, et innocui decus et reverentia ſceptri
Convertunt mentes ad honeſta exempla ſequaces."

"Several of his miſcellaneous poems of leſs importance relate to the ſame accompliſhed princeſs; who was not inſenſible of his powerful claims upon the protection of his country. In the year 1564, ſhe had rewarded his literary merit by conferring on him the temporalities of the abbey of Croſsragwell; which amounted in annual valuation to the ſum of five hundred pounds in Scottiſh currency.

"But while he thus enjoyed the favour of the queen, he did not neglect his powerful friend the Earl of Murray. To that nobleman he inſcribed his *Franciſcanus* during the ſame year. The date of the earlieſt edition is uncertain; but the dedication was written at St. Andrews on the 5th of June, 1564, when he was perhaps reſiding in the Earl's houſe.

"He at the ſame time prepared for the preſs his miſcellany entitled *Fratres Fraterrimi;* a collection of ſatires, almoſt entirely directed againſt the impurities of the Popiſh church. The abſurdity of its doctrines, and the immoral lives of its prieſts, afforded him an ample field for the exerciſe of his formidable talents; and he has alternately employed the weapons of ſarcaſtic irony and vehement indignation. His admirable wit and addreſs muſt have contributed to promote the cauſe which Luther had ſo ardently eſpouſed; and Buchanan ought alſo to be claſſed with the moſt illuſtrious of the reformers. Guy Patin was ſo faſcinated with his ſatirical powers, that he committed to memory all his epigrams, his *Franciſcanus*, and his *Fratres Fraterrimi*. After having particularized ſome of Buchanan's verſes, he ſubjoins, Virgil never produced better, but it has required fifteen centuries to produce a poet like Virgil. The lively and intelligent phyſician was evidently no bigot: many decided Papiſts have, however, mentioned the heretical poet with enthuſiaſm; though ſuch indeed as expected preferment, have conſtantly interpoſed a formal caution relative to his hereſy.

"To theſe ſatires, which ſeem to have been compoſed in Scotland, Portugal, and France, he prefixed a poetical dedication to his friend Carolus Utenhovius. Buchanan and Utenhovius apparently maintained a particular intimacy; and they

they have repeatedly interchanged poetical compliments.

"Carolus Utenhovius was born at Ghent, in the year 1536. His grandfather Nicholas was diſtinguiſhed by his rank, his prudence, and his erudition; and his father, who bore the ſame baptiſmal name with himſelf, was conſidered as a man of piety and eloquence. The friend of Buchanan proſecuted his ſtudies at Paris with more than common ſucceſs. His birth ſeems to have been ſuperior to his fortune; for he engaged himſelf as preceptor to the daughters of Jean de Morel, ſo highly celebrated for their literature. He afterwards viſited England in the train of Paul de Foix, the French ambaſſador; and his poetical incenſe recommended him to the notice of Queen Elizabeth. Having entered into the matrimonial ſtate, he ſettled at Cologne; where he died of an apoplexy in the year 1600. Thuanus repreſents him as a wanderer all his life, but ſtill conſtant in his love of poetry. His works chiefly conſiſt of miſcellaneous verſes, compoſed in ſeven different languages, ancient and modern. He was long underſtood to be engaged in preparing an edition of the Dionyſiacs of Nonnus, together with a Latin tranſlation; and, in the opinion of Falkenburgius, he was excellently qualified for the taſk. This edition, however, did not make its appearance.

"In the year 1567, Buchanan publiſhed another collection, conſiſting of *Elegiæ*, *Silvæ*, *Hendecaſyllabi*. To this miſcellany was prefixed an epiſtle to his friend Peter Daniel; a learned man, who is ſtill remembered for his edition of Virgil with the commentary of Servius. This epiſtle contains ſeveral hints relative to the hiſtory of the author's poetical works. 'Between the occupations of a court,' ſays Buchanan, 'and the annoyance of diſeaſe, I have hardly been able to ſteal any portion of time, which I could either devote to my friends or to myſelf; and I have therefore been prevented from maintaining a frequent correſpondence with my friends, and from collecting my poems which lie ſo widely diperſed. For my own part, I was not extremely ſolicitous to recal them from perdition; for the ſubjects are generally of a trivial nature, and ſuch as at this period of life are at once calculated to inſpire me with diſguſt and ſhame. But as Pierre Montauré, and ſome other friends, to whom I neither can nor ought to refuſe any requeſt, demanded them with ſuch earneſtneſs, I have employed ſome of my leiſure hours in collecting a portion, and placing it in a ſtate of arrangement. With this ſpecimen, which conſiſts of one book of elegies, another of miſcellanies, and a third of hendecaſyllables, I in the mean time preſent you. When it ſhall ſuit your convenience, I beg you will communicate them to Montauré, and other philological friends, without whoſe advice I truſt you will not adopt any meaſure relative to their publication. In a ſhort time I propoſe ſending a book of iambics, another of epigrams, another of odes, and perhaps ſome other pieces of a ſimilar denomination: all theſe I wiſh to be at the diſpoſal of my friends, as I have finally determined to rely more on their judgment than on my own. In my paraphraſe of the Pſalms, I have corrected many typographical errors, and have likewiſe made vari-

ous

ous alterations: I muſt therefore requeſt you to adviſe Stephanus not to publiſh a new edition without my knowledge. Hitherto I have not found leiſure to finiſh the ſecond book of my poem *De Sphæra;* and therefore I have not made a tranſcript of the firſt: as ſoon as the former is completed, I ſhall tranſmit them to you. Salute in my name all our friends at Orleans, and ſuch others as it may be convenient. Farewell. Edinburgh, July the twenty-fourth, 1566.' The two friends whom Buchanan particularizes in this letter, were men of no inconſiderable diſtinction. Pierre Montauré, who has been commemorated by Thuanus as a man of excellent talents, was maſter of the requeſts, a counſellor of ſtate, and keeper of the royal library. He compoſed Latin verſes with uncommon felicity, and was profoundly ſkilled in the mathematical ſciences. His attachment to the cauſe of rational religion involved him in misfortune: having been driven from Orleans, the place of his nativity, he retired to Sancerre ſur Loire, where his unmerited exile was ſoon terminated by death. He died on the 19th of Auguſt, 1570; and his intimate friend De l'Hoſpital compoſed his epitaph in affectionate and indignant terms. His library, which was uncommonly rich in mathematical manuſcripts, was pillaged during the ſubſequent tumults of St. Bartholomew. Henry des Meſmes, who was maſter of the requeſts, and enjoyed other offices of dignity, deſcended from a family that derived its remote lineage from the native country of Buchanan. Although he did not court the fame of authorſhip, few individuals have been more generally known among their learned cotemporaries. He was not only a generous encourager of literature, but was himſelf a man of erudition. He was poſſeſſed of a noble library, which was always acceſſible to the learned; and his illuſtrious family was long afterwards diſtinguiſhed for the ſame liberality of conduct. Buchanan was not the only poet who confided in the critical judgment of Des Meſmes; his deciſions ſeem to have been very generally regarded with the utmoſt deference. Having retired from the court in diſguſt, he died in the month of Auguſt, 1596, at the age of ſixty-four.

"His promiſe relative to the three books of iambics, epigrams, and odes, Buchanan ſeems to have forgotten: after an interval of nearly ten years, Daniel ſtrongly urged its performance. It is not certain whether thoſe poems were printed before the author's deceaſe; but they now contribute to form the ſtately and variegated monument of his fame. Of his ſhort and miſcellaneous pieces, the ſubjects are ſometimes indeed of a trivial nature; but even thoſe lighter efforts ſerve to evince the wonderful verſatility of his mind. His epigrams, which conſiſt of three books, are not the leaſt remarkable of his compoſitions: the terſeneſs of the diction, the ductility and pungency of the thought, have deſervedly placed them in the very firſt claſs. The general admiration which they have excited, appears from the frequency with which they are tranſlated and imitated by poets of various countries. The pointed epigram has always been a favourite mode of intellectual exerciſe with the French; and ſeveral accompliſhed ſcholars of

of that nation have ſufficiently indicated their approbation of Buchanan's epigrammatic wit. Menage, who has pronounced all his verſes to be excellent, was particularly delighted with the felicity of the ſubſequent lines.

" Illa mihi ſemper præſenti dura Neæra,
Me, quoties abſum, ſemper abeſſe dolet.
Non deſiderio noſtri, non mœret amore,
Sed ſe non noſtro poſſe dolore frui."

That admirable philologer has imitated them in one of his Italian madrigals.

" Chi creduto l'avrebbe ?
L'empia, la cruda Iole
Del mio partir ſi duole.
A quel finto dolore
Non ti fidar, mio core.
Non è vera pietade
Quella che monſtra, nò ; ma crudeltade.
Dell' aſpro mio martire
La cruda vuol gioire ;
Udir la cruda i miei ſoſpiri ardenti,
E mirar vuole i duri miei tormenti."

M. de la Monnoye, a man of extenſive and accurate literature, tranſlated the ſame epigram into French.

" Philis, qui tête à tête inſenſible à mes feux,
Comte pour rien mes pleurs, mes ſoupirs, et mes vœux,
Quand je ſuis éloigné regrette ma préſence.
Ah ! dois-je là-deſſus me flater vainement ?
Non, non, le déplaiſir qu'elle a de mon abſence
Lui vient de ne pouvoir jouïr de mon tourment."

Buchanan's epigram *In Zoilum* has frequently been repeated with reliſh, and frequently tranſlated.

" Fruſtra ego te laudo, fruſtra me, Zoile, lædis :
Nemo mihi credit, Zoile, nemo tibi."

Menage, who has written another in the very ſame ſtrain, avers that Buchanan, as well as himſelf, was indebted to the proſe of Libanius.

Μὰψ ἐμὲ λοιδορέεις μὰψ, Ζώϊλε, καὶ σε ἐπαινῶ·
Οὐ γὰρ ἐμοῖς, ὲ σοῖς πίϛις ἔνεσι λόγοις.

The following verſes of M. de la Monnoye are profeſſedly a tranſlation of Buchanan's diſtich.

" Tu dis par tout du mal de moi,
Je dis par tout du bien de toi,
Quel malheur eſt le nôtre !
L'on ne nous croit ni l'un ni l'autre."

His epigrammatic epitaph on Jacobus Silvius, a famous profeſſor of phyſic in the univerſity of Paris, ſhall cloſe theſe motley tranſcripts.

" Silvius hic ſitus eſt, gratis qui nil dedit unquam :
Mortuus et gratis quod legis iſta dolet."

Silvius was famous for his learning, and infamous for the moſt ſordid avarice. Buchanan's indignation had been provoked by the indecent rage which he publicly teſtified againſt two poor ſtudents, who had occaſionally attended his prelections without paying their fees. He died in the year 1555 ; and ſo little was his memory revered among his pupils, that during the very criſis of his funeral ſervice, ſome of them exhibited Buchanan's epigram on the door of the church. H. Stephanus has tranſlated this diſtich into French.

" Ici giſt Sylvius, auquel onc en ſa vie
De donner rien gratis ne prit aucune envie :
Et ores qu'il eſt mort et tout ronge de vers,
Encores a deſpit qu'on lit gratis ces vers."

" The editors of Buchanan have uniformly inſerted among his works, and without any ſuggeſtion of its ſpuriouſneſs, an epigram on Julius the

the ſecond, which was perhaps written before Buchanan was born, and certainly before he had exceeded the ſeventeenth year of his age. It was compoſed and circulated during the life-time of that pontiff, who died on the twenty-ſecond of February, 1513; and James Laſcaris had obtained his favour by repelling it in another epigram, where the ſame topics are converted to his praiſe. In one collection, the ſatirical lines are aſcribed to C. Gr. ſuppoſed to be Conradus Grebelius of Zurich.

"In the preſent arrangement of Buchanan's poetry, no ſeparate book of odes is to be found; but a large proportion of his *Miſcellanea* is of the lyric denomination. In his paraphraſe of the Pſalms, lyric meaſures are chiefly employed; and many odes occur among his other productions. In this department of compoſition, as well as in various others, he deſervedly holds the firſt rank among the modern Latiniſts. His diction is terſe and elegant, his numbers are harmonious; and as his genius poſſeſſed a native elevation, he did not find it requiſite to inveſt his thoughts with an eternal pomp of words. Several of the moderns, and even Caſimir himſelf, ſeem to have entertained an opinion that the dignity of lyric poetry cannot be ſupported without the perpetual ſtraining after brilliant metaphors and gorgeous diction; from an adherence to this notion, their productions are often removed to an equal diſtance from claſſical elegance, and from genuine ſublimity. Buchanan's diction is lofty when the ſubject requires it; but the practice of Horace had ſuggeſted to him that every ode need not aim at ſublimity, and that every ſublime ode need not be darkened by an unbroken cloud of metaphors. His ode on the firſt of May has been very honourably diſtinguiſhed by a late ingenious and elegant writer. 'I know not,' ſays Mr. Aliſon, 'any inſtance where the effect of aſſociation is ſo remarkable in beſtowing ſublimity on objects, to which it does not naturally belong, as in the following inimitable poem of Buchanan's, on the month of May. This ſeaſon is, in general, fitted to excite emotions very different from ſublimity, and the numerous poems which have been written in celebration of it, dwell uniformly on its circumſtances of 'vernal joy.' In this ode, however, the circumſtances which the poet has ſelected, are of a kind which to me appear inexpreſſibly ſublime, and diſtinguiſh the poem itſelf by a degree and character of grandeur which I have ſeldom found equalled in any other compoſition.'

"His book of elegies, nine in number, is compoſed with his uſual felicity. Some of them, however, which relate to the ladies are not the moſt pleaſing of his performances. The moſt beautiful of theſe poems is the elegy on the firſt of May; a ſeaſon which awoke in Buchanan the fineſt emotions of a truly poetical mind. The whole is tender and exquiſite; but the opening may be produced as no unfavourable ſpecimen.

'Feſta vocant, lætiſque comes Laſcivia feſtis,
At chorus, et choreæ blandus amicus Amor:
Ludit et admiſſis levis Indulgentia frenis,
Et levat aſſueto libera colla jugo.
Interea vigiles paullum ſecedite curæ,
Et genitor curæ dure faceſſe labor:
Eſte procul lites, et amaræ jurgia linguæ,
Mixtaque flebilibus mœſta querela ſonis;

Dum

Dum renovat Maius ſenium revolubilis ævi,
Et tenerum verno pingit honore ſolum;
Dum cœli juvenile decus, mundique juventa,
Per non ingratas itque reditque vices,
Inque recurrentes ſine fine revertitur ortus,
Et nunquam feſſis ſecula luſtrat equis."

Theſe poetical lines are conceived in the genuine ſpirit of the ancient elegy.

"In the ſportive effuſions of his youth, Buchanan has occaſionally indulged a vein of pruriency, from which ſome authors have very raſhly drawn concluſions reſpecting the morality of his conduct. 'His life,' ſays Dr. Stuart, 'was liberal like his opinions. From the uncertain condition of his fortune, from his attachment to ſtudy, he kept himſelf free from the reſtraint of marriage; but if a judgment may be formed from the vivacity of his temper and the wantonneſs of his verſes, he was no enemy to beauty and to love, and muſt have known the tumults and the languors of voluptuouſneſs.' The neceſſity of this inference is very queſtionable. Dr. Blacklock has frequently deſcanted with enthuſiaſm on the beauties of external nature; and yet he was abſolutely blind from his infancy. Buchanan might allude to raptures which he never felt. His friend Beza had indulged his youthful fancy in the utmoſt freedom of deſcription; yet he afterwards proteſted with ſolemnity, that although his verſes were laſcivious, his conduct was chaſte. The poets of that æra ſeem to have entertained an opinion that no man was entitled to their confraternity, unleſs he had offered an early ſacrifice on the altars of Venus. The notion they might partly imbibe from their perpetual ſtudy of the Roman authors; the principal Latin poets of antiquity had bequeathed for their uſe abundant examples of elegant obſcenity. The modern Italians, whether laymen or prieſts, did not heſitate to follow ancient precedents: ſome of the productions of Antonius Panormita, Pontanus, and Bembus, verge upon the very extremity of wantonneſs and impurity. Theſe examples paſſed to other nations; Secundus, Bonefonius, and many eminent poets beſide, vied with each other in the elegance of their language, and the groſſneſs of their ideas. And, what may perhaps be regarded as ſtill more extraordinary, in the ſcholaſtic compilations publiſhed during that period for the uſe of Latin verſifiers, this department is very ſeldom neglected: the *Epithetorum Opus* of Jo. Raviſius Textor exhibits the moſt obſcene words in the Latin language, ſtudiouſly illuſtrated by accurate quotations from ancient and modern poets. A long train of Catholic prieſts have expatiated on the languors of love and the ecſtacies of enjoyment: as they were doomed to perpetual celibacy, they muſt either have entertained a hardy contempt of moral reputation, or ſuppoſed that ſuch productions would be regarded as mere efforts of a poetical fancy. Even the renowned queen of Navarre, who is repreſented as a woman of conſummate virtue, did not bluſh to write what few modern ladies would profeſs to read. There are ſome poets, ſays Bayle, who are equally chaſte in their verſes and in their conduct; others who are neither chaſte in their conduct nor in their verſes: ſome there are, unchaſte in their verſes,

verſes, and yet chaſte in their conduct; and whoſe fire is entirely confined to the head. All their wanton liberties are ſports of fancy; their Candidas and their Leſbias miſtreſſes of fiction. Dr. Stuart's ſuggeſtion ought therefore to have been delivered in more cautious terms: and Mr. Warton has likewiſe mentioned Buchanan's amatory verſes in a manner which betrays ſome degree of precipitancy. Theſe obſervations, which are merely hiſtorical, do not inſinuate the expediency of following a bad example, however prevalent. Buchanan has repeatedly expreſſed his compunction for having been guilty of ſuch levity; nor is it incumbent on his biographer to commend the youthful ſallies which he himſelf condemned in his graver years. By ſome authors, and particularly by Mr. Benſon, his delinquency has however been deſcribed in terms of irregular and abſurd exaggeration.

"While he preſided over St. Leonard's college, he appears to have enjoyed the eſteem and confidence of the univerſity. The public regiſter beſtows upon him the honourable title for which he was indebted to Stephanus. In 1566 and the two enſuing years, he was one of the four electors of the rector; and was nominated a protector by each of the three officers who were ſucceſſively choſen. For ſeveral years he was likewiſe dean of faculty.

"Of the general aſſembly of the national church, convened at Edinburgh on the 25th of December, 1563, Buchanan had ſat as a member; and had even been appointed one of the commiſſioners for reviſing 'The Book of Diſcipline.' In that commiſſion he had been aſſociated with the Earl Mariſchal, Lord Ruthen, the biſhop of Orkney, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction. He was alſo a member of the aſſembly which met at Edinburgh on the 25th of June, 1567; and on that occaſion had the honour, though a layman, of being choſen moderator.

"The nation was now in a ſtate of anarchy; and Buchanan was ſoon to aſſume the character of a politician. The late conduct of Queen Mary, whom he once regarded in ſo favourable a light, had offered ſuch flagrant inſults to virtue and decorum, that his attachment was at length converted into antipathy. Having placed her affections on the Earl of Bothwell, a man of the moſt profligate manners, ſhe deemed it expedient to remove every object which might obſtruct their mutual views. The puſillanimous and ill-fated king was murdered on the tenth of February, 1567; and it is but too evident that his deluded conſort was not unacquainted with the nefarious plot by which he fell. The nation indignantly pointed to the actual murderer; but ſhe protected him from the vengeance of the law, and diſtinguiſhed him by public marks of her favour. On the 24th of April, Bothwell, accompanied by a numerous train of horſemen, ſeized the perſon of his ſovereign; and her conduct very clearly evinced that this expedient had either been ſuggeſted by herſelf, or at leaſt had been adopted with her entire approbation. Having precipitately obtained a divorce from his lawful wife, his infamous nuptials with the queen were ſolemnized on the 15th of May, about three months after

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he had aſſaſſinated her former huſband. A ſeries of actions ſo unprecedented and ſo atrocious could not fail of producing unbounded indignation. But the ſchemes of Bothwell were not yet accompliſhed: his extreme ſolicitude to ſecure the perſon of the young prince, excited new apprehenſions; and a powerful confederacy was at length formed for the purpoſe of defeating the deſign which he had evidently conceived. Both parties had recourſe to arms, and Mary followed her new huſband to the field. But when the hoſtile armies encountered each other, he found his followers ſo little diſpoſed to engage, that he abandoned the queen in the midſt of her parley with the confederates, and quitted the ſcene with precipitation. She now found herſelf in the power of her indignant ſubjects; and was certainly expoſed to treatment which cannot be remembered to their honour. As her undiminiſhed paſſion for the ruffian who had deſtroyed her peace and her reputation, would not permit her to yield to their propoſal of diſſolving ſo indecent a marriage, they readily perceived the conſequences of ſuffering her to retain that power which ſhe had abuſed. They formed the reſolution of ſecuring her perſon; and ſhe was committed to ſtrict cuſtody in the caſtle of Lochlevin. Her policy induced her to accede to the propoſition of reſigning her crown, and to inveſt her natural brother the Earl of Murray with the regency. On the 2nd of May, 1568, ſhe eſcaped from her priſon; and ſoon afterwards found herſelf at the head of a numerous army. The defeat at Langſide terminated her proſpects of being ſpeedily reinſtated in her authority. She now retired into England, where ſhe hoped to find an aſylum: but ſhe ſoon diſcovered that ſhe had repoſed her confidence in a moſt perfidious and cruel rival. Having incautiouſly offered to ſubmit her cauſe to the cognizance of the Engliſh queen, ſhe thus found a pretext for degrading her to the level of an Engliſh ſubject; and ſhe was moſt ungenerouſly detained in a ſtate of captivity. Elizabeth required the regent to empower delegates to appear before her commiſſioners; but as his principal adherents declined ſo hazardous an office, he was reduced to the ignominious neceſſity of attending in perſon. His aſſociates in this commiſſion were the Earl of Morton, Bothwell biſhop of Orkney, Lord Lindſay, and Pitcairne commendator of Dunfermline. He was alſo accompanied by Buchanan, Maitland of Lethington, Balnaves of Hallhill, Macgill of Rankeilor, and ſome other individuals of inferior attainments. Balnaves and Macgill bore the character of able civilians; and the abilities of Maitland were of the firſt order. The delegates nominated by the unfortunate queen were Dr. John Leſley, biſhop of Roſs, a man eminently diſtinguiſhed for his talents and learning, Lord Livingſton, Lord Boyd, Lord Herries, Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar, Sir James Cockburn of Stirling, and Gavin Hamilton commendator of Kilwinning. On the 4th of October 1568, the conference was opened at York before the commiſſioners of Elizabeth, but in the courſe of the enſuing month it was transferred to Weſtminſter. This ſingular tranſaction was managed with great addreſs

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on both ſides. Nor was Buchanan the leaſt powerful of Murray's co-adjutors: he compoſed in Latin a detection of Queen Mary's actions, which was produced to the commiſſioners at Weſtminſter, and was afterwards circulated with great induſtry by the Engliſh court. His engaging in a taſk of this kind, as well as his mode of executing it, has frequently been urged as a proof of his moral depravity, and to augment his delinquency, the benefits conferred upon him by the queen have been multiplied with much ingenuity. It is certain that ſhe granted him the temporalities of the abbey of Croſſragwell; and beyond this ſingle point the evidence cannot be extended. Nor was this reward beſtowed on a man who had performed no correſpondent ſervices. He had officiated as her claſſical tutor, and had compoſed various poems for the entertainment of the Scottiſh court: but the immortal dedication of his Pſalms was alone equivalent to any reward which ſhe conferred. If Buchanan celebrated her in his poetical capacity, and before ſhe ceaſed to be an object of praiſe, it certainly was not incumbent upon him to approve the atrocious actions which ſhe afterwards performed. The duty which he owed to his country was a prior conſideration; and with that duty, his further adherence to the infatuated princeſs was utterly incompatible.

"The Earl of Murray and his aſſociates returned to Scotland in the beginning of the enſuing year. This work of Buchanan, which was not publiſhed till 1571, ſeems to have been intruſted to Dr. Thomas Wilſon; who is ſuppoſed, with great plauſibility, to have added the 'Actio contra Mariam Scotorum Reginam,' and the Latin tranſlation of Mary's firſt three letters to the Earl of Bothwell. From a manuſcript notice inſerted in a copy which belonged to Mr. Herbert, it appears that the *Actio* was by ſome aſcribed to Sir Thomas Smith, but by the annotator himſelf to Wilſon, of whom he muſt apparently be ſuppoſed to have had ſome perſonal knowledge. Wilſon was at that time maſter of the requeſts, and afterwards ſecretary of ſtate. Some of the ſentiments, and the general texture of the compoſition, are ſuch as cannot eaſily be ſuppoſed to have proceeded from Buchanan; and, in the preſent inquiry, it is of more conſequence to aſcertain that it was not written by him, than who was its real author. 'It reſumes,' ſays Mr. Laing, 'the detail of the ſame facts contained in the Detection, with the tedious repetition natural to one author, when retracing the footſteps of another, whom he ſtrives only to ſurpaſs in violence: ſuperadding ſuch local deſcription, and vulgar reports as a keen inquirer, who had viſited Scotland in perſon, might collect from Leſley and other Scots, whom he examined on the ſubject. The Detection is a conciſe hiſtorical deduction of facts; a rapid narrative, written with that chaſte and claſſical preciſion of thought and language, from which each ſentence acquires an appropriate idea, diſtinct from the preceding, neither anticipated, repeated, nor intermixed with others; and the ſtyle is ſo ſtrictly hiſtorical, that the work is incorporated in Buchanan's hiſtory almoſt without alteration. But the Action againſt Mary is a dull declamation, and a malignant

malignant invective, written in profeſſed imitation of the ancient orators, whom Buchanan has never imitated; without arrangement of parts, coherence, or a regular train of ideas; and without a ſingle paſſage which Buchanan, in his hiſtory, has deigned to tranſcribe. A man inured to extemporary eloquence, whoſe mind is accuſtomed only to popular arguments, and his tongue to prompt and looſe declamation, never writes with ſuch lucid arrangement, with ſuch accuracy of thought, or compreſſion of ſtyle, as a profeſſed author, who thinks no labour too great for what is bequeathed to poſterity; and the virulent action againſt Mary no more reſembles Buchanan's Detection, than the coarſe and verboſe ribaldry of Whitaker, or the elegant yet diffuſe rhapſodies of Burke and Bolingbroke, the correct and claſſical preciſion of Junius or Hume.'

"The regent, to whom Buchanan was ſo cordially attached, did not long ſurvive thoſe tranſactions. On the 23d of January, 1570, he was ſhot in the ſtreet of Linlithgow, by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, whom his clemency had formerly reſcued from an ignominious death. The aſſaſſin had been confirmed in his inhuman enterpriſe by the approbation of his powerful kinſmen. The indignation of Buchanan was naturally rouſed againſt the houſe of Hamilton; and he had ſufficient cauſe to ſuſpect that their purpoſes were not yet completely effected. Under theſe impreſſions, he addreſſed an admonition to the faithful peers; in which he earneſtly adjured them to protect the young king, and the children of the late regent, from the perils which ſeemed to await them. It was apparently in the courſe of the ſame year, 1570, that he compoſed another Scottiſh tract, entitled *Chamæleon*. In this ſatirical production, he very ſucceſsfully expoſes the wavering politics of the famous ſecretary Maitland. The ſecretary, who was juſtly alarmed at the proſpect of being publicly exhibited in ſuch glaring colours, entertained a ſuſpicion that the work was to iſſue from the preſs of Robert Lekprevick; and on the 14th of April, 1571, his emiſſary Captain Melvin ſearched for the third time, that printer's houſe in Edinburgh. This ſearch took place about eleven o'clock on a Saturday night; but Lekprevick being warned of his danger, had previouſly diſappeared with ſuch papers as ſeemed to threaten diſagreeable conſequences. The *Chamæleon*, if it was actually delivered to the printer, ſeems to have been ſuppreſſed by Maitland's vigilance; for it remained in manuſcript till the beginning of laſt century. The ſtyle of theſe two productions is at leaſt equal in vigour and elegance to that of any other compoſition in the ancient Scottiſh language; though it is ſufficiently obvious that the happy genius of the author cannot there appear in its genuine ſplendour. 'When we read,' ſays an accompliſhed and able writer, 'the compoſitions of Buchanan in his native tongue, how completely are his genius and taſte obſcured by thoſe homely manners which the coarſeneſs of his dialect recals; and how difficult is it to believe that they expreſs the ideas and ſentiments of the ſame writer, whoſe Latin productions vie with the beſt models of antiquity!'

"Soon after the aſſaſſination of his illuſtrious friend, Buchanan was removed to a ſituation of no inconſiderable importance; he was appointed one of the preceptors of the young king. For this preferment he was apparently indebted to the privy council and others of the nobility and gentry, who aſſembled in conſequence of that diſaſtrous event, for the purpoſe of regulating the affairs of the nation. Having appeared before the council, he reſigned his office of principal in favour of his friend Patrick Adamſon, probably the famous poet who was afterwards archbiſhop of St. Andrews. The circumſtance of his being permitted to nominate a ſucceſſor, may be conſidered as an additional proof of the high eſtimation in which his character was held. The privy council now admitted Adamſon to the principality; but it does not appear from the univerſity records that he ever exerciſed his new functions.

"The prince had been committed during his infancy to the charge of the Earl of Mar, a nobleman of the moſt unblemiſhed integrity. In 1570, when Buchanan entered upon his office, he was only four years of age. The chief ſuperintendance of his education was intruſted to the Earl's brother, Sir Alexander Erſkine, 'a gallant well-natured gentleman, loved and honoured by all men.' The preceptors aſſociated with Buchanan were Peter Young, and the two abbots of Cambuſkenneth and Dryburgh, both related to the noble family of Mar. Young was reſpectable for his capacity and learning. His diſpoſition was naturally mild; and his prudent attention to his future intereſt rendered him cautious of offending a pupil, who was ſoon to be the diſpenſer of public favours. He was afterwards employed in ſeveral political tranſactions of importance, obtained the honour of knighthood, and received an annual penſion of conſiderable amount. The lofty and independent ſpirit of Buchanan was not to be controlled by the mere ſuggeſtions of cold caution; the honourable taſk which the voice of his country had aſſigned to his old age, he diſcharged with ſimple integrity, and was little ſolicitous what impreſſion the ſtrictneſs of his diſcipline might leave on the mind of his royal pupil. James, who was of a timid nature, long remembered the commanding aſpect which his illuſtrious preceptor had aſſumed. Of the uncourtly diſcipline to which he was ſubjected, two inſtances have been recorded; but with regard to their authenticity, every inquirer ſhall be left to decide for himſelf. The king having caught a fancy for a tame ſparrow which belonged to his play-fellow, the maſter of Mar, ſolicited him without effect to transfer his right; and in endeavouring to wreſt it out of his hand, he deprived the poor little animal of life. Erſkine having raiſed due lamentation for its untimely fate, the circumſtances were reported to Buchanan, who lent his young ſovereign a box on the ear, and admoniſhed him that he was himſelf a true bird of the bloody neſt to which he belonged. A theme which had one day been preſcribed to the royal pupil, was the conſpiracy of the Earl of Angus and other noblemen during the reign of James the Third. After dinner he was diverting himſelf with the maſter of Mar; and as Buchanan,

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who in the mean-time was intent on reading, found himself annoyed by their obstreperous mirth, he requested the king to desist; but as no attention was paid to the suggestion, he threatened to accompany his next injunction with something more forcible than words. James, whose ear had been tickled by the quaint application of the apologue mentioned in his theme, replied that he should be glad to see who would *bell the cat*. His venerable preceptor, who might have pardoned the remark, was perhaps offended with the mode in which it was uttered; he threw aside his book with indignation, and bestowed upon the delinquent that species of scholastic discipline which is deemed most ignominious. The countess of Mar, being attracted by the wailing which ensued, hastened to the scene of his disgrace; and taking the precious depositin her arms, she demanded of Buchanan how he presumed to lay his hand upon 'the Lord's anointed?' To this interrogation, he is said to have returned an answer that contained a very unceremonious antithesis relative to that part that had received the chastisement. A man who was no stranger to polished society can hardly be suspected of such unpoliteness to a lady, unless we suppose her to have assumed a degree of insolence which rendered it expedient to convince her, by an overwhelming proof, that he disowned her authority.

"The young monarch's proficiency in letters was such as reflected no discredit on his early instructors. He undoubtedly acquired a very considerable portion of scholastic knowledge, and attained to the command of a fluent and not inelegant style. By some of the most illustrious of his cotemporaries, he has even been extolled as a prodigy of erudition: but the commendations bestowed upon a living potentate are generally to be received with the utmost caution. His literary attainments are however commemorated in terms of respect by several eminent writers, who cannot be suspected of the same partiality of judgment. Dr. Parr admits that he was possessed of no contemptible share of learning; and an admirable historian mentions his Βασιλικὸν Δῶρον with appropriate praise. 'Notwithstanding,' says Dr. Robertson, 'the great alterations and refinements in national taste since that time, we must allow this to be no contemptible performance, and not to be inferior to works of most cotemporary writers, either in purity of style or justness of composition.' His works are numerous, and of various denominations.

That he should regard the memory of his preceptor with an unusual degree of affection, could not reasonably be expected. The character of his mother, Buchanan had discussed in a very unceremonious style; and, in return, James has repeatedly mentioned the name of Buchanan with very little reverence. The royal author condemns his History of Scotland as an infamous invective; and admonishes his heir apparent to punish such of his future subjects as should be guilty of retaining it in their custody. James is to be considered as one of Buchanan's most formidable enemies. The only son of an ill-fated princess was naturally solicitous to wash away the foul spots of her reputation; and with this

view he exerted all the powerful influence attached to his ſceptre. Men of letters who courted his favour, were too eaſily induced to conſider his mother's fame as immaculate; and as her reputation was incompatible with that of her principal accuſer, the next ſtep of expediency was to convict Buchanan in the moſt ſummary manner. His ſtrong antipathy cannot indeed excite much ſurpriſe; but it would perhaps have been more magnanimous to ſuppreſs his indignation againſt a preceptor who had diſcharged his duty with the moſt conſcientious ſolicitude. Of the future glory of his pupil, and the attendant felicity of his country, Buchanan ſeems to have cheriſhed many a fond and anxious hope; but all his labours proved abortive, and his expectations deceitful. The underſtanding of James, which had preſented no unfavourable dawn, was naturally opaque; and the malignant influence of courtly adulation ſpeedily counteracted the effect of thoſe ſalutary maxims of virtue and polity, with which it was the perpetual ſolicitude of Buchanan to fortify his tender mind. From the mature wiſdom of his inſtructor, he might have imbibed the durable principles of a legitimate ſovereignty; might have learned to ſecure his own glory, to provide for the future peace of his race, and to conſider the happineſs of his people as the moſt ſplendid object of regal ambition. But his notions of prerogative, after having been foſtered by a more genial atmoſphere, became at length ſo utterly extravagant as to approach the borders of phrenzy. In his native country, he was frequently treated with the utmoſt contempt; but England had been long habituated to the tyranny of the houſe of Tudor. His ſon inherited his political errors as well as his crown; though the royal family ſcorned improvement, the reſt of the nation had begun to ſicken at perpetual encroachment and ſubmiſſion; and the enſuing ſtruggle, which was unqueſtionably followed by remote conſequences of a ſalutary nature, involved the death of a monarch whoſe faults, though of the firſt magnitude, were faults of education. If the pupil of Buchanan had been worthy of ſuch a preceptor, the royal houſe of Stewart might ſtill have ſwayed the ſceptre of their anceſtors.

"One of the earlieſt propenſities which he diſcovered, was an exceſſive attachment to favourites; and this weakneſs, which ought to have been abandoned with the other characteriſtics of childhood, continued to retain its aſcendancy during every ſtage of his life. His facility in complying with every requeſt alarmed the prophetic ſagacity of Buchanan. On the authority of the poet's nephew, Chytræus has recorded a ludicrous expedient which he adopted for the purpoſe of correcting his pupil's conduct. He preſented the young king with two papers, which he requeſted him to ſign; and James, after having ſlightly interrogated him reſpecting their contents, readily appended his ſignature to each, without the precaution of even a curſory peruſal. One of them was a formal transference of the regal authority for the term of fifteen days. Having quitted the royal preſence, one of the courtiers accoſted him with the uſual ſalutation; but to this aſtoniſhed nobleman he announced

announced himself in the new character of a sovereign; and with that happy urbanity of humour for which he was so distinguished, he began to assume the high demeanour of royalty. He afterwards preserved the same deportment towards the king himself; and when James expressed his amazement at such extraordinary conduct, Buchanan admonished him of his having resigned the crown. This reply did not tend to lessen the monarch's surprise; for he now began to suspect his preceptor of mental derangement. Buchanan then produced the instrument by which he was formally invested; and, with the authority of a tutor, proceeded to remind him of the absurdity of assenting to petitions in so rash a manner.

"About the period when he was nominated preceptor to the king, other marks of distinction were conferred upon him. His first civil appointment, which he seems to have retained but a short while, was that of director of the chancery. The keeper of the privy seal, John, afterwards Lord Maitland, having been deprived of his office on account of his adherence to the unfortunate queen, it was very laudably conferred on Buchanan in the year 1570. The earl of Lenox was at that time regent. His situation as lord privy seal was undoubtedly honourable, and probably lucrative. It entitled him to a seat in Parliament. This office he retained for the space of several years. On the 30th of April, 1578, he nominally resigned it in favour of his nephew Thomas, the son of Alexander Buchanan of Ibert; but that measure seems only to have been adopted for the purpose of securing the reversion. For in the month of June, he voted in parliament for the abbot of Dumfermline's being sent as ambassador to the English court; and in that of July for the Earl of Morton's being excluded from the king's council. So late as the year 1580, one of his correspondents addresses him by the title of preceptor and counsellor to the king of Scotland.

"With the three former regents he was cordially connected; but the conduct of Morton had deservedly excited his patriotic indignation. It was by the seasonable council of Buchanan and Sir Alexander Erskine, that the king had been induced to depose him from his office, which, however, he afterwards succeeded in regaining. The situation of Scotland during that unhappy period is sufficiently known. It was the policy of Elizabeth to exert over this country a very unwarrantable influence; and the anticipation of a speedy union might perhaps have considerable tendency to reconcile many upright men to her views. A list of twenty-four persons in Scotland, whom she proposed to attach by pensions, is still preserved. One hundred pounds was the gratuity intended for Buchanan; and several noble earls are not there valued at a higher price. But it is far from being certain that this pension was ever conferred; nor is any material inference to be rashly deduced from the insertion of his name in the scrolls of a political projector, residing in a different kingdom.

"Buchanan was equally consulted as a politician and as a scholar. The inconveniences which were found to result from the use of a multiplicity of Latin gram-

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mars in the different ſchools of the kingdom, having been repreſented to the young monarch, a committee of learned men was appointed to deliberate reſpecting a competent remedy. Buchanan preſided; and his coadjutors were Peter Young, Andrew Simpſon, and James Carmichael. They aſſembled in the royal palace of Stirling; and while they continued to exerciſe their commiſſion, were ſuitably entertained at the charge of the king. Having found the grammars commonly in uſe to be extremely defective, it was reſolved that three of their number ſhould attempt to eſtabliſh a more rational ſtandard. Simpſon, who was ſchoolmaſter, and afterwards miniſter of Dunbar, undertook the rudiments; Carmichael, who was likewiſe a ſchoolmaſter, what is improperly termed etymology; and to Buchanan was aſſigned the department of proſody. The reſpective tracts of theſe grammarians were in due time committed to the preſs; but they did not long continue to be received as the ſtandard introduction to the Latin language. The expediency of the legiſlature interfering in a caſe of this kind, may very ſafely be called in queſtion. From the promiſcuous uſe of different elementary treatiſes, ſome inconveniences undoubtedly will ariſe: but if certain grammars were to be authoritatively intruded on all the ſchools of a kingdom, no future opportunity would be left for that gradual improvement which may be expected in every department of human art. If king James's regulations, which were probably authorized by an order of council, had continued to be enforced with any degree of rigour, the grammatical works of Ruddiman might never have been undertaken. If the Scottiſh geometers had been compelled to adhere to a particular text-book, Euclid would in all probability never have been illuſtrated by the labours of Dr. Simſon and Mr. Playfair.

"In the month of July, 1578, the parliament granted a commiſſion "to certain noble, reverend, worſhipful, and diſcreet perſons, to viſit and conſider the foundations and erections of the univerſities and colleges within this realm; to reform ſuch things as ſounded to ſuperſtition, idolatry, and popery; to diſplace unqualified and unfit perſons from the diſcharge of their offices in the ſaid univerſities; and to eſtabliſh ſuch qualified and worthy perſons therein as they ſhould find good and ſufficient for the education of youth." Theſe commiſſioners having failed to convene at the time ſpecified, the buſineſs was conſequently delayed; but it was afterwards expedited by a remonſtrance from the general aſſembly. The delegates of the church particularized the univerſity of St. Andrews as a proper ſubject for the firſt experiment of reformation: and the privy council enjoined the heads of that univerſity to repair to Edinburgh on a certain day, and to ſubmit their charters to the inſpection of a commiſſion which was now appointed. The commiſſioners who acted upon this occaſion were the Earl of Lenox, Robert, commendator of Dunfermline, George Buchanan, James Haliburton, and Peter Young. Having found much to alter and redreſs, they ſubſcribed a memorial, dated on the 8th of November,

1579

1579; and their ſcheme of reformation was ratified by parliament on the 11th of the ſame month. This very curious memorial, which is written in the Scottiſh language, is known to have been the production of Buchanan. The general plan is very ſkilfully delineated; and it evidently pre-ſuppoſed the nation to abound in men of learning. The act of Parliament which ratified Buchanan's ſcheme was afterwards repealed, in conſequence of the confuſion and uncertainty which the academics pretended to have ariſen from the introduction of ſuch material alterations. But they may fairly be ſuſpected of having been unwilling to purſue the arduous path of erudition which had been preſcribed: it was more eaſy to obſerve the old formalities of the ſchools, than to embrace ſo large a plan of diſcipline. The former act was repealed on the 4th of Auguſt, 1621; and the general principles of the repealing ſtatute are ſuch as might have been expected from one of King James's parliaments. To theſe legiſlators it ſeemed "moſt equitable that the will of the founders ſhould take effect, except where the ſame is repugnant to the true religion preſently profeſſed within this kingdom." But it was certainly as far remote from the will of the founders, that their colleges ſhould ever become ſeminaries of any new religion, as that the plan of ſcholaſtic diſcipline originally preſcribed ſhould be ſubjected to ſalutary innovations. If in one inſtance it was abſolute ſacrilege to violate the tenour of their bequeſt, it muſt in all other inſtances have been the ſame. But as it had been found expedient to ſuperſede their regulations with reſpect to the very eſſential article of religion, it ought likewiſe to have occurred to the legiſlature, that to baniſh unprofitable modes of ſtudy was a meaſure not leſs conſiſtent with equity. Whatever may be their genuine origin, it is always proper to conſider foundations of this kind as having originated in the pure motives of benevolence and public ſpirit; and to promote their correſpondence with the progreſſive nature of man, muſt be deemed perfectly conſiſtent with the general principles which their authors oſtenſibly entertain.

"The merit of Buchanan, as muſt already have appeared, was not overlooked by his countrymen; and his conſequence abroad had been increaſed by the reſpect which he ſecured at home. From the general ſtate of religious opinions in the nation, as well as from the conſpicuous character of the royal inſtructor, the Proteſtants on the continent ſeem to have conceived early hopes of finding in the Scottiſh monarch a powerful acceſſion to the common cauſe. So conſiderable was the influence of this illuſtrious ſcholar, that his favour was even ſolicited by the king of Navarre, afterwards ſo famous by the title of Henry the Great. In a letter addreſſed to Buchanan, that accompliſhed prince requeſted him to inſtil into the tender mind of his pupil ſuch ſentiments as might conduce to their future attachment. This letter he intruſted to his faithful adherent Philip Mornay, a man highly diſtinguiſhed for his literary and political talents. In the progreſs of his voyage to England, Mor-

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nay fell into the hands of pirates, and it was carried off with the reſt of the plunder; but upon his arrival in London, he apprized Buchanan of his maſter's wiſhes. The French Proteſtants were extremely ſolicitous for a matrimonial alliance between James and the king of Navarre's ſiſter; and at the ſuggeſtion of ſeveral perſons of that claſs, R. Lemaçon de la Fontaine requeſted Buchanan to promote a ſcheme which might eſſentially contribute to the advancement of the reformed religion. Two of his letters relative to this ſubject have been preſerved; but what encouragement the project received, is not known.

"Beza, the friend of Buchanan, and the terror of the Papiſts, addreſſed himſelf to the young king with ſimilar views. In the year 1580, he dedicated to James one of his publications, in a ſtrain ſufficiently calculated to pre-engage his attachment to the Proteſtant intereſts. On this occaſion, he wrote a ſhort epiſtle to his early friend. 'Behold, my dear Buchanan, a notable inſtance of double extravagance in a ſingle act; affording an illuſtration of the characteriſtic phrenzy of poets—provided you admit me to a participation of that title. I have been guilty of trifling with a ſerious ſubject, and have dedicated my trifles to a king. If, with your uſual politeneſs, and in conſideration of our ancient friendſhip, you ſhould undertake to excuſe both theſe circumſtances to the king, I truſt the matter will have a fortunate iſſue: but if you refuſe, I ſhall be diſappointed in my expectations. The ſcope of this little work, ſuch as it is, you will learn from the preface; namely, that the king, when he ſhall be aware of the high expectations which he has excited in all the churches, may at the ſame time, delighted with thoſe various and excellent examples, become more and more familiar with his duty. Of this work I likewiſe ſend a copy to you, that is, owls to Athens; and requeſt you to accept it as a token of my regard. My late paraphraſe of the Pſalms, if it has reached your country, will I hope inſpire you with the deſign of reprinting your own, to the great advantage of the church: and, believe me, it is not ſo much myſelf as the whole church that entreats you to accelerate this ſcheme. Farewell, excellent man. May the Lord Jeſus bleſs your hoary hairs more and more, and long preſerve you for our ſake. Geneva, March 16th, 1580.'

"In a former letter, Beza had congratulated him on the promiſing diſpoſition of his royal pupil. 'I could not ſuffer this ſafe meſſenger to depart without a letter, at once to convince you that, during your abſence, I have carefully preſerved and continually cheriſhed your remembrance, and to offer you, or rather the whole nation, my congratulations in reference to what you have ſignified to our friend Scrimger; namely, that you are bleſt with a king whoſe childhood has already afforded ſuch indications of piety and every virtue, as have excited in the public mind the hope and expectation of all that is deſirable. God forbid that the ſame miſchance, which not long ago befel a neighbouring nation, ſhould befal you: but may he rather grant that Scotland, being thus poſſeſſed

poſſeſſed of a king endowed with every accompliſhment of body and mind, may at length repoſe from the domeſtic wars and aſſaſſinations with which it has ſo long been annoyed, and enjoy the bleſſings of holy peace. May the ſame merciful Father rid you of your Medea, or Athalia: for I cannot find a name ſuitable to her miſdeeds. With reſpect to our affairs, you will, I hope, receive complete information from our friend Young. From the peruſal of your pſalms I have derived incredible delight: although they are ſuch as could only have proceeded from yourſelf, yet I wiſh, what to you will by no means be difficult, that from being good you would render them the beſt, or, if you pleaſe, better than the beſt. Farewell, excellent man, together with all the good and pious. May the Lord Jeſus preſerve you in health and ſafety. Geneva, April 12th, 1572.'

"Theſe illuſtrious friends diſplayed a ſtrong congeniality of diſpoſition: they were animated with the ſame ardent ſpirit of independence, and were equally attached to the principles of the Reformation. From the ſame warmth of zeal that prompted them to the purſuit of excellence, they were ſometimes betrayed into a violent and intemperate ſtyle. The terms which Buchanan has applied to Queen Mary and Archbiſhop Hamilton are ſuch as can hardly be juſtified; and Beza has often treated his literary antagoniſts in a very reprehenſible manner. Beza, like his admirable correſpondent, evinced an early predilection for poetry; and he likewiſe executed a complete paraphraſe of the Pſalms. Their reſpective verſions have repeatedly been aſſociated together; but as Le Clerc has very properly ſuggeſted, this was a compariſon which Beza ought not ſo raſhly to have hazarded."

Death and Character of Buchanan.

(From the ſame.)

"Buchanan expired a ſhort while after five o'clock, on the morning of Friday the 28th of September, 1582. He was then in the ſeventy-ſeventh year of his age. His remains were interred in the cemetery of the Grey-friars; and his ungrateful country never afforded his grave the common tribute of a monumental ſtone. After an interval of ſome years, his tomb was opened; and his ſkull, or at leaſt a ſkull ſuppoſed to be his, was, by the intervention of Principal Adamſon, depoſited in the library of the univerſity of Edinburgh. It is ſo thin as to be tranſparent.

"The death of this illuſtrious man was leſs commemorated by the ſurviving poets than might reaſonably have been expected. Some poetical tributes were however produced on the occaſion. Andrew Melvin, who had frequently celebrated him while alive, did not fail to diſcharge the laſt debt of lettered friendſhip.

"Ergo ſilent magni Buchanani in funere Muſæ?
Nec vatem Aonidum flet pia turba ſuum?
An ſecum Buchananus habet montem, unde Camœnæ
Devolvunt mœſtis murmura trunca modis?
An ſecum Buchananus habet fontem, unde poetæ
Pieriis poti collachrymantur aquis?

Aonio

Aonio frustra quæruntur vertice Musæ:
Castalio frustra e fonte petuntur aquæ.
Pro monte est cœlum, pro fonte est Christus: utrumque
Et Christum et cœlum nunc Buchananus habet.
Hausisti hinc sacros latices, divine poeta:
Fudisti hinc summo carmina digna Deo.
Hauriat hinc quisquis Buchanani in funere mœret,
Ut vatum fundat carmina digna Deo."

Joseph Scaliger has also written his epitaph, and in terms of liberal and appropriate praise.

"Postquam laude tua patriam, meritisque beasti,
Buchanane, tuis Solis utrumque latus,
Contemptis opibus, spretis popularibus auris,
Ventosæque fugax ambitionis, obis;
Præmia quina quater Pisææ functus olivæ,
Et linquens animi pignora rara tui:
In quibus haud tibi se anteferent quos Itala vates
Terra dedit: nec quos Gallia mater alit,
Æquabunt genium felicis carminis, et quæ
Orbis habet famæ consscia signa tuæ.
Namque ad supremum perducta poetica culmen
In te stat, nec quo progrediatur habet.
Imperii fuerat Romani Scotia limes:
Romani eloquii Scotia finis erit."

"Buchanan had consecrated a monument of his own fame, composed of materials more permanent than brass or marble; but his country has at length afforded him one of those memorials which are of least value when most merited, and which contribute more to the honour of the living than of the dead. An obelisk, nineteen feet square at the base, and extending to the height of one hundred and three feet, was lately erected to his memory at the village of Killearn. The plan was suggested by the late Robert Dunmore, Esq. to a very numerous company assembled in the house of a gentleman in that vicinity. Professor Richardson, well known as a successful cultivator of polite literature, was present on the occasion. A subscription was immediately opened, and nearly completed by those classical guests; and one of their number, the late Mr. Craig, a nephew of Thomson, furnished the architectural design as his contribution. To this memorial of departed genius the intelligent traveller resorts with veneration and enthusiasm.

"Buchanan had experienced many of the vicissitudes of human life, and, in every situation, had adhered to those maxims of conduct which he deemed honourable. His integrity was stern and inflexible: what has been regarded as the least immaculate part of his character, naturally resulted from the prominent qualities of a mind which could not sufficiently accommodate itself to the frailties of mankind. The misdeeds of the ill-fated queen were, in his opinion, such as dissolved every tie by which he might once be bound: her conduct, he supposed, had not only destroyed her hereditary claims of allegiance, but had even reflected disgrace and infamy on human nature. This sentiment, whatever may be the legitimacy of its origin, was certainly entertained by Buchanan; who has accordingly vented his unbounded indignation in terms which cannot otherwise be justified. But the age in which he lived was rude and boisterous; nor did the exquisite cultivation of his mind entirely defend him from the general contagion. He was subject to the nice and irritable feelings which frequently attend exalted genius; enthusiastic in his attachment, and violent

violent in his reſentment; equally ſincere in his love and in his hatred. His friends, among whom he numbered ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed characters of that æra, regarded him with a warmth of affection which intellectual eminence cannot alone ſecure. Of an open and generous diſpoſition, he diſplayed the enviable qualities which render domeſtic intercourſe profitable and intereſting. The general voice had awarded him a pre-eminence in literature that ſeemed to preclude all hopes of rivalſhip: but his eſtimate of his own attainments was uniformly conſiſtent with perfect modeſty; and no man could evince himſelf more willing to acknowledge genuine merit in other candidates for fame. This affability, united to the charms of a brilliant converſation, rendered his ſociety highly acceptable to perſons of the moſt oppoſite denomination. His countenance was ſtern and auſtere, but his heart ſoft and humane. In his writings, he inculcates the principles of patriotiſm and benevolence; and in his commerce with the world, he did not depart from his ſolitary ſpeculations. His patriotiſm was of that unadulterated ſpecies which flows from general philanthropy: his large ſoul embraced the common family of mankind, but his affections taught him that his firſt regards were due to the barren land from which he derived his birth. Notwithſtanding his long habituation to an academical life, his manners betrayed none of the peculiarities of a mere pedagogue. During his latter years, when his conſtitution was broken by complicated diſeaſes, and his mind ſick of terreſtrial objects, he became negligent in his dreſs, and perhaps ſomewhat inattentive to the ceremonials of private intercourſe; but his general character was that of a man conſpicuous for the urbanity of his wit. His converſation was alternately facetious and inſtructive. George Buchanan's wit is ſtill proverbial among his countrymen; and a motley collection of his ſuppoſed repartees and adventures is one of the moſt common books in the libraries of the Scottiſh peaſantry. His humour was however of a more dignified denomination than it is there repreſented; nature ſeemed to have intended him for the ornament and reformation of a court. The native elegance of his mind, and the ſplendor of his reputation, ſecured him the utmoſt reſpect and deference from ſuch of his countrymen as were not ſeparated from him by the rancour of political zeal: and although he even aſſumed conſiderable latitude in cenſuring the errors of exalted ſtation, yet the dignified ſimplicity of his manners prevented his liberties from exciting reſentment. Conſcious of perſonal worth and of intrinſic greatneſs, he did not fail to aſſert his own privileges: mere ſuperiority of rank was not capable of alluring him to a ſervile and degrading attachment; but it was equally incapable of provoking his envy or malice. In the courſe of his chequered life, he found himſelf not unfrequently expoſed to the miſeries of poverty; but his philoſophical mind never learned to ſtoop to the ſuggeſtions of ſordid prudence. Although he at length enjoyed one of the great offices of the crown, and poſſeſſed other ſources of emolument, yet his liberality ſeems to have increaſed

creaſed in proportion to his opulence; he purchaſed no eſtates, and had no hoards of treaſure to bequeath. Of his prodigality or oſtentation no evidence occurs: it is not therefore unreaſonable to conclude, that the principal charms of his wealth aroſe from its application to benevolent purpoſes. Of the truth of the Chriſtian religion, and conſequently of its eternal moment, his conviction ſeems to have been compleat and uniform. Sir James Melvil, although his political enemy, has candidly repreſented him as a man of piety. The nature of his attachment to the Reformation was conſiſtent with his uſual wiſdom; he eagerly hailed the dawn of an æra which promiſed to relieve the world of enormous deluſion, and of enormous profligacy; but he certainly could not approve the exceſſes of a party which evinced ſufficient inclination, as ſoon as it poſſeſſed ſufficient power, to tyrannize over the conſciences of mankind. The extravagances of John Knox, with whom he appears to have been perſonally acquainted, and who was undoubtedly a moſt powerful champion in a cauſe of which they entertained the ſame general ſentiments, have received no ſplendid encomiums from the hiſtorical pen of Buchanan. He was too delicate to devour popular creeds, and too enlightened to applaud the fierce ſpirit of intoleration in men who had themſelves been rouſed to ſtrenuous action by the bitterneſs of perſecution.

"Nor was the genius of Buchanan leſs variegated than his life. In his numerous writings, he diſcovers a vigorous and mature combination of talents which have ſeldom been found united in equal perfection. According to the common opinion, intellectual ſuperiority is almoſt invariably circumſcribed by one of the two grand partitions which philoſophers have delineated; it is either founded on the predominancy of thoſe capabilities which conſtitute what is termed the imagination, or of thoſe which in contradiſtinction are denominated the underſtanding. Theſe different powers of exertion, though certainly not incompatible with each other, are but rarely found to coaleſce in equal maturity. Buchanan has however diſplayed them in the ſame high degree of perfection. To an imagination excurſive and brilliant, he unites an undeviating rectitude of judgment. His learning was at once elegant, various, and profound: Turnebus, who was aſſociated with him in the ſame college, and whoſe deciſions will not be raſhly controverted, has characterized him as a man of conſummate erudition. Moſt of the ancient writers had limited their aſpiring hopes to one department of literature; and even to excel in one, demands the happy perſeverance of a cultivated genius. Plato deſpaired of gaining a reputation by his poetry; the poetical attempts of Cicero, though leſs contemptible perhaps than they are commonly repreſented, would not have been ſufficient to tranſmit an illuſtrious name to future ages. Buchanan has not only attained to excellence in each ſpecies of compoſition, but in each ſpecies has diſplayed a variety of excellence: in philoſophical dialogue and hiſtorical narrative, in lyric and didactic poetry, in elegy, epigram,

gram, and ſatire, he has never been equalled in modern, and hardly ſurpaſſed in ancient times. A few Roman poets of the pureſt ages have excelled him in their ſeveral provinces; but none of them has evinced the ſame capability of univerſal attainment. Horace and Livy wrote in the language which they had learned from their mothers; but its very acquiſition was to Buchanan the reſult of much youthful labour. Yet he writes with the purity, the elegance, and freedom of an ancient Roman. Unfettered by the claſſical reſtraints which ſhrivel the powers of an ordinary mind, he expatiates with all the characteriſtic energy of ſtrong and original ſentiment; he produces new combinations of fancy, and inveſts them with language equally poliſhed and appropriate. His diction uniformly diſplays a happy vein of elegant and maſculine ſimplicity; and is diſtinguiſhed by that propriety and perſpicuity, which can only be attained by a man perfectly maſter of his own ideas, and of the language in which he writes. The variety of his poetical meaſures is immenſe, and to each ſpecies he imparts its peculiar grace and harmony. The ſtyle of his proſe exhibits correſpondent beauties; nor is it chequered by phraſeologies unſuitable in that mode of compoſition. His diction, whether in proſe or verſe, is not a tiſſue of centos; he imitates the ancients as the ancients imitated each other. No Latin poet of modern times has united the ſame originality and elegance; no hiſtorian has ſo completely imbibed the genius of antiquity without being betrayed into ſervile and pedantic imitation. But his works may legitimately claim a higher order of merit; they have added no inconſiderable influx to the general ſtream of human knowledge. The wit, the pungency, the vehemence, of his eccleſiaſtical ſatires, muſt have tended to foment the genial flame of reformation; and his political ſpeculations are evidently thoſe of a man who had nobly ſoared beyond the narrow limits of his age."

Sketch of the Life of Francis Groſe, Eſq.

(*From Noble's Hiſtory of the College of Arms.*)

Francis Groſe, Eſq. F. A. S. was the ſon of Francis Groſe, Eſq. a native of Switzerland, who ſettled in England, became ſo eminent a jeweller, that he was employed in getting up the crown for the coronation of George II. Retiring from buſineſs, he reſided at Richmond, and became a juſtice of peace for the county of Surry. Dying in December, 1769, his prints and ſhells were diſpoſed of in the following year. By Ann, daughter of Thomas Bennett, of Kingſton, in Oxfordſhire, he had the herald, and ſeveral other ſons; they were, Mr. John Groſe, F. A. S. author of "Ethics." John-Henry Groſe, Eſq. who wrote the Voyage to the Eaſt Indies, printed in 1772, in two volumes, father of Daniel Groſe, Eſq. F. A. S. captain of the royal regiment of artillery. Edward Groſe, Eſq. a merchant, in Threadneedle-ſtreet; and Sir Naſh Groſe, juſtice of the King's Bench. Francis Groſe, Eſq. Richmond,

Richmond, the eldeſt ſon, born at Greenford, in Middleſex, having a taſte for heraldry and antiquities, his father procured him a place in the College of Arms. At his death he left him a fortune, which, with œconomy, was ſufficient to have ſupplied all reaſonable demands; but eccentric, eaſy, a lover and promoter of pleaſantry, he never reflected about contingencies. Reſigning his tabard in 1763, he became adjutant-paymaſter of the Hampſhire militia; here he found others equally diſpoſed to frolic and mirth, his moments paſſed pleaſantly: the only books of account he kept, as he uſed to own, were his right and left hand pockets; into the one he put what he received; from the other he paid: the deſigning, and the careleſs, regarded him as their dupe, and he ſoon felt the effects of his eaſy credulity. He found reſources in his excellent claſſical education, and his fine taſte for drawing; this gave riſe to his projecting thoſe elegant, ſplendid, and curious volumes, which adorn our beſt libraries. His works are, Antiquities of England and Wales, in four volumes; of Scotland, in two volumes; the ſame of Guernſey and Jerſey, in two volumes.

The works he publiſhed upon this intereſting ſubject are faithful ſketches of Druidical remains, and of the ruinated caſtles and monaſteries in the Britiſh iſles. He was often aſſiſted by his friends, both in drawing, and oftener in the hiſtorical part, but never without the moſt grateful acknowledgments. Mr. Groſe had been for ſome time a Fellow of the Societies of Antiquaries of London and Bath; the former in March 31, 1757. He alſo had riſen in his profeſſion to be a captain in the Surry militia; and as he had publiſhed his volumes of the Antiquities of Guernſey and Jerſey, in 1787, he applied himſelf to what related to his military ſituation. In 1786, 1788, he printed his "Military Antiquities reſpecting a Hiſtory of the Engliſh Army, from the Conqueſt to the preſent time," in two volumes, 4to. illuſtrated with great variety of plates; and like the former works, publiſhed in numbers. As a kind of prelude to theſe volumes he publiſhed, "A Treatiſe on ancient Armour and Weapons, illuſtrated by plates taken from the original armour in the Tower of London, and other arſenals, muſeums and cabinets, 1785, 4to." To which he gave a Supplement in 1789, 4to. The plates in both were etched by Mr. John Hamilton, vice-preſident of the Society of Artiſts of Great Britain, "executed in a free painter-like manner." In 1785, he publiſhed "A claſſical Dictionary of the vulgar Tongue," which by no means added to his reputation, and "A Guide to Health, Beauty, Honour, and Riches; being a collection of humorous advertiſements, pointing out means to obtain thoſe bleſſings," with a ſuitable introductory preface. In 1786, "The Hiſtory of Dover Caſtle, by the Rev. William Darell, chaplain to Queen Elizabeth." The Latin MS. from which this was printed, was tranſcribed from the original by William Oldys, Eſq. Norroy. It is elegantly printed in quarto and octavo, the ſame ſize as the large and ſmall editions of the Antiquities of England and Wales, with ten beautiful views, finely engraved,

engraved, from drawings taken by himſelf on the ſpot. In 1788, "A provincial Gloſſary, with a Collection of local Proverbs, and popular Superſtitions," 8vo. In the ſame year appeared, without his name, but which was generally aſcribed to him, "Rules for drawing Caricatures, the ſubject illuſtrated with four copper-plates, with an Eſſay on Comic Painting." In 1789, he began his Scottiſh tour; the reſult of it appeared firſt in 1790. Before the whole was complete he went to Ireland, which was to be viewed as the ſiſter kingdoms, and its antiquities, compriſed in forty numbers, in the ſame ſize as the reſt of his works of that kind, were to be given; but when only in the fifty-ſecond year of his age, he was carried off by an apoplectic ſtroke, May 12, 1791, in the houſe of Mr. Hone, in Dublin. Since his death, a ſmall octavo volume of miſcellaneous ſubjects was publiſhed, by the late Mr. John Williamſon, from which I have given the lives of Warburton, Somerſet, and Oldys, Norroy. It is wonderful that he was able to publiſh ſo much, and that generally ſo excellent. Beſides theſe extenſive works he drew the new plates in Mr. Martin's Hiſtory of Thetford, 1779. Mr. William Flacton, bookſeller, at Canterbury, and Miſs Goſling, of that city, have many of his drawings taken while he reſided there, which he did for ſome years, having married a lady of that place. Cromwell, the vicar-general, the furious fanatical reformer, Knox, and Oliver Cromwell, protector, were founders of his celebrity, by deſtroying the eccleſiaſtical and military ſtructures of our anceſtors; but the hand of time had prepared them for Groſe's pencil, by fracturing the walls, and rearing upon and around them the ivy, the moſs, and the ſhrub. There is an original miniature portrait of him drawn from the life, by Dr. Bruce, then ſurgeon of a regiment of foot, in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Flacton, who long knew and highly eſteemed him, it repreſents him ſitting in a chair, in his military uniform, and was eſteemed, when taken twenty-ſeven years before his death, a very ſtriking likeneſs. There is a whole length portrait of him by Dance, engraved by Bartolozzi, which is prefixed to the Supplement to his Engliſh Antiquities, vol. I. There are others; an excellent one in the character of a jolly monk, with friends Howe and Forreſt; another, equally good, by a well-known gentleman artiſt, "cordially inſcribed to thoſe members of the Antiquarian Society, who adjourn to the Somerſet, by one of their devoted brethren," with the lamp, and "the following lines under it;" this being handed about gave Mr. Groſe much diſpleaſure:

'Now ****, like bright Phœbus, is ſunk into reſt,
Society droops for the loſs of his jeſt;
Antiquarian debates, unaccompanied with mirth,
To genius and learning will never give birth.
Then wake brother-member, our friend from his ſleep,
Leſt Apollo ſhould frown, and Bacchus ſhould weep.'

"Another, ſtyled the 'Engliſh Antiquary,' is amongſt the caricature portraits of Mr. Ray, of

of Edinburgh. That in 'The Lounger's Miſcellany,' was not deſigned for, though it well repreſents him. There is another which does not do juſtice to the ſubject it profeſſes to repreſent. None more laughed at his figure than himſelf, and it being unique, could not be miſtaken; he often ſigned not his name to his letters, but ſketched his perſon. How inimitable has that ſweet bard, the unfortunate Burns, pourtrayed the man, when larding the lean earth in his perambulations in that kingdom.

"Groſe, to a ſtranger, might have been ſuppoſed not a ſurname, but one ſelected as ſignificant of his figure; which was more of the form of Sancho Pança than Falſtaff; he partook greatly of the properties of both. He was as low, ſquat, and rotund as the former, and not leſs a ſloven; equalled him too in his love of ſleep, and nearly ſo in his proverbs. In his wit he was a Falſtaff. He was the butt for other men to ſhoot at, but it always rebounded with a double force. He could eat with Sancho, and drink with the knight. In ſimplicity, probity, and a compaſſionate heart, he was wholly of the Pança breed; his jocularity could have pleaſed a prince. His learning, ſenſe, ſcience, and honour, might have ſecured him the favour, not the rejection, of the all-accompliſhed conqueror of France. My perſonal knowledge of the original enables me to vouch for the juſtneſs of the character I have drawn. In the 'St. James's Evening,' was propoſed as an epitaph for him, the following appropriate words:

"Here lies *Francis Groſe.*
On Thurſday, May 12, 1791,
Death put an end to his
Views and Proſpects."

"Mr. Groſe, I believe, chiefly reſided at Wandſworth, in Surrey: he married the beautiful Catharine, daughter of Mr. Jordan, of Canterbury, by whom he had two ſons and five daughters; 1. Francis Groſe, of Croydon-Crook, in Surry, Eſq. a colonel in the army, governor of New South Wales; 2. Onſlow Groſe, Eſq. captain of the pioneer corps on the Madras eſtabliſhment, who died very lately in India; 3. Catharine-Ann-Maria, born in the pariſh of All Saints, in Canterbury, Auguſt 19, 1752; 4. Ann-Elizabeth; 5. Mary-Caroline; and 6. Phœbe. One of theſe daughters was married to Anketel Singleton, Eſq. lieutenant-governor of Landguard-fort, in Eſſex."

Picture of Sicily.

(*From Leckie's Hiſtorical Survey of the Foreign Affairs of Great Britain.*)

"*Situation, Extent, and Produce of Sicily.*—Sicily is the largeſt iſland in the Mediterranean, ſituated between the 36 and 39 deg. N. latitude, and the 12 and 16 long. eaſt of London, in the very centre of the Mediterranean.—Its climate has not the diſadvantages of a tropical region, while it is exempt from the rigours which are felt in the north, partaking equally of the advantages of both;—its warmer vales are equal to the production of many Eaſt and Weſt India commodities, while the mountainous

tainous parts yield the fruit of Europe; the fertility of the ſoil has been from the earlieſt ages the theme of both poets and hiſtorians, and its natural curioſities attract the attention of the modern traveller. It is of a triangular form, the ſmaller ſide of which from Cape Pelorus to Pachynus looks to the eaſt, and the apex at Trapani to which this is the baſe, points to the weſt. It contains an æra of about 9600 ſquare miles; a continuation of the Apennine ridge runs throughout its whole extent, from the point of the Faro of Meſſina called Pelorus, to mount Eryx, at Trapani; while another branch extends round Mount Etna acroſs the ſouth-weſt, uniting with the former chain, and branching off to the ſouth-eaſt to Caltagirone, where it is interſected by the plain of Catania, but approaching at the celebrated Lake of Palica to the Hyblean chain, occupies the country of Modica, which it divides from the plains of Noto and Syracuſe. Sicily preſents to the eye the figure of a triangular wedge, whoſe thickeſt part is to the north and eaſt, while its edges gradually fall off towards Mazzara, Marſalla, and Trapani. The interior of the country preſents a bold and varied ſurface; the mountains are higher, and the vallies more narrow in Sicily than in many other countries: this unevenneſs of ſurface, and the height of the mountains, gives in a ſhort ſpace all the varieties of climate experienced in the courſe of long journeys. To enumerate the various productions of Sicily would require a volume; ſuffice it to touch on thoſe objects which we ſtand moſt in need of. Its wines are equal to thoſe of Spain and Portugal, when properly attended to:—could the wine trade to Portugal, which is now totally tributary to and dependent on France, be transferred to Sicily, the value would not go to enrich our enemies; the cotton of Sicily is equal to that of Surinam. Hemp grows in abundance in Sicily, and there are vaſt tracts of low and rich lands yet waſte, where the culture might be extended with ſucceſs. As yet, however, it is produced only in proportion to the demand; but there is no doubt that were that encreaſed, and the difficulties of exportation leſſened, at the ſame time that the peaſantry ſhould be better treated and encouraged, that Sicily might render us leſs dependent on Ruſſia, for a ſupply of that commodity. Sweet oil, both coarſe and fine, is abundantly produced in Sicily. Raiſins, figs, piſtachios, almonds, rice, Indian corn, flax, guinea corn, ſoda, and even the ſugar-cane flouriſh here. There is alſo a mineral pitch or aſphaltum, which chemiſts call ſulphate of petrolium; this might be uſed for ſhips bottoms with ſucceſs. Foſſil coal is abundant, but no mine is worked—timber is ſtill abundant in ſome parts, but the woods are neglected and deſtroyed, partly from ignorance, partly from bad policy, and erroneous ſyſtem of foreſt laws.

"*Diſtribution and Population.*—The whole iſland is divided into three provinces, viz.—the Val Demona, Val di Noto, and Val di Mazzara, this topographical diviſion ſeems to have no connection with the government, as the whole kingdom politically conſidered, is comprehended under the

three bracci (arms,) or orders. The military or feudal, the clergy, and the demeſne, or royal townſhips, which anſwer to our free burghs in the reſt of Europe. The population of the whole kingdom is eſtimated at 1,500,000. Palermo contains 200,000 ſouls; Meſſina, 80,000; Catania, 70,000; Caltagirone, 50,000; Noto, 35,000; theſe are the principal towns in the iſland.

"*Diviſion of the Landed Property.*—Roger the Norman, conqueror of Sicily, cotemporary with our William the Firſt, on his acceſſion to the throne, divided the lands of the kingdom into three portions, one third of theſe were called the demeſnes of the crown, which are adminiſtered by the corporations of the royal towns where they are ſituated, each town according to the revenue of its demeſnial lands, pays to the king a certain income, beſides maintaining the police, roads, &c. &c. and the tribute which each territory pays is called the royal patrimony. The Tribunal of Patrimony, of which we ſhall give a deſcription in its place, is the ſupreme moderator and comptroller of this revenue.

"A next third part of theſe lands was diſtributed by King Roger among his nobles; ſome of theſe were fiefs contained within the territory of the royal or demeſnial towns, while others had a town of their own, of which the eſtate or barony formed the territory. Sometimes the townſhips of theſe baronial towns have eſtates belong to them, which are adminiſtered by their corporations, called giurati. The remaining third portion was either diſtributed among the biſhops or mitred abbots, or ſerved to endow the ſeveral convents which in an age fertile in ſuperſtition were ſo generally eſtabliſhed.

"This diſtribution of property has remained thus ever ſince the Norman conqueſt, and all the noble fiefs as they are held by a grant in military tenure, are ſuppoſed to belong to the crown, and given to a family and their deſcendants, ſubject to military ſervice. This circumſtance ſuppoſes an abſolutely ſtrict entail, which prevents the ſale of fiefs without the king's ſanction (verbo regio;) it ſuppoſes alſo the indiviſibility of the fief—hence the rights of primogeniture, which has reduced the younger branches of families to a moſt miſerable ſtate.

"Thus the lands of the nobles are entailed in their families. Thoſe of the church are attached to it, and the demeſne lands are equally ſo to the corporations, as is above-mentioned.—Though the obſtacles to the alienation of property are in ſome meaſure removed, yet enough remains to generate numerous law-ſuits, and to prevent thoſe who have much land and no money, from ſelling one part in order to improve the reſt. For if any claimants in ſucceſſion put in their plea, either the ſale is prevented, or the title becomes diſputed. This is much the caſe with the inferior claſs of landholders who poſſeſs farms granted in copyhold, on noble, eccleſiaſtical, or demeſnial eſtates. In Syracuſe the low lands near the Fountain of the Cyane are now marſhes, the poſſeſſors have no capital to improve them; and, as they are entailed, no one elſe who has money can make the acquiſition.

"*Orders of Society.*—Thoſe princes,

princes, dukes, marquiſſes, and barons, who hold eſtates which have a town, or ſufficient population, are called parliamentary barons, and have a right to ſit in the aſſembly of the nobles: all others are called ruſtic fiefs, and give no right of this kind to their landlords, though they be decorated with a title.

"The next order of men are the clergy, who form a diſtinct aſſembly or houſe in the parliament, and conſiſts of archbiſhops, biſhops, archimandrites, mitred abbots, &c. The principal of theſe are younger brothers of the noble families, ſo that, in fact, the eccleſiaſtical houſe of parliament is tied to the lords.

"The next order of men conſiſts of a ſecond rank of nobles, who hold fiefs without burghs or towns, and who, though they have the ſame ſplendid titles, have no ſeat in the parliament: many of theſe inhabit the principal cities in the kingdom.

"The next order are the burghers of the different towns; theſe apply to agriculture, to the church, and to the medical and legal profeſſions; then come the artizans and peaſants. Theſe are the peaſants of the demeſne, and thoſe who are the vaſſals of the parliamentary lords.

"*Royal Demeſnes.*—The royal demeſnes, conſiſting, as we have before obſerved, of thoſe lands which king Roger reſerved to himſelf, are the territories of the royal townſhips. Each town contributes its quota to the royal patrimony, and all muſt ſend their accounts to the tribunal of the ſame name in Palermo. The giurati (or aldermen) are annually nominated by the tribunal, from the liſt of principal nobles and burghers, in each town, as well as the captain of juſtice, anſwering to our ſheriffs; and the latter is anſwerable for all robberies committed within the territory between ſun and ſun; the quota of each townſhip is fixed; the ſurplus ſerves for paving ſtreets, or any other public work.

'Monſtrum horrendem informe ingens cui lumen ademptum.'

VIRGIL.

"*The Tribunal of Patrimony.*—The tribunal of patrimony conſiſts of ſix members, viz. the preſident, the conſervadore generale, who is the king's advocate, and four judges.

As this board ſuperintends the king's territorial revenues, ſo it commands the municipalities of the royal and baronial towns; and as the property of every individual is implicated either in the one or the other, ſo it has become a civil court, under the pretence of an authority in what regards the royal intereſts. In the ſame manner it has an authority over all eccleſiaſtical lands, and the copyholds granted thereon by the crown; thus no act whatever with regard to landed property can be done without its cognizance. In the ſame manner as to all duties on exports and imports, which anſwer to tonnage and poundage, and which are enforced with all poſſible rigor: and as the exports and imports themſelves intereſt the royal revenues, ſo this board has aſſumed a dictatorial right to command,—not by fixed rules or general laws, but by iſſuing an order or permiſſion on every individual

dividual occaſion. None of the produce of the country, that is, corn, oil, and ſome others, as cattle, &c. can be exported without its permiſſion, though the exporter offers to pay the duties; the permiſſion to export hemp is given annually, as an excluſive privilege, to one perſon in a maritime diſtrict; ſo that the merchant who would export it muſt not only pay the duties to the king, but a duty to this individual; thus the tribunal, after obliging the merchant to pay the tax, farms another for their own emolument to the beſt bidder. With regard to corn, cattle, and oil, the greateſt difficulty occurs in the exportation: and a particular order is requiſite from Palermo, to obtain a permiſſion for the ſame; to procure this the trader muſt bribe through thick and thin. Sometimes the right of exportation is allowed for a ſhort time, and then ſuddenly ſtopped; and thus cauſes the ruin of thoſe who had provided a quantity to ſhip off.

"The Tribunal of Patrimony ſends a ſtrict order, either to the corporations of the towns, or the corn deputies, where theſe exiſt, (for every town in Sicily has its particular government, weights, and meaſures, by which much profitable confuſion ariſes) to provide as much wheat as will ſerve for the whole year; this, under pretence of being directed for the public good, produces the diſorders and injuſtice which it is here our buſineſs to unfold. The corn trade is a monopoly in the hands of the corporations; in order to ſupport them in this abuſe, theſe are inveſted with an abſolute authority to prevent the produce of their diſtrict from being carried to a neighbouring town, and to forbid that of another from being admitted into their territory. Thus ariſes a complete ſtagnation of the inland trade; if once the price of corn ſhould fall after the corporation has made its proviſion, the ſevereſt penalties are inflicted on any one who ſhould endeavour to bring his corn to market, and he muſt ſubmit to ſell it, giving up his profit to the corporation, or let it ſpoil in his magazines; if he grinds it into flour it is ſeized, and ſhould he attempt to export it, he runs the riſk of being caſhiered and ruined.

"A certain farmer of the town of Granmichele, in the Val di Noto, had in a granary in the territory of Mineo, about fifty quarters of wheat, which then bore an high price, as it was a year of ſcarcity:—the giurati or corporation, without aſking any queſtions, broke open the ſame, and took the wheat to their town. The farmer's complaint to the tribunal was anſwered by a full approbation of the conduct of the giurati, but with an order that he ſhould be paid by them, allowing a credit of ſome months; during this interval the office of theſe (who are choſen annually) expired; their ſucceſſors refuſed to pay, and the farmer having proſecuted the corporation, before the ſame tribunal which had given the above order, was caſt; ſo that he was firſt plundered, and the public robbery thus ſanctioned by a deciſion of the court, made contrary to their own orders. This perſon is ſtill alive, and is baronial governor of Granmichele for the Prince of Butera!

"The

"The privilege of ſupplying the city of Palermo with oil and cattle is granted to contractors; theſe exerciſe every kind of tyranny; as the tribunal ſupports them in every meaſure which they can deviſe to oblige the holder to ſell to a diſadvantage, and theſe gentlemen are in return handſomely complimented by the contractors. Until theſe laſt have bought the oil they want at the price which ſuits them, no exportation is allowed; and even then the tribunal makes ſo many difficulties in order to get bribes to permit the exportation, that the whole diſappears in contraband; thus the ſmuggling trade ſaves the country from abſolute ruin; and if it could be prevented, no one would find it worth his while to preſs out his olives; as the above illicit trade prevents the prices from being totally degraded: two years ſince, though the failure of the autumnal rains prevented the growth of the paſtures, and though the cattle were dying every where for want of food, every one ſeeking to get rid of that portion which he could not ſupport, the ſtupid tribunal never relaxed the prohibition to export.

"By another effect of the conſummate ignorance and wickedneſs of this board, the duties on the importation of theſe commodities, bears no proportion to that on exportation; and foreign produce re-exported, is not worſe treated; ſo that it ſeems deliberately intended to encourage foreign agriculture at the expence of their own.

"It will be natural to aſk who are the men who compoſe this board? They are lawyers, whoſe whole lives having been ſpent in ſcenes of the moſt iniquitous litigation, poſſeſs no kind of information on commerce, when they are promoted to this rank; ſo that all commercial regulations, which with us are fixed by act of parliament, are here left to their abſolute will and caprice, to ignorance and venality.

"Foreign imports are taxed ad valorem, and a tariff has lately been made to that effect; but the raw produce of the ſoil which is the only ſource of riches to Sicily, finds ſo many obſtacles to exportation, from the difficulties which are ever thrown in the way of the merchant, that it ſeems as if the Tribunal of Patrimony took all the pains poſſible to keep the balance of trade always in favour of foreign nations.

"As this tribunal has a controul over all the corporations in the kingdom, it has multiplied its regulations and orders ſo much, with reſpect to the privileges of each town, that though theſe are clear and explicit, and though the law preſcribes the extent of their powers, the tribunal has by degrees cauſed every thing to be referred to itſelf—this has been done in order to multiply fees and writings; and it has ſo well ſucceeded, as to cauſe all the confuſion which at preſent reigns,—the ſuppreſſion of papers, and documents, which are wilfully ſet aſide, ſo that delay, diſcouragement, and ruin, are and have been the inevitable conſequences.

"*Corn Laws.*—It is impoſſible to give a diſtinct account of the corn laws of this kingdom, as they differ ſo widely in one place from thoſe which obtain in another. The general idea, walloing for particular exceptions, is nearly as follows;

follows:—As has been already obſerved, the Tribunal of Patrimony annually gives an order, not only to the corporations of the demeſne, but alſo to thoſe of the baronial towns, to provide at harveſt a ſupply ſufficient for the whole year, this of courſe forms a complete monopoly of corn in every part of the kingdom. The jealouſy of each corporation in the material concern of proviſion for the year, cauſes the moſt prohibitory orders to be iſſued in every townſhip.

"As the country is very various in its ſurface, ſo the abundance of the harveſt is often partial, nature generally providing more than ſufficient in one diſtrict, and leaving but a ſcanty allowance in another. In the abundant diſtricts, the corporations, after they have obtained enough for their own ſupply, forbid the exportation of the overplus. The holders of the corn muſt therefore ſell it to the neighbouring diſtricts by ſtealth, or give a ſhare of their profits to the corporation, which turns the right of prohibition to its own advantage. In the diſtrict where the ſcarcity is felt, the corn for the uſe of the town is bought at a high price; and when the demand is ſatisfied as to the quantity required, or that the corporation have a ſufficient ſupply to go on for a time, the holders of corn find means to ſell it to the traders in thoſe towns where it is ſtill at a high price. Here begin the endeavours of the corporation to prevent its ſale, and the diligence of the merchants to deceive their vigilance; for ſhould the price of corn fall after the corporation has laid in its ſtock, they would either not be able to ſell at all, or ſell at a loſs. They are obliged to make up the loſs to the patrimony, or capital of the townſhip, and the tribunal holds them anſwerable for the ſame. In one town, the flour was ſold by the corporation for eighteen taris the tumolo, while in the neighbourhood flour of the ſame quality was diſtributed at twelve to the people.

"Another law is in force in Sicily with reſpect to corn, the abſurdity and barbarity of which is unknown in any other part of the world, which however it has not been poſſible to get rid of.—In every townſhip, with the exception of a very few, the corporation takes an account at harveſt, and obliges every farmer, renter, or landholder, to give in a declaration of the quantity of corn his lands have produced; the price of grain is fixed by an aſſize on the 15th of Auguſt; at this price the holder is obliged to deliver in, to the corporation, the third part of the produce of his eſtate on demand, notwithſtanding the prices may have riſen conſiderably. Sometimes the corporation after having given permiſſion to the landholder to ſell his corn off, ſaying they had a ſufficient quantity, two months after, has called on him for his quota, and he has been obliged to buy the quantity required, late in the ſeaſon, at a loſs of 30 per cent!

"Sometimes the corporation agrees with that of another diſtrict, or with a rich landholder, for a quantity of corn, at a price far below the aſſize fixed in their own tariff. This corn is then brought into the public magazine, where it is excluſively ground in the mills, and then, as no other can be

be ground, no purchaſer can buy but of the corporation, and the unfortunate holders are obliged to ſell at the price impoſed on them. It is unneceſſary to enter farther into this matter, all the fatal conſequences of ſuch a ſyſtem are obvious.

" In abundant years the ſurplus corn which cannot be conſumed, and is intended for exportation, is carried to the caricatori, or places deſtined for a depôt. The poſſeſſors who then depoſit their corn hold it as joint ſtock; by an abuſe in the officers who preſide over theſe, it is neceſſary frequently to transfer the ſtock from one name to another in the books, otherwiſe its exiſtence is forgotten or denied, and it becomes loſt to the owner. He muſt then recur to the tribunals in Palermo, where in the ſpace of two or three years, and after he has ſpent the whole value of the object in diſpute, he gains his cauſe; by that time the officers of the caricatori have been changed or diſmiſſed, and their ſucceſſors do not hold themſelves anſwerable for the malverſations of their predeceſſors, though theſe very caricatori are under the faith of the crown; and thus the farmer or merchant is reduced to beggary.

" *Revenues of Sicily.*—The flagrant abuſes in the revenue ſyſtem of this kingdom called forth the attention of the Marquis Caraccioli, who was viceroy of Sicily about 25 years ago; under his auſpices a Neapolitan juriſconſult, called Don Saverio Simonetti, undertook to give to the public an account of them. His book was printed by authority, he was ſent to Sicily by the king's order; he wrote with truth and clearneſs; every one thought that a new revenue ſyſtem would be eſtabliſhed. Simonetti ſuddenly gave up the purſuit, Caraccioli was ſuperſeded in the government, and all the old abuſes remained to the oppreſſion and ruin of the country: the reader may here read a faithful tranſlation of the opening of his book.

" ' The preſent ſyſtem of the kingdom of Sicily in the very intereſting ſubject of tributes, which in that kingdom are called donatives, the more we reflect on them, the leſs we are able to define; ſince it contains a maſs of diſorders, in which no law or rule of proportion, among the various claſſes of thoſe who are taxed is conſidered, but merely the caprice of thoſe who regulate them. I ought either to abjure my right to common ſenſe ſo as to be perſuaded of what is aſſerted to the contrary, or to report to the king any thing elſe but what I feel within my conſcience, both for his own intereſt and the public good. I feel myſelf unable to do either; and I ſhall therefore firſt give a general idea of it, and then proceed to examine it in all its parts; finally I ſhall declare with that candour which I owe to myſelf, what is my opinion on the ſubject.' "

" This exordium is here tranſlated to ſhew how evidently thoſe truths which we have recorded, have ſtruck others long ago, how irreſiſtibly they have forced themſelves on the attention of men expreſsly occupied with the examination of this ſubject, and what hope the body of the people may be allowed to cheriſh of a reform of their grievances; but the ſyſ-

tem is kept up by the barons; they form the deputation * of the kingdom, and whatever may be the voice of the gentry and people at large, the government has adopted the pernicious practice of ſending the memorials preſented to the crown, back to the tribunals and junta, or board, to be examined, in order to have their counſel and opinion on them. As theſe memorials are in fact nothing elſe than complaints againſt the abuſes of theſe very boards, they are by theſe means called on by the government to become judges in their own cauſe; their anſwers accordingly regulate the orders of government, which by acquieſcing in them, has ſanctioned a ſyſtem of the moſt odious tyranny and oppreſſion under which a civilized people ever groaned.

"According to the original conſtitution of Sicily, the three houſes of parliament have the faculty of granting ſupplies to the crown; but the majority of two houſes is ſufficient; by which means the houſe of commons, or demeſnial aſſembly, becomes totally nugatory, and the lords and eccleſiaſtics, after generouſly granting the ſupplies, throw the whole burthen of them on the commons. Whatever remonſtrances are made, the matter is left to the deciſion of thoſe who have done the evil, and the miſchief is thus perpetuated.

"Simonetti further ſays, the ſupplies, according to the ſpirit of the inſtitution are called *donatives*. Of theſe ſome are ordinary, and others extraordinary; the ordinary are in number thirteen, and in order to divide the burden, the deputation of the kingdom makes a cenſus of property, and a numeration of ſubjects. With reſpect to the barons, who pay nothing, no notice is taken of them, nor are their feodal eſtates calculated, which in Sicily form the principal part of the whole landed property in the kingdom.

"The property of the parliamentary prelates is not properly aſſeſſed, notwithſtanding they contribute not to all the thirteen, but only to eight, and an arbitrary quota of the contribution for ſeven of them; they pay only the ſixth part of what is due from them for theſe, and even ſomething leſs; the city of Palermo taking the numbers of its citizens, and not making any aſſeſſment of the property ſituated within its own territory, is conſidered as the tenth part of the whole kingdom; Meſſina on the contrary, notwithſtanding the members are taken, as well as the aſſeſſment of property, is conſidered as two thirds of a tenth of the whole kingdom. Palmero in fact contributes the tenth, not of the whole burden, but of the remainder, after deducting the amount of what is paid by the eccleſiaſtics; and of the two thirds of a tenth, laid on Meſſina, contrary to the orders of his majeſty. The city of Meſſina in fact does not pay theſe two thirds, but only a quota far inferior; and the overplus is loſt to the revenues on the ſum total of their amount.

"All that remains is raiſed on the other corporations of the kingdom, firſt making among them a diviſion, and then a ſubdiviſion.

* See Parliament of Sicily.

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The diviſion regards the univerſities or corporations of the royal demeſne, and thoſe which appertain to the barons: the ſubdiviſion regards each corporation in particular in its own order. Of the above donatives ten are divided equally between the corporations of the demeſnial and thoſe of the baronial towns, without any regard to the number of inhabitants, or the value of landed property; but in the ſubdiviſion, which is made of the quota to each corporation, another burden is added called bonatenenza, in proportion to that property which is aſſeſſed in the diſtrict.

"For the other three donatives the ſame rule is not attended to, nor is the diviſion made between the two orders of corporations equally, but each is taxed by a diſtinct rule, one order according to the population, and the other according to the aſſeſſment of property.

"From this aſſeſſment is excluded the property of the citizens of Palermo, as well as that of the parliamentary prelates. That alſo of the churches, of monaſteries, of priories, and other mortmain property, is not eſtimated; ſo that the whole falls on the ſmaller landholders, and on the civic revenues.

"The extraordinary donatives are five in number—each of theſe is rated differently from the other on the ſeveral claſſes which are rateable, whoſe contributions thereto are fixed by an aſſeſſment entirely arbitrary. The barons contribute their ſhare of the extraordinary donatives, ſome more and ſome leſs; which in the whole amounts to a ſixth part of the burden. This ſixth, however, they do not fully diſcharge, their ſhare of the tax being diminiſhed by obliging thoſe perſons to contribute, who without poſſeſſing any eſtates, are decorated with the titles of prince, duke, &c. &c.

"This (ſays Simonetti) is a brief ſketch of the preſent ſyſtem by which the diſtribution of the public burdens of the kingdom is regulated; and if a painter would wiſh to delineate, or a poet to deſcribe diſorder, he could not conceive a clearer idea of it, than by ſtudying the preſent ſubject. In conſequence of this confuſion, notwithſtanding the ſmallneſs of the ſums raiſed, the nation at large is oppreſſed, and unable to bear the burden.

"From what is quoted above from Simonetti, it appears that no land-tax whatever is impoſed on the great landholders, who are thus exempt. And thoſe fiefs which have no town or village in them are alſo exempt. The royal town in whoſe territory theſe are ſituated, aſſeſſes them in the following manner:—A calculation is made of what land is cultivated and grazed; of courſe what number of people are variouſly employed on the eſtate. From this another eſtimate is made of the quantity of bread conſumed annually in it, this is called *conſumo*, and the renter pays the amount according to this aſſeſſment. Beſides theſe, there is a tax called il pelo, which is levied on all cattle bought and ſold. There is alſo a duty on the cheeſe which is manufactured,—and theſe duties fall on the huſbandman, as he is forced to indemnify the renter for the money advanced on the conſumption of flour. He alſo

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pays it on his cheese, and also on the ox which he buys to till his ground; while the lord who receives the revenue is exempted. The duty on the *macina*, or grinding of corn, is the principal source of revenue in Sicily, all flour which comes in from the mills pays at the gate of the city. In those places where the farmers make their own bread, they are obliged to pay a tax which, as above observed, is called *il consumo*, which is a commutation for the flour excise duty, and is farmed out. The farmers of the tax go from house to house to examine the bread which the unfortunate husbandman makes, and he who should sell a loaf to an hungry traveller, would subject himself to fine and imprisonment.

"Formerly the exclusive commerce of tobacco belonged to the crown; this was a residue of the Spanish government; but it was found impossible to prevent the contraband trade, by which the produce of the duty was not found sufficient to pay the officers employed. The parliament consulted on the means of commutation, by which the revenue should be indemnified, and the monopoly done away; the exclusive trade in snuff was abolished, and an additional duty was imposed on flour. This very wise regulation took place about thirty years ago, and exists to this day!

"As we have above hinted, the Marquis Caraccioli proposed to take a census of the whole landed property of the kingdom, and to establish a tax which should affect every proprietor in proportion to the value of his land. This plan would have raised a much greater revenue, and would have been scarcely felt, as the burden would have been equally distributed. It would have far exceeded the present taxes and impositions, together with the whole amount of the duties on exports and imports; but the cabals and intrigues which were excited at court in opposition to this great and salutary reform, occasioned the recall of the Marquis Caraccioli, and the downfall of his projects.

"Since the time when Simonetti wrote his book, the crown has applied to parliament for farther supplies, which were called *millioni*; the burden was distributed as usual between the corporations of the demesne and those of the barons, excepting the quota of the barons themselves, each share of which for a barony amounts to about as much as a small landholder pays who possesses one or two hundred acres of land in the demesne. But the baron if he is assessed at 20l. for example, levies an arbitrary impost on his vassals, which he takes care shall produce so much as to satisfy the demand, with a profit to himself of about five or six hundred per cent. so that his vassals not only pay as a body corporate their share, but also as individuals a farther heavy tax to the lord:—but what is still more incredible, these lords are now five-and-twenty years in arrear to the crown!

Parliament of Sicily.—The parliament of Sicily consists of three houses, viz.—the barons or lords, and such only as possess fiefs, including within their limits a town or burgh. A baron has as many votes in the assembly, as he has villages or towns on his various estates.

"The next is the ecclesiastical assembly,

aſſembly, conſiſting of archbiſhops, biſhops, the heads of monaſtic orders poſſeſſing lands, abbots, &c. &c.

" Next in order follows the demeſnial houſe, or the repreſentatives of the towns of the royal demeſne, but there are no provincial repreſentatives, nor are any of the baronial towns repreſented. There are no elections for members in the towns, nor have the inhabitants any ſhare in chuſing the deputy. The corporation nominates him, and he is in general their attorney in Palermo. Thus a ſingle man is often repreſentative for ſeveral different places at once; and as theſe men are lawyers dependent on the nobles, the houſe of repreſentatives is never convened, but its vote is obtained as a matter of form. The parliament of Sicily has no legiſlative power, and the only influence it has therein is by the uſage of tacking laws to money bills, to which the aſſent of the crown is obtained as a favour, in conſideration of the ſupplies granted, nor do the members poſſeſs the right of deliberating, or diſcuſſing the meaſures of government as in England. As all taxes are laid on for three years, the parliament is convened at the end of that period, to renew the old ſupplies, or grant new ones, in caſe the neceſſities of the government require it; the manner of diſtributing theſe taxes has been already deſcribed. The burden laid on the demeſnes is in the following manner: a reparation is made at Palermo by the deputies of the kingdom, aſſeſſing every townſhip at a certain ſum, if it is that called *the millioni*, it is laid on the ſmaller farms, whoſe ſhare of this donation riſes about 400 fold higher, in proportion to the quantity of land occupied, than that impoſed on the nobles. If it is a permanent tax, an additional duty is laid on wheat, or ſome neceſſary of life. The parliament has no authority to impoſe duties on foreign imports and exports. Theſe of right appertain to the king, and anſwer to the tonnage and poundage which cauſed ſo much bloodſhed in England. They are the king's patrimony, of which the tribunal has the ſole and ſupreme control. No regular ſyſtem of taxation exiſts throughout the kingdom, and every townſhip has its own fiſcal regulations. When the quota on each townſhip is fixed, the corporation finds the ways and means. The reſult is tranſmitted with a preſent in money to the Tribunal of Patrimony for their approbation. Hence the diſcordant and oppoſite revenue laws in the different diſtricts, as ſoon as parliament has arranged the ſupplies the members are diſmiſſed, and they leave a council to repreſent them, called *deputati del regno*. As the diſmiſſion of the parliament is its political demiſe, ſo the *deputati* are the executors of the teſtator. This is the ſum total of the parliamentary conſtitution and liberties of Sicily; by which it may be ſeen that the only order which requires ſome management is the upper houſe. A profuſion of ſtars, ribbons, and gold keys is therefore diſtributed on this occaſion, which gives to the Palermitan nobility all the external decoration of a ſplendid court.

" *Deputati del Regno.*—The origin of the *deputati del regno*, goes as far back as the year 1446. In the

the reign of King Alphonſus, it was requeſted by the parliament held in that year, that the donative then granted, of 120 thouſand florins, ſhould be depoſited in the hands of deputies, who ſhould have the power to levy a tax, and to collect the amount of the ſaid donative, applying it to repurchaſe the lands which had been alienated from the crown. (ſee cap. regno, chap. 403.) In 1457, the parliament having petitioned the crown in the name of the kingdom at large, that deputies ſhould be choſen to diſtribute the impoſitions for the royal donatives, it was anſwered,—*Placet regiæ magiſtrati; dum tamen de quolibet brachio, vel ſtatu interveniant ad minus tres exdeputatis cujuſque Brachii, ſimul cum vice rege & magiſtris rationalibus.* This magiſtracy, beſides the *deputati*, which conſtitute it, has its notary, or ſecretary, which office is held by the prothonotary of the kingdom; and alſo many other ſubordinate officers, as the aſſeſſor or judge, advocates, ſolicitors, *razionale, coadgiutore*, and architect, or commiſſary general * of bridges, towers, maritime guards, and others.

Army.—Of the younger branches of noble families a few individuals have entered into the army; the officers for the moſt part conſiſting of an inferior claſs of inhabitants of Palermo, and other cities and towns. Among theſe are mixed Neapolitans, Swiſs, Greek, and Italian adventurers; as the pay they receive is trifling, they cannot appear like gentlemen; hence the envy and hatred they bear to our troops, among whom opulence and ſplendour are ſo conſpicuous. In ſuch a ſtate, the military profeſſion can ſcarcely be in high repute; and ſuch men can hardly feel either the ſtimulus of profeſſional ambition, or the charms of glory. The diſcipline of the troops is in conſequence much neglected, while the contractors for proviſioning the army, reduce the ſoldier to a very miſerable ſtate. The officers know their inferiority to ours, and as they deſerve contempt, ſo they give us their hatred on account; and we may venture to ſay that almoſt the whole of the Neapolitan and Sicilian officers, would prefer joining the French, to defending their ſovereign in conjunction with the Britiſh army; their recent behaviour in Calabria, under the prince of Heſſe, has fully evinced the truth of this prediction.

"*Baronial Towns and Fiefs.*—In the baronial towns and fiefs the lord nominates the *giurati*, the civil and criminal judges, but they muſt be confirmed † by the Tribunal of Patrimony; and the quota of territorial impoſts to be paid to the crown, is regulated by theſe as in the royal towns.

By the parliament of 1564, the donation to the crown was raiſed by an exciſe on flour; this is called *il dazio della macina*. The quantity of this duty varies in the different towns; in conſequence of which the Tribunal of Patrimony has an authority over every royal and baronial town, both as it regards

* Theſe have totally diſappeared.

† This rule has ſome exceptions; but where the lord has the abſolute choice, the ſlavery of the peaſant is complete.

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this tax, and the election of the municipal officers.

"In the baronial towns sometimes the corporation possesses lands which belong to the public; sometimes the citizens are opulent from the possession of a great extent of copy-hold land, and quit rent farms. In these cases the burghers have endeavoured to get rid of several baronial oppressions, such as the exclusive right of the lord, to bake, to slaughter cattle, and to oblige his vassals to carry their olives to his press. These causes have been tried in Palermo, between the lords and the burghers. Some cases have been decided affirmatively, some negatively; in some places the rights have been abolished by the courts of judicature, in others they have been confirmed by the same courts, so that every distinct territory is marked by a contradictory and confused system, at variance with that of its neighbour; but as he who has the longest purse gains his cause, it would have been impossible for the learned judges to decide them all alike.

"We must here take notice of the relative conduct of baron and vassal, and hence endeavour to prove what has been already asserted.

"Before the administration of the marquis Caraccioli, many of the barons lived on their domains; in those days they possessed great herds of cattle, and in proportion to the extent of the fief, a capital in wheat and barley for seed; they allotted each year to their vassals a quantity of land, for which they advanced the seed, and often the oxen for tillage, if the vassal stood in need of them. The lord named the corporation, the sheriff, or captain of justice, and the civil and criminal judges, but reserved to himself the right of distraining in case of the non-payment of the rents, which for the lands annually given to sow was paid in kind. When the marquis governed Sicily, he destroyed many of these privileges; and, among others, the power of distraining by the baron's own authority. He was thenceforward obliged to recur to the court, which though elected by him, was now to be confirmed by the Tribunal of Patrimony. This change, added to the temptations of luxury, caused the barons to establish themselves in Palermo, to let their estates to graziers or middlemen, as in Ireland, and to employ the stock of oxen and corn converted into money in procuring the elegant indulgencies of fine liveries and fine equipages. This practice had indeed begun before, but was confirmed by the recent innovation.

"Thus the barbarous splendour of the barons was abolished, the circulation of money more confined to the capital, the demand for objects of foreign manufacture increased, and much money was by those means exported, to the detriment of the interior. The middlemen not having capital sufficient to resist the effect of bad seasons, many of them failed, and the agriculture of the country was visibly diminished, as the marquis Caraccioli was recalled before he could perfect his plan.

"The changes which he had introduced were however perpetuated, because they produced a considerable accession of power to the courts at Palermo. The evil of the change was felt, and the good intended could not follow, unless

unleſs the plan of reform had been executed in all its parts.—The barons ſtill exerciſe many rights injurious to the people at large, which it is neceſſary here to point out:—They have the excluſive privilege of baking the bread which is ſold in the markets; this right is farmed to the beſt bidder; and no one can publicly or privately ſell bread, but he who has bought the privilege for the current year—conſequently as there is no competition, the bread is generally of a bad quality, ill manipulated, and altogether unwholeſome. The ſhambles alſo are farmed by the baron to the beſt bidder, and no one can ſell his ox but to the butcher; as two lean oxen will ſell cheaper, weight for weight, than a fat one, and as the price is fixed by the contract, ſo it is for the intereſt of the butcher to ſell as much bone as he can, and refuſe to treat with the owner of the fat ox. Beſides this, a duty on every head of cattle ſlaughtered is paid to the baron.

"The ſhops where cheeſe, oil, wine, lard, &c. are ſold, are alſo comprehended in the excluſive privilege of the baron, who farms them in the ſame manner.

"The ſame may be ſaid of the public inns, called *fondaco;* none have a right to open an inn but he who rents the fondaco of the lord; and the premium paid for this licence, abſorbs ſo great a ſhare of the profit, that the inn-keepers are among the moſt miſerable and dirty of the people; thus the privileges of the barons are in direct oppoſition to the commerce of the country.

"Again, as the right of dealing in articles of primary neceſſity is thus generally excluſive, this branch of commerce, which ought to belong to the lower orders, and which in all other countries is the great ſource of their ſupport, is in Sicily withheld from their hands. Improvements in houſes of reception for the traveller, are by this pernicious arrangement totally prohibited. In ſome places the lord exerciſes an authority ſtill more odious: if he has oil in his magazines, he orders the keeper of the ſhop or *zagato*, to purchaſe his own oil excluſively, prohibiting that of the neighbouring towns or fiefs from entering his domain; ſo that his vaſſals are ſometimes compelled to buy their oil at 20 per cent. more than it might be bought for at a village two miles off. It is impoſſible to enumerate all the various methods taken to oppreſs this unfortunate people, who added to theſe evils, ſupport the whole weight of the public impoſitions. Let the reader refer to the ſection which treats of the public revenues, for further example of the cruelty and oppreſſion of the barons.

"Suffice it to obſerve, that under the preſent ſyſtem commerce cannot exiſt, nor can any improvement have place, until ſuch regulations are made as to put an end to the moral impoſſibility of being induſtrious. We cannot leave this ſubject without adding, that in Francofonte, a village belonging to the prince of Palagonia, a fine is levied on the marriage of a vaſſal in money, which is actually a commutation for the ancient right of cuiſage!

"Thus on the one hand the barons contribute nothing to the ſupport of the ſtate, on the other

they

they enjoy the faculty of oppreſſing their countrymen.—Unleſs the feodal rights are aboliſhed, the revenues raiſed from proper objects of taxation, and a free inland trade eſtabliſhed, with an uniformity of weights and meaſures, Sicily muſt remain a permanent and conſpicuous monument of the inſufficiency of a rich ſoil, a fine climate, and all the gifts of nature, to procure national happineſs or proſperity where the government is vicious.

"*Education and Character of the Nobility.*—As ſoon as the ſon of a nobleman is old enough to be taken out of the hands of the nurſe, a prieſt is hired to teach him his letters, to give him the rudiments of writing, and to attend him when he is out walking. As the ſalary allowed to this tutor is from ſixty to a hundred dollars per annum and his board, it is not likely a man of learning will undertake the drudgery of this office; it ſometimes happens too that he acts as houſe-ſteward, and is ever the confident of the maſter or miſtreſs in their amours. If he has ſome humour, he becomes the butt for every one to paſs their jokes upon. Familiar with the heads of the family, he is alſo the confeſſor and ſpiritual comforter of all the ſervants; and, as he is forced to accommodate himſelf to all circumſtances, his manners can neither be dignified nor his ſentiments elevated*. Under ſuch a preceptor the young nobility of Sicily learn to write and read, with ſome rudiments of the Latin tongue; but a principal part of their education conſiſts of religious doctrines, and they are early initiated with all the immorality of the catholic perſuaſion. As the preceptor is familiar with the ſervants, ſo are his pupils, and all the falſehoods fabricated to deceive their parents, become the examples for their conduct through life. The preceptor is ever the ſycophant of his pupils, and favours their idleneſs by ſome plauſible excuſe.

"When they are old enough to be ſent to college, they are again put under the direction of prieſts, who teach them theology, the hiſtory of the ſaints, a ſmattering of the Roman hiſtory, but not one ſcience which can be of uſe to them. When a lad is arrived at fourteen or fifteen he comes home to his parents, where he enters into the routine of *elegant* ſociety at Palermo. The females are kept in a convent till they are married, whence they ſometimes come out without knowing their letters; and there are many women of the firſt rank who can neither read nor write.

"From ſuch characters, with the exception of thoſe foreign adventurers whom we have above deſcribed, are choſen the ſubaltern officers under the government, from men who have no ſentiments above their ſervants, no application, no acquired knowledge, no firm and manly ſentiments of honour or virtue, no military ſpirit, no ambition to be diſtinguiſhed but by their liveries and equipages: theſe are the nobility of Sicily.

"A few individuals are to be admitted as an exception to the general rule; among the firſt is the prince of Ventimiglia, who has

* See a ſimilar account of education among the Romans.—Dial. de Claris Oratoribus.

both

both read and travelled, and who is on a footing in point of acquired knowledge and reflection, with any gentleman in Europe. A few more might be named, but far inferior to him. The houſe of the prince of Ventimiglia is the reſort of ſtrangers, and of the learned few who inhabit Palermo; the reſt of the nobility are ſuch as we have deſcribed. Yet theſe men are to wield either the arms of the executive power, to preſide over the finances, to adminiſter juſtice, to diſtribute the public burdens; and with ſuch men muſt a Britiſh miniſter concert meaſures for the defence and independence of Sicily!

"*Meſſina and its* 48 *dependent Villages.*—Meſſina has many privileges, among others, that of having its own courts of judicature, civil and criminal; it has no ſheriff or captain of juſtice, but the military governor acts in that capacity, and is preſident of the ſenate. It was anciently the capital of the kingdom, and is ſtill ſtyled in the public acts of the city *caput regni*. Many of theſe boaſted privileges were bought by the ſenate in the laſt and preceding centuries of the crown in conſideration of large ſums of money. A loan for the purpoſe of raiſing them was therefore opened, and the debt funded; the intereſt of the money is paid by a duty on corn, which independently of the macina and the commutation on tobacco, amounts to $14\frac{1}{2}$ pence the Engliſh buſhel; this heavy tax is joined to many other aggravating regulations; to prevent fraud in the macina or exciſe on flour, they are not allowed to uſe hand-mills; conſequently private families who make their bread at home, have the greateſt difficulty to prevent their flour from being adulterated. The ſenate alſo enjoys another excluſive right, that of baking all bread in the ovens of the city, and by public authority; the conſequence is, that the bread of Meſſina is the worſt in the kingdom; it is mixed with beans, bran, and every other kind of traſh. This abuſe has often cauſed riots and diſturbances among the people, but the military power and the inflexible cruelty of the Tribunal of Patrimony, continues and confirms it. In the forty-eight villages dependent on Meſſina, the abſurdity and cruelty of the ſenate are ſtill more ſtriking; the inhabitants of the poorer ſort, who do not make their own bread, are not even allowed a public oven. All bread expoſed to ſale in theſe villages muſt be ſenatorial loaves baked in Meſſina. The ſame holds with regard to butchers' meat, which muſt all be brought from the ſhambles of Meſſina. Sometimes in bad weather, and when the floods are out in a country interſected with torrents, the proviſion for the day arrives in the evening, ſome of theſe villages being 12 and 16 miles from the town, and the unhappy labourer is doomed to remain without the ſtaff of life for a whole day. The ſenate ſtations officers on the frontier of their territory to prevent proviſions from being introduced to the detriment of the revenue of the city.

Meſſina is the only port where all foreign goods can be entered; and when they land at Palermo, or any other port, they muſt pay the free-port duties to Meſſina. The fiſhery of the ſword-fiſh, in the ſtreights, alſo belongs excluſively

to

to the ſenate: if any one goes to ſee the fiſhery, he muſt firſt have a licence to buy his dinner of the fiſherman, as no fiſh of this ſpecies is allowed to be ſold until it arrives at Meſſina. The officer who preſides over the fiſh-market takes care that too great a proviſion does not enter, leſt it ſhould depreſs the price, and the ſurplus is prudently buried. This wanton oppreſſion appears hardly credible, but the reader may receive the ſame information from the mouth of any individual in the place, and a reſidence of eighteen months authorizes the writer to make this aſſertion.

"*Character of the middling Ranks.*—The middling ranks of people in Sicily moſtly live on the fruits of their ſmall farms, and by renting the larger eſtates of the nobility.

"All claſſes of people inhabit towns and villages, and there is ſcarcely an example of a family above the meaneſt rank living in the country. Of courſe rural economy is at its loweſt ebb. We do not find the ſimplicity of manners to be met with in thoſe nations which have a contrary uſage: from the manner in which the government treats its ſubjects, theſe naturally acquire much low cunning and ſelfiſhneſs. No traits of generoſity, no public-ſpirited ideas, no thought of general improvement, and but few of the refinements of life are diſcovered in them—and they are totally ſtrangers to the literature of the continent. Marriages are contracted by intereſt alone, and often a girl comes out of a convent to be a bride when ſhe has hardly ſeen her intended huſband; of courſe little or no domeſtic happineſs, and leſs virtue: faſting and religious obſervances make up for all deficiencies; and when the Sicilian is not endeavouring to over-reach his neighbours, he is either at his devotions in a church, or following ſome ſcandalous intrigue: in a word, he poſſeſſes all the vices of a civilized people without their virtues; all the defects of a barbarian, without that courage and candour which can alone make up for the rudeneſs of his ſtate. All this reſults from the corrupt adminiſtration of juſtice, the ſtupidity and ignorance of the clergy, and the total want of public education.

"*The Clergy.*—All orders of the clergy, whether ſecular or regular, are, with few exceptions, illiterate, ignorant, and immoral: to recommend ſimple morality from the pulpit is ſo contrary to the ſyſtem of the biſhops, that any one who ſhould do ſo would incur the diſpleaſure of the paſtor; and the archbiſhop of Meſſina once interdicted a prieſt from preaching for that offence!

"Miracles and noiſy declamations addreſſed to the paſſions of the hearers, with a view to excite their indignation againſt heretics, form the principal topics of the ſermons given from the pulpit. As a great part of the revenues of the biſhops ariſes from the fees of ordination, and as every family which is above want, has a pride in making one of its number a prieſt, the body of the clergy becomes far more numerous than the church can ſupport; and ſo many are there in holy orders, and of ſo low a condition, that the profeſſion has totally loſt its reſpectability, and religion by thoſe means has

degenerated into the moſt abject ſuperſtition.

"*State of the Poor.*—From what has been obſerved on the finances of this country, it is almoſt needleſs to touch on the ſubject of the poor, as the principal ſources of revenue ariſe either from the exciſe on flour, or the duty on corn, wine, oil, fleſh, fiſh, pulſe, &c. and that the providing of corn is in every corporation the excluſive privilege of the giurati, or ſenators. As it has been ſeen that there is no free trade, ſo there is no object for the induſtry of the poor; and as the corporation, if they loſe the corn they buy, muſt make it up to the public capital, ſo in times of ſcarcity, all attempts to alleviate the diſtreſſes of the poor, by the methods employed in England, are here contrary to the laws, deſtructive to the corporations, and of courſe impracticable; for ſhould the ſenate permit others to ſell cheaper than themſelves, the public capital would ſuffer, nor would the Tribunal of Patrimony paſs their accounts: here are then, in one point of view, the defects of the public economy, the abſolute impoſſibility of manufactures, and the miſery and ruin of the people. In Sicily and Spain this ſyſtem obtains, and it is from this ſource that all the ſordid beggary reſults, which diſtinguiſhes theſe countries from the reſt of the world. The people groan under the moſt oppreſſive monopolies; thoſe articles of primary neceſſity, which are objects of commerce and gain to the lower orders, are here the only ſources of public revenue.—In a certain port of Sicily, ſome years ſince, when the poor were literally dying of hunger in conſequence of the ſcarcity of bread, a Daniſh veſſel arrived laden with corn; it was propoſed to ſell a part of the cargo, as damaged, at a low price to the poor; to execute this was however impoſſible, the ſenate alleging that they had enough, and that the Patrimony would ſuffer. They received official letters of approbation from the Tribunal of patrimony at Palermo; and, after all, finiſhed by buying the ſame corn at the low price before fixed on it: it was afterwards ſold as dear as all the reſt to the inhabitants.

"*Courts of Juſtice.*—It is neceſſary to ſay a few words on the courts of juſtice, civil and criminal; of the firſt there are two, viz. the Tribunal del Conciſtoro, and the Gran Corte. In each of theſe a law-ſuit may be heard five times over, and the laſt deciſion is generally given in ſuch undefined and equivocal terms, that it often is the cauſe of a freſh ſuit. The barefaced manner in which the judges ſport with the happineſs and property of the ſubject, muſt excite the indignation of every honeſt mind; the judge receives private viſits from both parties, who go to inform his worſhip on the cauſe, and they are not confronted until it is brought to a public hearing; when there is ſo much falſehood to ſift and diſembroil, and the cauſe, which was at firſt clear and ſimple, has become ſo puzzled, that it ſeems impoſſible to decide it. This occaſions the neceſſity of putting off the hearing, and the judge at laſt decides by ſending a written ſentence, not from the tribunal where he ſits, but from his own houſe; nor is it made public but by report. Hence it has not the effect of a deciſion pronounced

pronounced in full court, and gives to the judge the facility of deciding rather according to his preſent intereſt than his own conſcience.

" The ſalaries of the judges are trifling, and the fees are multiplied by the length of the ſuit; ſo that litigation is calculated here to ruin all, and vindicate none. Many law-ſuits finiſh by a compromiſe between the parties, where the power and the influence are nearly equal; when not ſo, the weakeſt muſt be caſt.

" In criminal caſes, evidences are not taken as with us; a criminal ſometimes remains in priſon till he and his offence are totally forgotten, and the torture is ſtill uſed to make him confeſs. The ordinary cuſtom is to bind both the wriſts together ſo tight as to ſtop the circulation, or to put the criminal into an arched dungeon, where if he does not confeſs or die in a few days, he gets off as innocent.

" *Concluſion.*—Imperfect as this ſketch of Sicily is, yet it evidently removes all occaſion of wonder, that this kingdom is totally unable to defend itſelf; that its miſery is at the utmoſt, and the people deſire a reform; but as that principle of reform is not within itſelf, it muſt either receive it from without, or fall a prey to the diſorder which it cheriſhes in its own boſom. If the ariſtocracy of the kingdom is ſo baſe in its nature, and ſo inſenſible both to the diſtreſſes of the people, and to the neceſſities of the ſovereign, as to continue in the deſtructive ſyſtem they have hitherto purſued; if the nobility continue to ſupport the perverſion of juſtice in the tribunals, and if the deputies of the kingdom, and the Tribunal of Patrimony uphold the nobility in this dereliction of their country—if in the midſt of ſo much ſecret influence and cabal, the crown has not energy ſufficient to inſiſt on a reform—is it for the glory of the Britiſh arms to maintain ſuch a ſtate of violence to nature and to juſtice?

" Vicious as the ſyſtem of finance is in theory, it is ſtill more ſo in the application. There is a donative for keeping in repair the towers on the coaſt; but theſe are either in ruins or do not exiſt. The donative for the roads is yearly raiſed, but the money never applied. The miniſters of the government flatter themſelves that we are to ſpend treaſures to allow them to continue in the career they have hitherto run! With the malverſations in the application of the revenues, added to the other abuſes already mentioned, the public income becomes inſufficient to ſupport the preſent eſtabliſhment, civil and military: the royal family have abdicated the kingdom of Naples, and the diſburſement for their troops, with thoſe of the whole court, fall entirely on Sicily; but from what funds are theſe to be paid in a ſtate ſo exhauſted? How will the iſland bear freſh burdens, when its mercantile laws are ſo oppoſite to the intereſts of the ſubject? If a tranſient joy is felt at the protection of England, it is becauſe all men look to the arrival of our army as a prelude to a reform in the government; when they ſhall find themſelves diſappointed in this hope, from that moment they will be ready to receive the French, and to turn againſt

their ſovereign, their barons, and the Britiſh.

"Thus a certain interference in the government on our part, is that alone which will give the crown that due influence over the barons, which it requires to effectuate what alone can ſave both itſelf, and aid our cauſe.

"This iſland when unſhackled by the chains here deſcribed is an object of high importance to us: its wines and oil would ſupply the place of thoſe of Portugal and Florence; and the ſums tranſmitted for theſe articles would not go to enrich our foes. But under the preſent form it appears difficult to conceive how any commerce can exiſt, and how we, by allowing things to continue as they are, ſhall avoid incurring the odium of the people.

"The troops which the king has brought with him are jealous of the Britiſh; many are in the intereſt of the French, and none are ſincerely attached to his cauſe. Co-operating with ſuch allies, we ſtand in greater danger than if we were without any; and ſhould the French attempt to land, it is certain that they will have ſome underſtanding with theſe, by which our army might be betrayed.

"The repreſentatives of Britain in Sicily will ſoon perceive that public credit is unknown here, and that no one would take the ſecurity of government for a farthing; and the funding ſyſtem, on the Britiſh plan, the Sicilians are ſtrangers to.

"If Britons are doomed to become the defenders of ſuch a ſyſtem as we have here deſcribed, no honeſt mind can wiſh them ſucceſs; but if they incline to be inſtrumental in eſtabliſhing a juſt and equal polity in the iſland, they will ſave the monarch and the people from the yoke of France, and they will draw reſources from Sicily, which will make them maſters of the commerce of the Mediterranean; they will protect it as a pledge to mankind for the renewal of civil government on the ruins of military uſurpation.

"Whatever difficulties may be ſuggeſted, whatever objections may be made in the houſe of commons to our interfering in the internal government of the iſland, it will very ſoon be felt that the meaſure is inevitable, under whatever aſpect we view it; and as ſoon as miniſters have become ſenſible of the ſtate of the country, and its concomitant external circumſtances, they muſt either adopt this policy or cede it to France.

"If the picture which has been here drawn of Sicily be juſt, it muſt be ſuppoſed that the bulk of the people cannot be very well contented with a government in itſelf ſo defective. The arrival of our forces in Sicily has cauſed a reflection which is in the mouth of every one:—'If we obtain an amelioration of our condition from the Britiſh, their coming will be the period of our ills, and the dawn of our proſperity; but if they leave things as they found them, we are all ready to join the French on the firſt ſummons.' The French have had their emiſſaries in this country as well as elſewhere, and every argument has been employed to prejudice the people againſt us.

"The revenues of Sicily, in its preſent exhauſted ſtate, were ſcarcely ſufficient for the civil and military eſtabliſhment before the loſs of Naples; and ſuch is its increaſed impoveriſh-

impoverishment, that that government will be unable to maintain the force which is arrived from the continent. To drive the people to despair is the worst policy; and unless the system of finance be reformed, Sicily can yield us no assistance. If we take the whole in our own pay, and *generously* determine to leave things as they are, we undertake to maintain a system adverse to the prosperity of the country, destructive to our own security, and ruinous to all parties; the commercial advantages, which we might reap, must be forgotten, and the kingdom must daily become still more distressed and calamitous. Let us bring the matter home to ourselves. In the time of Charles the First, when the odious right of tonnage and poundage was arbitrarily extorted by the crown, and afterwards when James II. would have established a system of government as obnoxious to the people as that which we have been considering, must be to the Sicilians, and which, had it met with success, would perhaps have reduced us to the same deplorable and abject state; had a foreign power in either instance successfully lent its aid to force such despotic measures on the people of England, what indignation would it not have excited among us?—Where then is our right to follow this line of conduct?

"The laudable compassion which our gracious sovereign must feel for the fallen fortunes of Ferdinand of Bourbon, surely should have its due limits; and the desire to support him against his enemy ought to be blended with a proper regard for the happiness of his subjects, otherwise we sacrifice the welfare of a nation to the ill-understood interests of a deluded individual; and we cannot but style him so, when his own welfare and that of his subjects are separated so widely from each other. This therefore cannot be a case brought home to our sovereign and his government, where those two interests have ever been considered as essentially united; and it may be asked if our executive government has a right to maintain those prerogatives in another crown, which it has solemnly abjured the pretensions to by a coronation oath.

"In a little time it will be seen that the Sicilian government must look to the British to extricate it out of its pecuniary difficulties; and that can only be done by a radical reform in the revenue system. This too must be under the control of the British; for it will be soon found that the deputies of the kingdom and the Tribunal of Patrimony, have been accustomed so long to the disorder which at present reigns, that it will be impossible to trust to them for its cure.

Miscellaneous Notices on the Abyssinians.

(From the Life of James Bruce, Esq. by Mr. Murray.)

"Yasous Tallack (the Great), subdued Lasta, and obliged it to pay 1000 ounces of gold per annum in tribute. It continued to pay till the war between Mariam Barea and Râs Michael, when each pretending to it, it became independent, and continues so at this present day, April, 1770.

"Harar is four days journey from Shoa, and seven from Aussa. It is farther inland, and a plain country.

country. The chief has the title of Emir; and is frequently at war with Amha Yasous in Shoa, who is independent. The people are all Mahometans, called Turks by the Abyssinians.

"Gold is found in the Shangalla's country in small lumps, is by them put into quills, and carried to Damot fair. This at least was the ancient custom when these barbarians sold their gold as necessity required. Since that time they have got scales and weights, and know, in general, the value. The Agows are the purchasers, and adulterate it with silver; one ounce to ten of gold, which gives it a very pale colour.

"N. B. This observation is sufficiently confirmed by the colour of those links that still remain of the honorary gold chain conferred on Mr. Bruce by the king of Abyssinia. These links are of a paler hue than a common guinea, rather coarsely made and unpolished. Gold chains, called in Habbesh sunsulé, are a mark of dignity bestowed by the sovereign on the most meritorious persons in his army. It is usual to give a splendid suit of clothes at the same time, an Egyptian and Persian custom; vide Genesis, xli. 42. and Esther, viii. 15.

"Wechne, in Breleesen, is about 34 or 35 miles, a long day's journey from Emfras. There is paid, to maintain the royal family on the mountain, 250 ounces of gold, and 730 cloths (this means webs of cotton cloth called shuma). This is an old establishment. None are permitted to go up but the women carrying water. There was formerly a cistern, but it is now in ruins, and useless. There are near 300 persons there; and all the exiles are allowed to marry. Bacuffa escaped by help of his sister.

"Extreme unction is unknown in Abyssinia; that is, the anointing with oil. However, when a person is attacked with sickness, which threatens death, he often puts on a monk's hood, as a token that, in case of recovery, he will abandon the world, and then receives the last sacrament, or rather he does so before putting it on; and it is generally the custom to distribute all his moveables to the churches, which the priests appropriate. These are traces of extreme unction. The great men often renounce the hood, and return to their former life.

"N. B. The Abyssinian MS. histories are full of these instances, in which the great men, when disappointed in politics, retire to Waldubba, or other deserts, to live as monks. The distribution of goods and money made by the kings, when sick, to the churches, occurs in almost every reign. Before Yasous II. died, the Chronicle says, that he had given away every thing he had, in this way, except the crown on his head. When Joas was proclaimed, the Iteghe his grandmother wished to give a present to the poor, as usual at the beginning of a reign; which she could not do, until one of the nobles supplied her with a sum of money. There were only a few derims left in the treasury.

"*Abyssinian Harvests.* They first sow barley from the end of April to the beginning of May, or later; that is, towards the first rains. This ripens in the rains of June; and is carried off the fields into the house, that it may not rot. Then they sow fitches, which likewise ripen in the rains after. In September they

they ſow wheat, or teff, which is cut down in December; and, if they have water, they ſow barley, or fitches, again in January. In Woggora (a very fertile province), there is ſeed-time, and harveſt, and ploughing, in every month in the year; water being eaſily diverted to the grounds. The rent paid to the king for the ground is one tenth of what they reap, yet, with all this, they are all poor; for a harveſt, at a medium, is about twenty after one; and they ſometimes, nay very often, ſcarce reap the ſeed. They never manure the ground; and there are great quantities of rats and innumerable ants, that conſume their corn at different, nay, at all periods of its growth. All their five harveſts do not, in produce, equal one Egyptian one; and they are at five times the labour. In the ſeveral villages, living, in general, is very miſerable; and, in general, people of conſideration ſcarcely know any other diet than teff bread and bouza. Whether this teff is black, or white, is the whole difference between the diet of maſter and ſervant.

"*Abyſſinian Dreſs.* The principal part of the dreſs of the natives is a large cotton cloth, 23 peek (cubits) in length, and one and a half in breadth, with a blue and yellow ſtripe round the bottom of it. This blue is not dyed; but the Surat blue cloths are unrivalled, and woven for this purpoſe; and the yellow they dye with ſuf, the yellow thiſtle. The beſt for ordinary wear coſts 10 ſalts, or $1\frac{3}{4}$ pataka, about 6s. 6d. Engliſh. It is called Kuara, as probably coming from that province. They are very beautiful and light. The other pieces of dreſs are breeches, which reach to their mid-thighs; and girt with a white girdle of cloth to the common people; but the better ſort have red Indian cotton cloths for breeches; and ſilk, or worſted coloured girdles from the Levant. When they ride, they only hold their ſtirrups between their great and ſecond toes. Even the king rides barefooted; and being uſed chiefly to mules, they are far inferior horſemen to the Arabs.

"*Price of Gold.* Gold, at a medium, ſells for 10 pataka each wakea; or 10 derims, ſalt, at a medium 8 per pataka. The piece (of ſalt), ſpeaking of it identically, is called Kourman, but in eſtimation, or ſuch a thing coſts ſo many ſalts, they are called Amooli. Theſe are the ordinary currency for the neceſſaries of life. For conſiderable purchaſes, gold is uſed; and there is great loſs in cutting the waken into derims, at leaſt one in ten. The gold is got by waſhing the earth in water, in wooden diſhes. The grains that remain behind are put into a quill, melted down and alloyed, probably by the Shangalla; for it is pale, and is never brought to market in its firſt form, but melted down into ſmall rods or ingots. In Joas's time a wakea was valued only at 8 patakas. Yaſous Tanuſh, or the II. turned round, and reduced the Sennaar Shangalla; but they are now quite independent of Habbeſh. Their fair is held at Buré in Damot.

"*Weights and Meaſures.* The wakea (or ounce), in Abyſſinia, is conſidered as 10 derims, or drams, and 12 ounces make a litir, or rotol (pound). At Gondar, the capital of all Abyſſinia, the wakea is 6 drams, 40 grains, Troy weight, Engliſh, and divided into 10 drams of

of 40 grains. The ſmall money is ſalt bricks, dug out of the mines at Dancali, near the myrrh country. Every wakea, in ordinary times, gives from 72 to 76 ſalts. In 1769, the wakea was 80 ſalts, and June 15th, 1771, the wakea ſold at 34, but there was a great difference in the ſize of the bricks. Theſe are little or not at all liable to waſte, as M. Monteſquieu ſuppoſes. Abyſſinian gold at Mocha is 15 or 16 patakas when the Sennaar gold is 22, becauſe the Agows, &c. alloy it with ſilver.

"At Maſuah, the current money is the Venetian ſequin, the pataka, or queen's dollar, and half-dollars. For ſmall money are uſed grains of glaſs, called borjook, three of which make a chebir. (Vid. Travels, Book V. Chap. ii.)

"Corn ſold at Maſuah for four patakas the ardeb, which contains about 24 meaſures of the country. Coffee, ſix rotol per pataka, ſometimes ten or even 15 rotol. Honey, four cuba for a pataka, each cuba about two rotol. or ſomewhat leſs. Butter 20 rotol, for $1\frac{1}{2}$ pataka, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ harf. Civet, $1\frac{3}{4}$ pataka the wakea. Wax, 4 patt. the faranzola. Elephants' teeth, 35 rotol for 18 patt. Water $1\frac{1}{2}$ paras the ſmalleſt jar, and 3 paras the largeſt. Abyſſinian gold duſt, 15 patt. per wakea, at Mocha. Dora, 12 meaſures for a pataka. The Venetian ſequin goes for $2\frac{1}{4}$ patakas.

"The Abyſſinian grain meaſure is the ardeb, which, at Gondar, contains 10 meaſures, called Madega, each equal to 12 ounces, Cairo weight. An ardeb of grain coſts 2 derims, or 2 patakas; an ardeb of teff, the ſame; 6 or 8 ardebs of tocuſſo pay an ounce (wakea) of gold, or 10 derims.

"*Servants Wages at Gondar.* At Gondar a maid-ſervant receives 15 ſalts per annum, and is fed in the houſe. A man-ſervant is paid 4 pataka yearly, which correſpond to 4 wakea, or ounces of gold, Abyſſinian weight, and receives beſides two loaves, or cakes of teff, for his ſupport daily. If his maſter is good, he ſometimes gives him a little fleſh, lentiles, or vetches. He is not obliged to clothe him, but he ſometimes gives him a pair of trowſers, which conſiſt of about one-fourth of a yard of white cloth.

"With reſpect to carriage, &c. three bundles of wood, which are brought from Tchagaſſa, three hours walking, coſt a ſalt. The carriage of a jar, or manteca, full of wine, or honey, from Emfras, eight hours journey, pays a ſalt, of the weight of 3 faranzala, or ſo.

"Thirty-three teff bread coſt a ſalt; the loaves are about three lines thick, and 18 inches diameter. A pair of ſhoes (pantufle) coſt a ſalt. Eight and a quarter peeks of cloth is the leaſt gift that can be offered in the country.

"*Bouza.* Manner in which the Abyſſinians make a kind of beer, that, in their language, is called bouza.

"To make this, they uſe tocuſſo ſimply; but ſometimes they mix it with grain (wheat), or dora, or all three together; but in ordinary tocuſſo is beſt. A jar of tocuſſo, or of the three ſorts of grain, contains as much as is ſufficient to make two loaves, that are a tenth part of the whole jar; beſides which, they uſe about half a rotol of Gheſh leaves.

"The firſt part of the proceſs is to grind the tocuſſo, after which they take a fourth part of it, and knead

knead it with water and leaven, as if to make bread. This they put in a jar to ferment for two days, at the end of which they make a good many thin large cakes, and dry them on the fire till they become as hard as a ſtone, then break them down into crumbs, and put them in a large veſſel full of water, capable of holding ſix times the volume of the grain; or for one jar of grain, the veſſel holds five of water, and one for the quantity of grain. At the ſame time that they put in the bruiſed bread, as above-mentioned, into that quantity of water, the other things ſhould be got ready to go in alſo. The grain ought to be fermented for two days, then dried in the ſun, and afterwards ground into meal. The Gheſh leaves are ground likewiſe. The remainder of the meal, or thoſe three-fourths that were not uſed to make the bread, muſt be put into a hollow oven, over a fire, with a ſmall quantity of water, and conſtantly ſtirred with a ſtick, until it become a paſte; and when the water is dried up, more is put in, conſtantly ſtirring the maſs until it become black like a coal. The whole ſo prepared, the crumbs, the maſs, and the leaves are put together into the large jar, and let alone for a day, after which it is poured off, and preſerved in jars, well ſtopped. At the end of ſeven or eight days, this liquor begins to be too ſtrong, and is beſt when freſh, too or three days old.

" *Marriage.* Marriage is not conſidered in Abyſſinia as a ſacrament, yet the church ordains ſome rules to be obſerved, in order that the man and the woman may be faithful towards one another. The ordinary method of marriage among people of condition, and among thoſe who moſt fear God, is the following: The man, when he reſolves to marry a girl, ſends ſome perſon to her father to aſk his daughter in marriage. It ſeldom happens that ſhe is refuſed; and when ſhe is granted, the future huſband is called into the girl's houſe, and an oath is taken reciprocally by the parties, that they will maintain due fidelity to one another. Then the father of the bride preſents to the bridegroom the fortune that he will give: it conſiſts of a particular ſum of gold, ſome oxen, ſheep, or horſes, &c. according to the circumſtances of the people. Then the bridegroom is obliged to find ſurety for the ſaid goods; which is ſome one of his friends that preſents himſelf, and becomes anſwerable for him in caſe he ſhould wiſh to diſmiſs his wife, and he not able, through diſſipation or otherwiſe, to reſtore all that he has gotten.

" Further, at the time when they diſplay the fortune of the bride, the huſband is obliged to promiſe a certain ſum of money, or an equivalent, in effects, to his wife, in caſe he ſhould chooſe to abandon her, or ſeparate himſelf from her. This muſt alſo be confirmed by an oath of the future huſband, and of his ſurety. A certain time, of twenty or thirty days, is determined alſo by a reciprocal oath, that on the laſt of theſe they will go together to church, and receive the ſacrament. When all theſe matters are concluded, the future ſpouſe appoints the marriage-day, and then returns home. When that day arrives, the intended huſband goes again to his bride's houſe, where ſhe appears, and ſhews him her

her moveables (mobiglia), or clothes; and he muſt promiſe and ſwear anew the fore-mentioned articles; and that he will uſe his wife well; never leave her without meat or clothing; keep her in a good houſe, &c. all which his ſurety muſt confirm. When this is over, the bridegroom takes his lady on his ſhoulders, and carries her off to his houſe. If it be at a diſtance, he does the ſame thing, but only goes entirely round about the bride's houſe; then ſets her down and returns her into it. After this ceremony, a ſolemn banquet takes place, conſiſting of raw beef and bread, and honey-wine, or hydromel, or another beverage from grain, called bouza, a ſort of beer very ſour and diſguſting. The feaſt being ended, the parties mount each a mule, and ride to the bridegroom's houſe, where is concluded all the ceremony neceſſary to marriage before they live together. When they have lived together during the appointed term of twenty or thirty days, they muſt both appear at church, and declare before the prieſt, that they are huſband and wife, and that they are come to receive the ſacrament. The prieſt, without more ado, celebrates maſs; they communicate, and return home.

"After ſome time, although both have ſworn to live all their life faithful to one another, they take the liberty to ſeparate; if it is the huſband who wiſhes to get off, he, or his ſurety, muſt pay the wife that which ſhe brought, and likewiſe the ſum ſtipulated in caſe of ſeparation. If they have had children, the boys always go with the mother, even if there were but an only child; if there be no boys, ſhe takes none of the girls. When the ſeparation comes from the lady the huſband is liable to no reſtitution, provided he has been always faithful to the married ſtate, as promiſed; but if it is on account of his bad conduct, or irregular life, that ſhe forms this reſolution, he is always ſubject to his promiſe and the above-mentioned articles.

"It ſometimes happens that the huſband and wife, mutually, without any cauſe of ill-will, agree to part; in this caſe, the effects brought by the wife are united with the ſum ſtipulated by the huſband; then divided into equal ſhares, of which the parties take each one, and return to their former places of abode.

"This is the eſtabliſhed form of thoſe marriages which are ſaid to be celebrated juſtly, and according to the church. But with regard to inferior people, theſe ſeldom take place; in proof of which I can mention what a perſon of credit aſſerted, who had lived twenty-five years in this country. He affirmed, that in all that time he had not ſeen, nor known of a marriage at the church, in the places where he lived, except one ſingle inſtance. I may add to his the teſtimony of a prieſt in Tigré, who ſwore ſolemnly, that in all Addua, the capital of that province, he was the only man who was married according to the church, that is, in the fore-mentioned manner.

"The ordinary way of marrying is this: When two perſons *****. Here the MS. breaks of; L. Balugani having been either interrupted or weary of the ſubject. It is to be regretted, that he has not given the manner in which the bulk of a nation, very little influenced by Chriſtianity,

Chriſtianity, perform one of the moſt eſſential ceremonies in life. His account of the marriage of the church is confirmed by Gregory of Hagara-Chriſtos, in Ludolph's Abyſſinian Hiſtory and Commentary.

"It may be gathered from various hints in Mr. Bruce's papers, that the Abyſſinian peaſants and ſoldiers marry in a few minutes. No ſettlement, portion, or ſurety, being neceſſary, they eat an ox, or two or three ſheep raw, the favourite method of cutting pieces from them, while alive, being preferred; a great deal of bouza is drunk on the occaſion; dancing, ſhouting, and various kinds of licentiouſneſs, are practiſed; if a prieſt be near he ſprinkles them with holy water, and repeats a hallelujah. The company join in the benediction; and no delicacy of manners conſtrains either the parties or the gueſts. The bride does not appear abroad till about ten days after her marriage. Theſe connexions are eaſily diſſolved; but the king's judges and the governors of provinces, take care that the children ſhall be maintained by their parents or others. Judgment is given in all matters by the civil courts; nothing being left to the clergy but the deciſion of matters fixed by the canons (kanoun), or poſitive law of the church.

"The ſons of the royal family confined in Wechne are allowed to marry, but it is only by connivance. No perſons of rank give their daughters to theſe exiles. On the other hand, the Ozoros, or princeſſes, are given away to every great man in the kingdom, and their marriages and divorces are ſcandalouſly frequent. The ceremony at the marriage of a prince or princeſs is as follows:—The match having been ſettled previouſly, according to the views of the court, preparations are made for the feſtival, which is generally held during the rainy ſeaſon, while the country is ſecure and abandoned to pleaſure. The king being ſeated on the throne, in the large hall of audience, the parties are introduced before him with their reſpective attendants. After kiſſing his hand, they are all magnificently clothed in dreſſes of brocade, or other rich ſtuffs, with preſents of knives, &c. correſponding to their habits. The crown is ſometimes ſet on their heads; they receive the benediction of the kees hatſe, or king's almoner; after which they retire clothed with the caftan, and mount horſes given them by the king, on which they ride in great ſtate, in the midſt of acclamations of joy and proſperity, to the houſe of the bridegroom. A banquet or dinner is prepared there; in the courſe of which many oxen are ſlaughtered at the door, in order to furniſh *brind*, which is ſerved up reeking from the animal. Deep drinking then commences; in which the ladies and gentlemen indulge together to a degree incredible, becauſe it is unknown in Europe. Theſe marriages are by no means permanent: many of the Ozoros, who always rule their huſbands, marry as often as they pleaſe; diſſolving the marriage preceding at the dictates of convenience or fancy. But notwithſtanding the general licentiouſneſs, there are found ſeveral faithful wives and mothers, who are content to deviate from the common example.

"When any of the king's children

dren dies, it is the cuſtom to hang the audience-chamber with tapeſtry and curtains, and ſpread carpets on the floor. The king having entered ſits on the throne, and the *iteagerd*, a ſet of profeſſed mourners of the female ſex, along with the nobles and houſehold ſervants attend. One of the licaonte, a prieſt, reads over a liſt of the former kings with great ſolemnity, adding after every name, 'May the Lord have mercy on his ſoul, even to the fifth generation!' The aſſembly reply, 'Amen, ycoune, ſo let it be.' At laſt he ſays, 'Greatly may the Lord have mercy upon the ſoul of ****, who died this day;' on which the Ozoros and their women, the mourners, the houſehold, and the nobles, all ſet up a loud and general cry of lamentation, and weep for ſome time. If the perſon has died in the camp or city the coffin is brought before the king; but if not, he performs the ceremony without it. It is afterwards carried out with ſendic and nagareet, and buried by the Betwudet, or Billetana-gueta dakakin, in the manner which ſhall be afterwards mentioned.

"Koſcam is the richeſt church in Abyſſinia; it is ſituated on the banks of Kahha, below a ruinous palace or houſe of the king. There are about forty houſes in the village, all belonging to the principal Kuaragna, the party of the queen. All the Kuaragna, Eſhte, Euſebius, and the reſt, had their troops drawn up to attack Michael when called to Gondar by Joas, at the advice of Lubo. They deſigned to engage him on the Angrab, but failed completely. The reſiding people at Koſcam, after Joas's death, were in great fear of Michael, and wore a hood or cowl like the monks. Gondar is $2\frac{3}{4}$ miles, perhaps three, at its greateſt length, and no where above a mile broad. The palace is in the centre. Below the town, on the S. W. at the confluence of the Angrab and Kahha, is the Mahometan town. Theſe rivers incloſe the town on its N. and S. ſides, and join on the W. On the S. E. part of it is the church of Debra-berhan. On the N. E. is Kedus Gabriel. Two ſuburbs above Kedus Gabriel, is Anta Naggar, the hill where, till Yaſous's time, the Tigre, in conſequence of a proclamation, were obliged to halt, and not allowed to enter Gondar.

"In Abyſſinia there remains not a ſhadow of the hoſpitality which is ſaid to be a trait in the character of barbarous nations.

"They divide the day into five parts (humiſi). From the twilight, which is here ſhort, it is nagga; about nine it is called feleſt, or the third hour; mid-day is kutter; three o'clock, teſſaat; and ſun-ſet, ſerk. They judge by the height of the ſun, having neither clocks nor watches. The other hours mentioned in their books are counted 1, 2, 3, &c. after dawn, ſun-riſe, or ſun-ſet.

"There are two kinds of monarchy; one is abſolute, where there are no written laws, but the will of the prince carried into effect by his command and force; another is, where there are laws and reſtraints, but theſe occaſionally broken through. The Abyſſinian government is neither of thoſe. There are no laws: the lives of the king's ſubjects and their lands are *de jure* his; he is abſolute and ſole maſter of their lives and property: yet he has no military force; this

is

is all in the hands of the governors of provinces, whoſe ſafety lies in keeping the prince in want of every thing. It is a monſtrous kind of monarchy, and to this are owing the continual wars and rebellions. While the diſtricts were ſmall, theſe were prevented; but minorities, weak reigns, &c. have united them into great ones, each of which are more than a match for the ſovereign; indeed the forty-four nagareets of Tigre united, are more than a match for all Abyſſinia. Damot and Agow-midre, joined to Maitſha, when they pleaſe, ſtarve the capital, and leave the king not only without army and proviſions, but even meat and clothes for himſelf. The Turkiſh and Galla wars have accelerated this ſtate of affairs. Each of the governments have become a kind of fiefs, very rarely not granted to the family of the deceaſed, and that one of it moſtly likely to be ſerviceable.

" *King's Houſehold.*—The Serachmaſery is Yeſous Alaka; he anoints the king at the coronation, and has ten ounces of gold for his ſalary. The Licaonte vote ſtanding before the King and the Ras, but before the Billentana-gueta dakakin, and other meconem, ſitting. Four Licaonte and four azajes only vote before the king. The Palambaras was of old, in Tigre, called Lik-ſof. The Baal-magwaſs goes immediately before the king, dreſſed as the king, and his face, as the king's, half-covered. All his actions are imputed to the king; and when he kills an enemy in fight, it is ſaid the king killed him. Shalaka are the heads of the king's ſoldiers, who are called by reſpective names, Gimja-bet, Werk-ſaccala, &c. Azaje are officers over the king's houſehold and revenues. The ſervants of the Licaonte are called Firaje and Baalheg; they vote with the Licaonte, and before them in civil cauſes. Rakmaſery is ſuperintendant of the bread, and the Shum mes of the wine or hydromel. The Terſemba Azaje is the judge, or, as it is called, Dabna of the Wezizir, or nobles; Dimſhas is an officer under him. Of the officers called Hadug, there are two; theſe are the king's wakeels, in the Abuna's houſe, and have one-third of his revenues.

" Gera and Kanya wuſt-Azaje. He is the perſon, who, in capital crimes, accuſes for the king; and is always one of the Licaonte, the moſt remarkable for his experience and diſcernment. Debena-bet haits is the perſon that executes, by his ſervants, all criminals at Debabay; he has the guard there at night, and, about three in the morning, gives the ſignal of the approach of day to the officer of the king's houſe, by about 30 ſmacks of a whip, to drive away the hyænas and beaſts of prey, that come to Debabay, the place of execution, in ſearch of carcaſes. He has alſo the right of ſending expreſſes to Gondar, of the king's victories, and brings with him the heads, pudenda, &c. of traitors, which are expoſed on the tree at the place of execution; at which time the merchants, both Mahometan and Chriſtian, give preſents, which, on great occaſions, amount to 10 wakeas from each Moſlem, and the ſame from the Atary, or Chriſtian merchants. The viceroy or kaſmati of Tigre, drinks out of a golden cup, as keeper of the law at Axum. There are twelve nagareets in Tigre, and forty-four

perſons

perſons are inveſted with the Raswerk.

"*Church Affairs.*—The Abuna is appointed by proclamation of the king, and is depoſed at his pleaſure. He holds of no other perſon. He ordains prieſts and deacons within the kingdom, conſecrates churches, altars (tabot), &c. His revenue was once very conſiderable, eſteemed one-third of the revenues of the kingdom; but as thoſe princes who made the grants reſided in Shoa, or in the ſouth of Tigre, the principal lands are in thoſe provinces adjoining to the royal reſidence. Now the ſouthern provinces are all in the hands of the Galla, as well as part of Tigre, and the governor or Ras has aſſumed the reſt; ſo that of 400 ounces of gold once paid by Tigre, the Abuna, in my time, got only twenty-five, one-third of which went to the king's wakeel in his houſe. The Abuna appoints no officer, civil or eccleſiaſtical: the king or governor does all. The king appoints officers called Alaka, who adminiſter in all caſes the revenue of churches and convents; and this perſon is the judge of differences and ſuits among the prieſts and monks of his church or fraternity, from whom lies no appeal but to the King or to the Ras, who is underſtood to repreſent him. This Alaka is or is not a monk or prieſt at the king's pleaſure. Of thoſe who are called Monks, are the communities of Debra Libanos or Azazo, as it is now called, Waldubba, Werkleva, Damo, Mahabar Selaſſe, &c. Theſe live in villages in theſe places, and reſide or not as they pleaſe. The reſt of that name are thoſe who are ordained on any illneſs, diſappointment, or advanced in life. The monks are ordained by the Itchegue, the others by an ordinary prieſt. Neither take any vow. The women of Waldubba are of the firſt kind, and all the women paſt pleaſure compoſe the ſecond. There are many inſtances of both orders renouncing and marrying.

"All perſons, as well eccleſiaſtical as civil, are ſubject to the ſame laws, judgment, and tribunal, without exception, be the cauſe of whatever nature it may be. The Abuna, or Itchegue, have none of them a tribunal, nor can they take cognizance of any cauſe; eſpecially the Abuna, who has, as I have ſaid, an officer in his houſe appointed by the king, who puniſhes all perſons by that authority, even thoſe of the Abuna's family, without any ſort of deference paid to him; and this, as appears by the judges, or kings records, is of very ancient ſtanding. The king calls an aſſembly of the clergy when he pleaſes, generally with the advice of the Abuna, and there is none conſidered legal if he is not preſent, in the kingdom.

"Welled Hayrat (Ras Michael's ſon) was excommunicated for killing a refugee at the Abuna's feet, in conſequence of which he confiſcated the Abuna's villages in Tigre, nor was the curſe ever taken off. The Itchegue, or prior of the monks, if it be choſen by a layman, muſt be ordained by the Abuna. He is named by the king, who nominates all ſuperiors of monaſteries. The Lika-cahanat, or chief of the prieſts, is ordained by the Abuna and Itchegue, who both hold a corner of a ſcarf put upon him. He is an inquiſitor of morals among the prieſts, and has

ſo

ſo much ſalt and cloth from each diſtrict. A prieſt at his ordination pays three ſalts to the Abuna. He comes to the houſe of the latter, enters, and kiſſes the threſhold. The Abuna, ſitting on a ſofa at one end of the room, reads the ſcriptures to himſelf. Then having paid his ſalt, the perſon retires and kiſſes the threſhold, returning without impoſition of hands, or any ceremony. Old men are made prieſts, and young men deacons, by a ſimple juſſit. More probable accounts ſay, that there is only one ſalt paid, that the perſon ſtands at the door, while the Abuna, having made the ſign of the croſs, holding it in his hand, ſays,—"I have ordained you a prieſt." The perſon then enters the room, kiſſes the cuſhion of the ſofa, and retires. Many are ordained that can neither read nor write.

"The Abyſſinians have an office for the dead; and worſhip pictures of ſaints, even ſuch as are not conſecrated. This we had an opportunity of ſeeing every time we were obliged to draw ſome Madonna. All thoſe that ſaw it, kiſſed the ground before it, with their foreheads on the earth. The principal revenue of the clergy is the preſents made by thoſe who are ſick, or dying.

"The dreſs of the Acab ſaat is a purple burnooſe, with a white turban, not unlike the Turkiſh Imams, or a white handkerchief hanging looſe behind. The Kees hatze is the king's official confeſſor, official Alaka of the church of Teclahaimanout, and curator of the two churches of Gondar.

"The Abuna's words of abſolution in a caſe of excommunication is, "Gzier ephtac," God abſolve thee.

"Women, after having borne a ſon, are excluded from the church forty days, and if a daughter, eighty. The really married are thoſe who receive the ſacrament on that occaſion. Perſons who have been connected with any woman are excluded from church during three days; if that connection has been promiſcuous, they are excluded ſeven; and then even admitted to receive the ſacrament. If a man, really married, is guilty with another's wife, he is not debarred a longer period. Women in the menſes are not allowed to enter the church till ſeven days afterwards. Circumciſion is performed on the eighth, and baptiſm is celebrated on the forty-firſt day of the child's age. On all the forementioned occaſions they only come within the inner precinct, and kiſs the walls and door-poſts of the church. The clergy are rigid in theſe matters, and that is perhaps one of the reaſons why the churches are ill attended. It is their only duty; the monks making no ſcruple of confeſſing that they cannot enter the church, for that day they had to do with a woman, which is not attended with any impeachment.

Deſcription of Stabroek, and the Cuſtoms at Demerary, from a Voyage to the Demerary. By Henry Bolingbroke, Eſq.

"Stabroek, the political metropolis, and principal ſeat of exchange for produce, of all the countries adjacent to the Demerary and Eſſequebo, is ſituated on the eaſt ſide of the river Demerary. Its ſite is low and level. It has an oblong form, being about one-fourth of a mile

mile broad and one mile long. The principal ſtreets are quite ſtraight, with carriage roads. The middle ſtreet, leading from the king's ſtelling, is paved with bricks, and has lamps on each ſide: another public ſtelling, or wharf (beſides ſeveral that are private) is kept purpoſely in order for landing and ſhipping goods. A navigable canal on each ſide of the town, which fills and empties with the tide, affords the ſame convenience to thoſe houſes which are not ſituated near the water-ſide. The population in Stabroek conſiſts of about fifteen hundred whites, two thouſand free people of colour, and five thouſand negroes.

"There are no taverns, or lodging-houſes, wherefore a merchant's houſe is more like an inn than any thing elſe.—People coming from England generally bring letters of introduction which are always attended to, and ſecure to the bearers a hoſpitable reception—a knife and fork is laid for them, and a hammock prepared, which they occupy as long as ſuits their convenience. Planters reſiding in the country, always put up at the merchant's houſe with whom they do buſineſs.

"The way of living differs materially from that of England. The general hour for riſing is ſix, far the pleaſanteſt part of the day, by which time coffee, and often chocolate, is prepared. Breakfaſt is delayed until ten, which is in fact more like a dinner, from the introduction of animal food, wine and water, and ſometimes fruit. By four in the afternoon all buſineſs is over for the day. Five is the hour of the principal meal, which is ſerved up by a profuſion of attendants: Madeira and Claret are the wines moſt in requeſt. In the houſes there are no bells; every gentlemen carries in his pocket an ivory whiſtle, which when uſed aſſembles the ſervants. The evening is generally paſſed at the coffee-houſe, which is ſituated near the American ſtelling, and denominated the Exchange, from its being ſo much frequented by the young merchants as a lounge. Here the news of the day, the liſt of arrivals and importations, the prices of produce and the departure of veſſels, are always to be known. Draughts, backgammon, cheſs, whiſt, and billiards, ſhare the attention of the gueſts. A walk to the camp is uſual and pleaſant, where the band plays after the troops are marched to the barracks. Few weeks paſs without a ball, or a concert, the attending of which is, however, very expenſive. A ball and ſupper coſt to each of the gentlemen ſubſcribers eight dollars, a concert and ball twelve dollars. His ticket alſo introduces two ladies of colour.

"Strolling players from North America occaſionally viſit the Weſt Indies. Twice during my ſix years ſtay they came to Stabroek, having previouſly made a tour among the iſlands. The company conſiſted but of four or five perſons; they had chartered a veſſel at New York; they had embarked a cargo of canvas palaces and painted foreſts, of crowns and daggers, ſceptres and chains, of the purple attire of majeſty, and the motley foppery of folly. At Grenada and Barbadoes, they had unpacked their portable theatre, and had been received with an applauſe, which was re-echoed from the continent. The admiſſion was two dollars for each repreſentation, and public curioſity detained

detained them nearly three months. The plays of Shakſpeare require ſo much ſhow and ſo many actors, that we had often to be content with ſelect ſcenes. The ſimplicity of the ancient drama was reſtored by the economical criticiſm of the manager. It might be wiſhed that plays like thoſe of the Greeks and French, were written for the ſervice of theſe cruizing players: ſuch ſimple compoſitions would better ſuit the rude ſtate of their dramatic ſyſtem, than the complex works of Engliſh art and refinement. In the French iſlands, negro performers have been enliſted to take parts in the maritime companies; but there are few Mooriſh characters on our ſtage, except Othello, Juba, and Oronoko, which they could perſonate with propriety. In an illiterate community, which can only learn through the ear, the drama is an important engine of inſtruction, and might be rendered eſſentially conducive to hiſtoric and moral information, and even to the civilization of the vulgar and undiſciplined.

"When an European arrives in the Weſt Indies, and gets ſettled or ſet down for any length of time, he finds it neceſſary to provide himſelf with a houſekeeper, or miſtreſs. The choice he has an opportunity of making is various, a black, a tawney, a mulatto, or a meſtee; one of which can be purchaſed for 100*l.* or 150*l.* ſterling, fully competent to fulfil the duties of her ſtation: ſome of them are ſo much educated as to be able to read and write. They are taſty and extravagant in their dreſs; but when once an attachment takes place it is inviolable. The ſtricteſt ſcrutiny of their conduct in general cannot glean one particle of impropriety, by which their fidelity or conſtancy can be brought into queſtion. They embrace all the duties of a wife, except preſiding at table; ſo far decorum is maintained, and a diſtinction made. They employ themſelves in needle-work, and other domeſtic affairs. Their uſefulneſs in preſerving the arts and diffuſing the habits of cleanlineſs is felt and allowed by all, there being a lack of civilized European women. If a young progeny of coloured children is brought forth, theſe are emancipated, and moſtly ſent by thoſe fathers who can afford it, at the age of three or four years to be educated in England. Some remain in the country as free ſubjects, and preſerve the ſtock for a future generation. In theſe colonies, where the population of females of this deſcription is ſo ſmall, and the demand for them ſo great, the common method of ſupplying the deficiency, or the wants of individuals, is to ſend orders to Barbadoes and other fully peopled iſlands, for ladies, who are always to be procured either by purchaſe, or by inducing thoſe that are free to come and ſettle among the Demerarians. Indeed, there are coloured women reſiding in Stabroek, who have of late years made a traffic of feminine importation, and receive a premium for whatever ladies they introduce, beſide the expences, from the gentlemen with whom they afterwards cohabit. The French iſlands of Martinique and Grenada have not contributed a little towards populating theſe infant colonies with free women of colour. Perhaps it would be a more uſeful faſhion to make theſe purchaſes, which is not impracticable,

among the indigenous Americans: the meſtees are a more beautiful race than the mulattos, and the continental ſavages would gradually be attracted by their own kinſwomen into habits of intercourſe and civilization. Young men, who have not regular eſtabliſhments, hire ſmall houſes in the ſuburbs of Stabroek and Cummingſburgh, where they invite their friends in an evening to ſmoak ſegars, and are enabled to indulge in the cuſtoms of the colony.

"As Dutchmen and other foreigners in the colonies differ in ſome points of their living and houſehold economy from the Engliſh, a ſhort ſketch of them may not prove unacceptable.

"Their general hour of riſing is with the ſun, about a quarter before ſix, when they make their appearance in a morning gown and ſlippers, in the portico or piazza of the houſe, where a female negro is in waiting with the coffee equipage. After a Dutch planter has taken a diſh or two of ſtrong coffee, with little or no ſugar in it, the yonge or boy, brings him his pipe, tobacco, and flaſk of gin: with theſe he enjoys himſelf till between nine and ten o'clock, when he is viſited by the baaſs, or overſeer of the eſtate, who reports progreſs, and receives orders as to preparing produce for ſale or ſhipment, and any thing elſe which is needful to be done on the eſtate. He then dreſſes himſelf, calls for a glaſs of water and a napkin to waſh his face and hands with. I ſcarcely ever ſaw a hand-baſon in any of their houſes, even where there are white females. This is a ſtrange inconſiſtency when compared to the cleanlineſs of the interior of their houſes, in which they are nicer than about their perſons. Their rooms generally undergo a thorough ſcrubbing with lemons every morning, which diffuſes a beautiful odour, in oppoſition to the no leſs regular fumes of tobacco. The excuſe which is given for their attachment to ſmoaking is that it has a ſedative quality, which corrects the effect of ſtrong drink, and preſerves them from the colds and damps, that ſo often prove fatal in this moiſt atmoſphere. If a Dutchman gets wet, the antidote he takes againſt cold is two or three glaſſes of gin and a pipe; he allows his clothes to dry on him. This idea, perhaps, conſtitutes an apology for the uſe of tobacco in Holland, though I cannot but think the ſtupifying or intoxicating effects it produces, have more ſhare in it. Of its efficacy as a remedy I cannot pretend to ſay much, but I know many of the Engliſh coloniſts, who adopted the uſage, were always ready to ſhelter themſelves with their neighbour's excuſe. A luxurious calm of mind, a mild gaiety and pleaſing cheerfulneſs, unlike the boiſterous hilarity of wine, but fitter for a climate which compels to ſedentary habits, really accompanies the abſorption of tobacco-fumes. The ſmoaker appears only tranquil, but he feels happy. Nor is our tobacco deprived, like the Virginian, of its native fragrance, by aſperſions of urine, by fermentation and preſſure; it has an odour as of incenſe, and is uſed in token of reverence. It is a rarity in Stabroek to meet a perſon in the ſtreets at evening without his pipe or ſegar, and it is always conſidered a mark of attention, when two people meet ſmoaking, to diſcharge a mouthful of ſmoak at each other.

"But

"But to return—we are leaving my Dutchman without his breakfaſt, which, from its ſubſtantiality, will prove to be the beſt meal he makes in the day. About eleven o'clock he ſits down to a table covered with various kinds of animal food, vegetable ſoups, and fruit. Pepper-pot, a ſoup flavoured with the juice of the bitter caſſada, and made pungent with red and green pepper, is a conſtant concomitant. Madeira wine and water, and malt liquor, are ſubſtituted for tea: they are conſidered more ſtrengthening and better adapted for the heat of the climate than the other, which generally overheats and is productive of bile. An hour is appropriated for the gentleman to break his faſt, after which he orders his horſe and pays a viſit to ſome of his neighbours, or rides round the eſtate to ſee the negroes at work, in either of which caſes a negro boy follows him on foot, with a pouch of ſegars and a ſtick of fire. It is his conſtant practice whether on horſeback, walking, or riding in a carriage, to ſmoak, and be ſupplied through the medium of a ſervant. He dines about three or four o'clock, and after taking a portion of claret, retires for his afternoon's nap, where he ſleeps away the fatigues of the day. He grows tired of the hammock towards evening, when he comes down and takes his coffee, after which, a walk round the buildings to enquire the ſtate of the negroes and their work, concludes the day. Dutch overſeers treat their principals with the utmoſt reſpect: as they approach Mynheer within half a dozen yards, the hat is immediately doffed as a token of their inferiority, and is placed under the arm while receiving his orders, to all of which the anſwer is, "*Ja, weledele geſtreenge Heer,*"—"Yes, great and honoured Sir." Such inſignificant and unreſtrained flattery as this from one European to another, is truly diſguſting, and ought, I think, to be totally laid aſide; but ſuch are the failings of human nature, that I have ſeen ſenſible and well informed men in other reſpects, while ſurrounded by their friends, call up their overſeer to give orders and aſk queſtions, merely to diſplay their greatneſs, and the reſpect they are held in, by a public repetition of flattery. The negroes belonging to the Dutch eſtates copy the overſeers' humble politeneſs, and are conſiderably more reſpectful to whites than thoſe belonging to Engliſh plantations. A certain erect carriage of John Bull imperceptibly introduces itſelf into the incult addreſs of the Engliſh negroes. Or it may ariſe from their not being kept ſo ſtrictly, nor conſidered in ſo degraded a ſituation as other negroes are. I am convinced, was it made a general rule among European planters to inculcate into the minds of the negroes proper ideas of their ſituation, as the Engliſh do, it would inſpire them with a certain degree of emulation and pride: ſeeing themſelves reſpected and held in eſtimation would anſwer much better than the fear of puniſhment, in keeping them to their regular employments. This hint, if properly attended to, may in the courſe of time bring the ſlaves in the Weſt Indies on a level with the Engliſh peaſantry of this day: their preſent ſituation may be compared to that vaſſalage in which nobles formerly held the lower order of people throughout Europe.

"The general hour for retiring to reſt in the country, is about eight or nine o'clock, the intermediate time between this and ſun ſet, is occupied in drinking gin. Should no neighbour, or traveller, call to ſpend the evening with the great man, he is ſometimes induced to ſend for the convenient overſeer to play cards or draughts with him, which is conſidered as a mark of great favour. I ſhould have obſerved, that ſometimes it is the wiſh of the proprietor, that the negroes, after leaving work, ſhould come and receive their daily allowance of rum before his door, where he ſits in ſtate, ſmoking his pipe, ſullenly receiving the reiterated thanks of the negroes in broken Engliſh and Dutch, "*Dankee Meeſter.*" The Dutch planters are vain of a large houſe and a number of ſervants, which are moſtly female; their garden, curricle, and pleaſure-boat, engage another part of their attention; they are particularly fond of good horſes, and certainly deſerve them, from their attention and care for thoſe animals.

"I have often conſidered with aſtoniſhment, the mixture of European inhabitants which deſtiny has heaped together in this community. Dutch, Germans, Pruſſians, Ruſſians, Swedes, Danes, Spaniards, French, and Americans, may be incorporated as one-third of the white population, and Great Britain claims the other two. All national enmity ſeems to be forgotten, while the purſuits of the motley groupe are directed unanimouſly to climbing the ladder of fortune. Men are ſeen on all its ſtages, looking forward with anxious ſolicitude for the time of reaching the heighth of their ambition. Happily, commercial competition has in it little of envy; for each finds his own account in the ſucceſs of his rival. The rich man is a better cuſtomer, a more liberal creditor, a ſafer debtor, than the neceſſitous; every one thrives the faſter, becauſe his neighbour has already thriven.

"There is a market-place where the negroes aſſemble to ſell their truck, ſuch as fruit, vegetables, fowls, eggs, and the huckſters expoſe for ſale articles of European manufacture (much in the ſame manner as the pedlars do in England) in addition to ſalt beef, pork, and fiſh, bread, cheeſe, pipes, tobacco, and other articles, in ſmall quantities, to enable the negroes to ſupply themſelves agreeably to the length of their purſes. Huckſters are free women of colour, who purchaſe their commodities of merchants at two or three months credit, and retail them out in the manner deſcribed. Many of them are, indeed, wealthy, and poſſeſs ten, fifteen, and twenty negroes, all of whom they employ in this traffic. It is by no means an uncommon thing for negroes in this line to be travelling about the country, for ſeveral weeks together, ſometimes with an attendant, having trunks of goods to a conſiderable amount, ſay two hundred pounds, and when a good opportunity offers, they remit to their miſtreſſes what money they have taken. It is really ſurpriſing what a large ſum is thus returned by theſe people going from one eſtate to another. The permiſſion of the manager on every plantation is always neceſſary, before the huckſter ventures to the negro houſes, where the bargains are made. Thoſe that have not money barter their fowls, pigs, ſegars, for what they ſtand in need

need of. The huckſters are provided with ſuch an aſſortment as to be able to ſupply the negro with a coarſe check, or the manager with a fine cambric, for his ſhirts. Coloured women of all deſcriptions are extravagantly fond of dreſs: but thoſe reſident in the country, not having ſuch an opportunity as the Stabroek ladies of ſeeing every thing new as it arrives, feel a lively ſenſation of joy and pleaſure at the ſight of a huckſter, and anticipate the pleaſure of tumbling over the contents of her trunk; and if it contains any new articles of faſhion, their hearts beat high with wiſhes to obtain them. If a joe or a dollar be ſtill remaining, it is ſure to go: ſhould their purſe be empty, they make no heſitation in aſking for credit: ſuch is the general character and conduct of coloured women.

"There is a certain ſtage in the progreſs of civilization in which a country is moſt conveniently ſupplied by pedlars. The inhabitants live too far aſunder, and are not numerous enough to ſupport ſtationary ſhops; yet the probable conſumption of each eſtate is ſufficient to reward the journey of a hawker of wares. The European Jews ſtill exereiſe this diviſion of labour, which Europe has outgrown: they are conſequently ſinking in utility: their trade is leſs profitable and leſs popular than it was ſome centuries ago. They would do well to come over in large numbers to South America, where they might become efficient agents for the diſtribution of European commodities throughout the interior. The dialect of the European Jews is admirably adapted for the coaſt of Guyana, which ſpeaks a medley of Dutch and Engliſh ſoftened by negro pronunciation into a *lingua franca*, the very counterfeit of their ſpeech in Europe. It may be added, that at Paramaribo, a large Jew population has been found to thrive.

"Adjoining the market-place are the butcher's ſhambles. The butchers are moſtly free men of colour, who have purchaſed their emancipation, and have acquired a little capital and credit. They commence their career by the ſlaughter of pigs, after that of ſheep; oxen ſoon follow. They ſupply themſelves from the importations of the Americans, and from thoſe few planters who rear cattle for ſale. Unleſs a butcher clears ten or fifteen pounds ſterling by an ox, he thinks it a bad bargain. He is at no expence whatever, as, on the arrival of an ox in town, it is immediately conveyed to the ſlaughter-houſe.

"The market is copiouſly ſupplied with butcher's meat, but at a moſt extravagant rate: mutton 3s. veal 2s. 6d. beef 2s. 1d. pork 10d. per pound. With fiſh the town is not ſo well provided as the country, no fiſhmonger has ever yet engaged in the buſineſs upon a ſcale ſufficiently extenſive to ſupply the population. The utmoſt endeavour yet made is that of ſome negroes, who hire themſelves of their maſters, at ſo much a day or month, and go a little beyond the mouth of the river in canoes, returning by one or two o'clock and ſelling what they have caught. A very glutinous fiſh, called a Paukama, which is eſteemed a dainty, is taken in a curious manner. It finds a principal part of its ſuſtenance in hollow trees, logs of wood, and in the ſkeletons of old ſhips, which from ly-

ing

ing in mud by the water-ſide, ſoon decay. Theſe they viſit for food during flood tide, but at ebb, are left in the cavities of the wood, out of which the negroes draw them by a hook faſtened to the end of a ſtick.

"Houſes for fire-engines are contiguous to the market-place, and a company of firemen are formed out of the coloured free people, for doing which duty they are exempted from ſerving in the Burgher militia. There are two engines, but from the negligence of thoſe who have the care of them it is feared they are not in repair fit for uſe.

"At the King's Stelling, ferry-boats are always in waiting to carry paſſengers, horſes, chaiſes, to the other ſide of the river, where there are two high-roads, one leading up the river, the other acroſs to the Eſſequebo.

"The public buildings in the town are the governor's houſe, and a range of offices for conducting public buſineſs.—The ſecretary's office is ſo large as to compriſe the courts of police and juſtice and a place of worſhip, in which the Dutch ſervice is firſt performed on a Sunday, by an eccleſiaſtic of that country, after which the garriſon chaplain reads the prayers appointed by the church of England. Next comes the receiver general's office for the king's colonial duties: the commiſſary's or king's ſtores: the town guard-houſe: and the exploiteur or marſhall's office; after which the public gaol, for the confinement of criminals, debtors runaway or arreſted negroes. In the adjoining town, to the ſouth-eaſt, is the burial-ground, compriſing ten acres of land. In the new town, or Cummingſburgh, is the fiſcal's office, cuſtom-houſe, poſt-office, and a colonial hoſpital, for the reception of thoſe who are unable to defray medical expences, or being reduced by illneſs are out of employ. When the writer was about leaving the colonies, the merchants and principal inhabitants were entering into large contributions, for the purpoſe of building a marine hoſpital, or Lazaretto, capable of containing five hundred patients. Should this arrangement be carried into effect, it will be the means of adding greatly to the comforts of the ſeamen employed in this trade, who, for want of ſuch an extenſive eſtabliſhment as this is intended to be, are obliged to linger with the moſt dreadful diſtempers in the hold or ſteerage of a veſſel engaged in the hurry and confuſion of taking in, or diſcharging a cargo, without that attendance and reſt which are ſo requiſite to people in their ſituation.

"The houſes are built of wood, two and three ſtories high, raiſed on brick foundations, which include excellent cellars. The frames and ſhingles (which are laths of twelve inches long and four wide, laid on the tops of houſes like tiles) are the produce of the adjacent foreſts. Boards, planks, clap-boards, for cloſing in, are imported from America. No fires, nor even ſtoves are in the dwelling-houſes, the kitchen being always ſeparate; but for their cleanlineſs little indeed can be ſaid, when compared to thoſe in England. The principal fuel uſed is wood, and the meat inſtead of being roaſted, is baked. The generality of the cooks are men, and a good one ſells for almoſt any money. Good houſes well ſituated for mercantile concerns, either in Stabroek,

broek, or the new town, let with avidity for three, four, and five hundred pounds yearly. This ſort of building, if undertaken by a merchant ſettler, lays a great deal of money faſt, which could be much better employed. The groſs rents do not pay more than twelve or fourteen per cent: certainly, there are no taxes, but wooden houſes are continually wanting repairs, and require a coat of paint every twelve months.

"The premium for inſuring this ſort of buildings, which is done in England is alſo very high. At the end of the year, when the landlord receives his rent, and reckons up his outgoings, I am convinced he will not have cleared ſix per cent. on his money, which, if properly employed in other purſuits, where he has the opportunity of returning it two or three times within that period, he would have made cent. per cent. of it. Again, a certain loſs attends all buildings when reſold, eſpecially theſe built of ſo periſhable a material. I am ſo far ſatisfied on this point, that I would recommend any merchant going out, to hire—not to build; and thereby profit by other men's experience.

"The labour of mechanics is with us extravagantly dear. A negro carpenter, or maſon, earns from five to ten ſhillings a-day according to his ſkill. Perhaps it would anſwer to ſend out from Europe a company of practiſed builders, under the command of an able architect, who might undertake, firſt at Stabroek, then at New Amſterdam, the conſtructions requiſite. Houſes could be built by them for half price, and uſually yield ſo high a rent in new countries, that it might be worth the while of European merchants to advance the capital requiſite for their ſtructure: it would ſupply, in the form of rent, a ſecure and liberal intereſt. The principal material uſed is North American timber, of which the market value fluctuates much: it is thought that down the river Oronoko this material might be fetched at a cheaper rate. I have known the price of old lumber vary from ſix to twenty pounds per thouſand feet; the demand, indeed, exceeds the quantity imported, for which reaſon the latter price is nearer the ſtandard. Lime is a vaſt expence, being brought to us from Europe: ſurely a little ſearch in the interior would diſcover lime-ſtone rocks among the mountains. Dutch terras ſells for twenty pounds ſterling the hogſhead. A houſe of 40 feet long and 28 wide, to be well finiſhed, with outbuildings, two ſtories high with an attic, and raiſed on a brick foundation eight feet high, coſts here at a moderate calculation two thouſand five hundred pounds, beſides the lot of land, which if conveniently ſituated could not be had for leſs than two hundred pounds. The town was originally laid out in lots of one hundred by two hundred feet, many of which, ſmall as they may appear, have been divided into quarter and half lots. Theſe lots are continually increaſing in value, but they do not form, as in the North American cities, habitual objects of ſtock-jobbing and of mercantile ſpeculation. This art of ſelling the ground on which a houſe ſtands, without ſelling the houſe, or the right of living in it, has the merit of rendering circulable a greater portion of the fixed property of a country, and thus facilitates

cilitates the obtainal of capital for every ſort of enterpriſe.

"The police is very ſtrict, and as the laws are Dutch, ſo are the names of the officers of juſtice. The Fiſcal is the chief magiſtrate, who has under him the Droſſart (ſheriff or jailor) and twenty Dienaars (conſtables or ſervants of juſtice). Negroes guilty of improper conduct in the ſtreets, or of being out after eight o'clock of the night without a paſſport, are committed to the jail, where they remain until liberated by their owners, when they receive ſuch a puniſhment as their fault deſerves. Very exorbitant fees are attached to the jail and jailor. The following is a correct liſt of the charges:

	s.	d.
Arreſting a Negro f. 5 : 10 or	9	6
Admiſſion - - 5 : 10 or	9	6
Seven days maintenance at 10d per day - - - - -	5	10
Flogging - - - - - -	9	6
Diſcharge - - - - -	9	6
	£2 3	10

"The law permits only thirty-nine laſhes at a time, unleſs for a capital offence, when the culprit is tried openly by the court, which adjudges and paſſes ſentence if he is proved guilty.

"There are about fifty negroes belonging to the colony, whoſe houſes are at the back of Stabroek. Theſe negroes are for the common good, and their employment is to keep the town, ſtreets, ſewers, and canals, in good repair. Several of them are convicted criminals, and inſtead of being tranſported to Botany Bay, or any other place, are ſentenced to work in chains about Stabroek; while the owners receive a ſtipulated ſum from the colony funds for them. This is certainly a diſgrace to the court of police. To ſee theſe poor miſerable objects, our fellow creatures, working from morning till night in heavy chains, without regard to weather, deſtitute of clothes, with only a coarſe rag round the middle, and, as I am told, frequently with nothing but dry plantains to eat. About half a dozen pipes are attached to a gang; when one poor fellow has taken a few whiffs, he paſſes it to another, and ſo on. I am not going to object to the puniſhment of criminals; on the contrary, let them meet their deſerts. There is moderation in every thing, and when the court of juſtice condemned theſe poor people to labour in chains, it was not intended to deprive them of all the comforts of human life. Therefore I blame the court of police for not making their ſervant, the ſcavenger, do his duty in providing for the wants of theſe negroes, at leaſt ſuitably to their ſituations. At all events, ſuffering chained negroes to work in Stabroek I conſider as improper. It is a common ſaying, that cuſtom familiarizes every thing. Here, however, I muſt differ; for notwithſtanding I was in the habit of ſeeing them every day, for almoſt ſeven years, I never could be reconciled to ſuch proceedings; my heart and feelings recoiled at them as inhuman. I now ſuggeſt the idea to his excellency Governor Bentinck, to have theſe negroes, with fifty or ſixty more who are employed at the fortification, taken farther into the interior; let them be well fed and cloathed, and made more comfortable than they are at preſent. There they may clear the country,

country, cultivate a track of land for the colony, and the proceeds of their induſtry would not only keep in repair the town, but improve it.

"The only charitable inſtitution ſupported by the colony is the hoſpital in Labourgade, which takes in a certain number of patients through the medium of directors. They are people unable to defray medical expences, and principally conſiſt of ſeamen and free people of colour from other parts of the Weſt Indies, and only tranſient reſidents.

"The whole face of the country preſented a gratifying view of hoſpitality and munificence on my arrival, and when acts of bounty were neceſſary, the inhabitants ſeem to vie with each other in their liberality. I could bring forward many inſtances of their charitable acts; however a few will ſuffice. A widow and two children were left deſtitute by the death of the huſband and father, whoſe only means of ſupporting them depended on his exertions, while alive; a private ſubſcription was entered into for their relief, and nearly five hundred pounds were raiſed, which enabled them to return to their mother country. An artillery-man belonging to his majeſty's forces, while bringing a veſſel to, at Fort William Frederic, by ſome miſmanagement had his arm broken, and ſo much ſhattered as to cauſe immediate amputation; a purſe of two hundred and forty or fifty pounds was made up for him juſt before his leaving the colony. Some Spaniſh priſoners taken in one of the picaroon boats from the Orinoko, were brought into the Demerary laſt war in a moſt dreadful ſituation, being in want of ſhoes and ſtockings, and clothes of every deſcription. Previouſly to their being exchanged, a ſubſcription was made among ſome of the merchants, and fifty joes, nearly one hundred pounds, were collected and laid out for them. Various other acts of benevolence might be adduced.

"A fund, which is daily increaſing, called the "*Kirk en arm geldt,*" or church and poor money, is derived from a per centage duty on all ſales by auction. As it has been accumulating for a number of years, there are no means of judging of the probable amount, except by an inveſtigation of the accounts of thoſe perſons who are the receivers of it. This ought immediately to be done by the court of police, and that amount joined to the overplus of any other colonial fund, would form a conſiderable capital, which might be lent to new ſettlers at ſix per cent. intereſt per annum, for the expreſs purpoſe of commencing cultivation in the interior of this vaſt tract of valuable territory. It would evidently be the means of forwarding three objects—*that of increaſing the fund; that of ſerving individuals; and that of encouraging agriculture, by enabling planters with ſmall capitals to extend their purſuits beyond the ſea coaſts, or banks of the rivers and creeks.*

"This point merits conſideration; and I ſtrongly recommend it to the notice of the governor and council. Should they not attend to it, our preſent judicious miniſters will, I hope, when the colonies are permanently attached to Great Britain, take ſuch meaſures as to carry ſo deſirable a plan into execution. The ſum expended for ſupport of the poor is nothing. *We have none!* at leaſt that are dependant on the colony. The church eſtabliſh-

eſtabliſhment is very trivial, there is only one Engliſh and one Dutch clergyman, and to prove how very tolerant the inhabitants are, they all uſe the ſame church. The Dutch ſervice is read from ten till eleven on a Sunday morning, when the Dutch congregation retires, and makes room for the Engliſh one.

"The high duty on glaſs bottles in Great Britain is taken off when exported, and from the immenſe number of them which are imported with malt liquor into theſe colonies, they become valueleſs; indeed they accumulate ſo faſt, that people are often glad to get rid of them by throwing them into the ditches and trenches about town. The canals abound with bottles, as if natural to the ſoil, and the free negroes who make ſpruce beer, go round the town with baſkets to pick them up. Any gentleman who wiſhes to bottle off a pipe of grey beard Madeira, has nothing to do but ſend his ſervants round the town, or a boat alongſide any of the ſhipping, where they may be ſupplied with bottles in abundance, and have thanks for taking them away, which ſaves the ſteward and cabin boy the trouble of throwing them into the river, which they would rather do than land them in England, where the duty would be more than they are worth. On my return to England the other paſſengers and myſelf threw into the ſea between forty and fifty dozen of bottles, emptied in the courſe of the paſſage; it was a fund of amuſement on a calm day, after throwing in a bottle firſt as a mark, to ſee who could break it firſt with others.

"The packets are calculated to arrive at Barbadoes twice a month, whence the mails are conveyed to the different iſlands and colonies in mail boats engaged for that purpoſe. How anxiouſly their arrival is expected, is better experienced than deſcribed: the merchant and planter deſirous of obtaining information of their ſhipments; the politician wiſhing to know the ſtate of affairs in Europe; and thoſe of a more domeſtic turn, ſolicitous about their families, are all gratified by their arrival, and are alike impatient till the hour is come, which the tardy poſt-maſter has appointed for the delivery of letters and newſpapers.

"A weekly paper is publiſhed here, entitled the Eſſequebo and Demerary Gazette. The proclamations of government are inſerted both in the Dutch and in the Engliſh language. Some diverting mixtures of dialect occur in the advertiſements: but the Engliſh language is conſtantly gaining ground, as the new ſettlers all bring that dialect. The European and other news is given in Engliſh, and is extracted, as may happen, from the Barbadoes, the Liverpool, the London, or the Baltimore papers. The maſs of advertiſements reſpects ſales of ſlaves, of ſtores, and of eſtates.

"The ſtate or court houſe is a large white building, about one hundred feet long and thirty-five feet wide, and two ſtories and a half high. It is ſituated on the ſide of the river in front of Stabroek, one end facing the river to the weſtward, and the other one eaſt. On the ſecond floor is the council chamber, court of juſtice, and ſecretary's office, where the colonial buſineſs is tranſacted. The buſineſs of the ſecretary's office is done by the colonial

nial ſecretary and ſix or eight clerks. All deeds, contracts, wills, letters of attorney, transfers of eſtates, mortgages, the proceedings of the courts of police and juſtice, are recorded here. The ſecretary is alſo a notary public, and a ſworn tranſlator.

" The public offices in Stabroek are numerous; but, as buildings, they preſent nothing very ſtriking in architectural grandeur or beauty; a ſameneſs of wooden houſes pervades the whole town. The beſt is the governor's office, where there are two clerks and a private ſecretary employed. As is cuſtomary, the captain and myſelf waited on his excellency, accompanied by the gentleman to whom I was addreſſed, and preſented him with a copy of the manifeſt, after ſigning which he iſſued a permiſſion, which was to be given in at the cuſtom-houſe, authoriſing the captain to break bulk. On my being introduced to him, he received me very politely, aſked me jocoſely if I was a deſcendant of the famous Lord Bolingbroke, and expreſſed himſelf highly pleaſed with that nobleman's literary works, ſaying that he had them in his library.

" All official documents and colonial papers paſs through the governor's office, and for every time he ſigns his name his *private* ſecretary receives two dollars, for which he no doubt accounts to the principal. Evidences given before the courts of juſtice are in the form of affidavits, which muſt be made before his excellency. Paſſports for people leaving the country, permiſſions for ſhips to load or diſcharge, powers of attorney, and various other papers of a ſimilar tendency, muſt undergo his ſignature: thus, beſide ſuffering a previous tax from the office, out of which they are firſt granted, they are burthened by paying for the governor's ſignature. No wonder our Weſt Indian governors grow rich, when they have ſuch opportunities.

" The office next in importance is the ſecretary's, where eight clerks are employed in recording deeds, contracts, wills, mortgages, tranſports, powers of attorney, and notarial proteſts, in iſſuing paſſports and advertiſing departures. The proceedings of the different courts are alſo regiſtered here, and tranſlations made from the Dutch to the Engliſh language; all the proceedings of the court being Dutch, an Engliſhman is frequently obliged to have their decrees and ſentences tranſlated for him. This is a mortifying, and under the preſent diſtribution of property, an inconvenient regulation for the colony. Surely it would be wiſe to appoint a recorder, graduated in the Engliſh inns of law, for the avowed purpoſe of preparing, in theſe courts of juſtice, the reception of the language and forms of proceeding of the metropolitan country. He would know how to ſelect for the eſpecial ſanction of his majeſty's privy council, thoſe few Dutch regulations which are interwoven with the ſubſiſting conſtitution of property, and may therefore require to be retained. There are two receivers, whoſe department it is to receive the colonial taxes and ſovereign's fees, duties, and impoſts. Our chief magiſtrate, the fiſcal, has his office in Labourgade. He is empowered by the laws to ſee them put in force and ſtrictly adhered to, with the power of levying fines and committing to priſon; he is ſimilar

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in one point of view to the attorney-general of England, as being advocate for the crown. Appeals can of courſe be made from his award, to the court, and from the court (if a cauſe of ſufficient conſequence) to the king in council. The fiſcal has under him, as officers of juſtice, the droſſart and dienaars; the former, as we before obſerved, acts as ſheriff or head jailor, and the latter as conſtables or watchmen, who have charge of the jail and police.

"We had the honour of paying our reſpects to the fiſcal, with whom we left a liſt of the crew and paſſengers, with an account of their age and place of nativity. A fine of one thouſand guilders being inflicted on the captains of veſſels for every perſon they land without giving in his name and deſcription, and the like fine being levied for every perſon they take from the colony in any ſhip or veſſel without a paſſport, this law is very neceſſary to be known. The conſignee of every veſſel is obliged to enter into a bond at the ſecretary's office, for the full performance of theſe ſtipulations on the part of the captain.

"I cannot leave the fiſcal's office without relating a ridiculous anecdote of Mynheer Van den V———, when that gentleman filled the employment. A planter one day meeting him on the public road between Stabroek and Mahaica, who had a private pique againſt him, accoſted and requeſted to know what the amount of the fine would be to give a man, who had treated him ill, a good beating. The fiſcal replied it would be one hundred and fifty guilders, for which ſum he would inſure him againſt all law proceedings. The planter immediately paid him down the ſtipulated amount, and requeſted the aſtoniſhed fiſcal to alight that he might take his revenge; which he refuſing to do, the planter held the horſe's bridle with one hand, while he horſe-whipped the fiſcal with the other. Mynheer Van den V—— was ſo completely aſhamed of his diſgrace, that he pocketed the affront with the fine, without taking any ſteps to gain redreſs. It happened in 1798, and the planter who performed the achievement was a creole of Barbadoes.

"The buſineſs of the exploiteur's, or what I believe is termed in Engliſh the marſhal's or bailiff's office, is to ſerve citations or ſummonſes, execute arreſts, levy executions, and put in force all ſentences adjudged by the courts. There are offices for the colonial book-keeper, harbour-maſter, colonial ſurgeons, and branch pilots, as eſtabliſhed by the police.

"The poſt-office is both badly and extravagantly conducted as to charges, and deſerves the immediate notice of the court of police, to fix and arrange a proper tariff to guide the poſt-maſter for the future.

"As to the cuſtom-houſe, I deſpair of reducing its exorbitant charges, as the officers who have the conducting of it, reign lords paramount there, uncontrouled by either governor or council. The charges of clearing a veſſel are enormous; for Britiſh ſhips loaded and bound to England, from ſixty to ſeventy pounds, in proportion to their tonnage and cargo. To Americans and neutrals the charges are in the ſame proportion doubled; independently of the duty, they pay, on their inward and outward bound cargo, $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on one, and 5 per cent. on the other. The comp-

comptrollers and collectors of his majeſty's cuſtoms in theſe colonies are in very lucrative ſituations, capable of making large fortunes in a ſhort time. But the burthen on commerce greatly tranſcends, I fear, the profits of the revenue: ſo that a commutation of all cuſtom-duties for a tax on the eſtimated rent of the cultivated land would probably be found, both to the ſtate and the ſubject, a profitable change.

"The vendue-maſter's appointment is alſo very lucrative. This is an officer under government, ſimilar to an auctioneer; there being but one allowed, and authorized, which makes the place ſo very valuable. The per centage on ſales, according to law, is not more than 5 per cent. but the additional or incidental expences make it ten. The principal people who attend theſe ſales are Dutchmen, and the bottle of gin and glaſs are handed about ſo briſkly, that the fumes mount into their heads, and give their tongues ſuch volubility, that they ſcarcely know, or care, or hear what they buy. A drunken man, it is ſaid, ſees double; and I believe it is frequently the caſe with them, after too great an indulgence in gin, and ſmoaking, which is quite common at all theſe ſales, that they often purchaſe bargains for twice as much as they are worth. Therefore it anſwers at all times, and eſpecially at the evening auctions, to provide plenty of drams and ſegars. The vendue-maſters of Demerary are only deputies themſelves, yet they employ another deputy to tranſact their buſineſs in the neighbouring colony of Eſſequebo, who pays them one thouſand pounds per ann. as a fee rent of the office.

"The paper money which is in circulation in Eſſequebo and Demerary amounts to about one hundred thouſand guilders. The ſmalleſt amount is 5d. ſterling, or 1 bit, and the largeſt 5s. viz. 3 guilders. The notes are curiouſly denominated with little figures, that the negroes may know the amount, without being ſubjected to impoſitions from not being able to read. They are current all over the colonies, and were made to obviate the difficulty of obtaining ſmall change; when a perſon has got a quantity of them, he may turn them into gold by applying at the receiver's office for colonial taxes, whence they are iſſued again. The colonial currency is like that of Holland, and conſiſts of pennings, ſtivers, and guilders, though the coin in circulation is various. Guineas are worth twenty-five per cent. more here than in England.

16 pennings make 1 ſtiver, viz. 1d. ſterling.

5 ſtivers make 1 bit, viz. 5d. ſterling.

20 ditto or 4 bits make 1 guilder, 20d. ſterling.

12 guilders, which is the par of exchange, make 20s.

"The coins, beſide thoſe enumerated above, are dollars 5s. each; gold Portugal coins, called ducats, 9s. each; moidores, 18s.; and johannes, or joes, which are 36s.

"Although the par of exchange is twelve guilders to the pound ſterling, it frequently varies according to the demand for bills on Great Britain, or the quantity of ſpecie which is in requeſt. In the former inſtance I have known government bills on his majeſty's treaſury, to ſell for fourteen guilders the pound, which is equal to 1l. 3s. 4d. and even good private bills have ſold at the

the ſame rate. In the latter caſe, when a want of ſpecie obliges the planters to value on their correſpondents, their bills have only ſold for eleven guilders and eleven guilders and a half.

"Merchants wanting to remit, always prefer ſhipping produce in preference to buying bills at the high exchange of 14 guilders, as there is ſome chance of that getting to a good market, and probably giving a profit, while the bill tranſaction incurs a certain loſs of ſixteen and two-thirds per cent. at the firſt outſet.

"The laws oblige every man from the age of ſixteen to fifty, to enrol himſelf in the burgher militia; they are liable to be called out when the governor thinks proper; the officers are appointed by the court of police, they are commanded by a lieutenant-colonel; their ſervice extends no farther than preſerving the internal tranquillity of the country, but in the laſt war, a number of Britiſh ſubjects volunteered their ſervices, and were enrolled to act under the military commandant. On the Britiſh taking poſſeſſion of the colonies this preſent war, a company of volunteer riflemen were formed, and on the arrival, in 1805, of the combined fleets in the Weſt Indies, between three and four hundred of the Burgher militia ſtepped forward and offered their ſervices to defend the colony againſt any attacks of the enemy. Every body now in town and country armed; every eſtate on the ſea-coaſt provided a truſty negro who was armed with a pike and cutlaſs; a troop of cavalry was formed, and a company of volunteer artillery was alſo added to the military force. The garriſon is generally one thouſand or twelve hundred ſtrong. Four hundred ſeamen can always be had from the merchant ſhips in the river, by whom, with about ſix hundred volunteers, and one hundred pioneers, a good defence might be ſuſtained. But the greateſt bulwark lies in the ſhallowneſs of the entrances into the river, and the numerous mud banks and flats which run along the coaſt; and as there are ſignal ſtaffs from the Berbice to the Demerary (which ought to be continued acroſs the Eſſequebo to the Pomaroon) the garriſon is ſoon apprized of an enemy being off the coaſt. It may be fairly aſſerted, that with the natural and acquired ſtrength of the country, and while the coloniſts are ſo favourable to Great Britain, an effectual defence may be made againſt ſix or eight thouſand men. Such is the advantage poſſeſſed by the inhabitants when they wiſh to preſerve the colony to its poſſeſſors.

"In the country, every officer of militia is a juſtice of the peace, and has under his juriſdiction, a certain diviſion of the country to which he is attached; theſe diviſions are known and diſtinguiſhed by different coloured banners under which they are arranged. They are termed burgher officers, iſſue proclamations, receive depoſitions on tax ſchedules, and are the active men in quelling diſturbances, for which purpoſe they have a diſpoſable force in the embodied militia of inhabitants.

"Since the introduction of volunteering, military funerals have uſually been allotted to the whites: but the reſpect and attention paid at funerals of free people, and even of negroes, is very conſiderable. Not only all their relatives, but ſtrangers

ſtrangers feel it an incumbent duty to go. If a coloured free perſon dies in Stabroek, the remains are followed to the grave by every one in the town. I have ſeen upwards of two hundred people of colour followers. They are either in white muſlin dreſſes, or deep black mourning, according to whether the deceaſed is female or male. Before the ſolemn proceſſion takes place, the company refreſh themſelves with ſcalt wine and cake. The coffin, which though merely covered with black cloth and lined with linen, coſts twenty-five pounds ſterling, is conveyed in a hearſe, attended by twelve bearers, then the clergyman, mourners, and followers."

Account of a remarkable Character at Eſſequebo.

[*From the ſame.*]

"The Dutch, as I have before ſtated, generally live in ſumptuous elegant houſes, and in other reſpects, in a manner which fully proves they are ſet down for life. Having, however, one day, ſome buſineſs to tranſact with Mynheer Vos, of Eſſequebo, I was convinced this was not, like many other things, a general rule without an exception. Mynheer Vos poſſeſſes an unincumbered eſtate worth twenty thouſand pounds, has no other relative in the world, than a natural daughter by an Indian, to leave it to; he is between ſixty and ſeventy, and came to the colony as a common ſoldier about 1770. He contrived, while in that ſituation, by buying and ſelling little articles, to amaſs ſo much as to purchaſe his diſcharge, and to reſerve a few hundred guilders to trade on. With them he purchaſed a ſloop boat, hired a negro, and commenced regular hoopman, or huckſter, by ſelling on thoſe eſtates he went to, ſuch articles as he had; and after a week or two's cruize, he would return to town and repleniſh his ſtock for another trading voyage. This courſe of life he continued for many years, without having any regular houſe; he met with ſeveral reverſes of fortune, and once or twice was nearly ruined by the loſs of his little cargoes, from the veſſels getting aſhore on the ſand-banks at the mouth of the Eſſequebo, where, to lighten his boat, he was obliged to throw the cargo overboard. Theſe miſhaps did not damp his ardour, but on the contrary, proved a ſtimulus. He now built himſelf a hut on the weſt coaſt of Demerary, which was intended for a repoſitory of merchandize. His water excurſions became more periodical, and he carried, at one time, only a part of his wares to be freer from riſk. The profits of trade were next inveſted in the ſurer enterprizes of agriculture. In 1785, he purchaſed the land where he now lives, conſiſting of five hundred acres, and commenced the arduous taſk of clearing it of the heavy foreſt trees and buſh, with three negroes and himſelf.

"The ſingularities of this man are many, as ſuch, I ſhall make no apology for animadverting on thoſe the moſt ſtriking and characteriſtic. The intention of my viſit to him was to receive a thouſand pounds, which was then due on his note. I was ſurpriſed, in the firſt inſtance, on my arrival at the middle path of his eſtate, or road, leading to the buildings, at not ſeeing any bridge,

or

or the leaſt trace of one, over the ditch, which was cut acroſs for conveying the water off. How, in the name of convenience, has this man, thought I to myſelf, lived here twenty years without feeling the want of a bridge; thinking, however, was of no avail, I leaped my horſe over, and followed; the ſhadow of a foot-path, indiſtinctly perceptible from being overgrown by weeds and graſs, led me to a negro hut, where I enquired for the houſe of the proprietor, expecting that it would be hid from the road in ſome rural retreat or grove of orange trees. Judge my ſurpriſe when an old Indian woman came to the door and told me in a jargon of wretched Engliſh and Dutch, that this was Mynheer's reſidence, and that he was in the field with the negroes. I alighted, and deſired he might be called. Cudgo, an old negro ſuperintending others in cleaning cotton, took my horſe, and Miſs Vos, commonly called Quaſheba, a yellow buckeen girl, with long black hair, about the age of twelve or thirteen, and without ſhoes, was ſent for her father. The Indian woman, who proved to be her mother, now inſiſted on my walking in, out of the ſun. I was accordingly ſhewn into a ſort of apartment, indeed the only one there was, which ſerved for parlour, dining-room, chamber, and kitchen; in fact this was a room for every purpoſe.

"I was now ſeated on a bench and left to ruminate. The roof of the houſe was covered in with plantain leaves, time had made ſeveral apertures in it, which admitted air, rain, or ſun, as it occurred; the ſides and gable ends were ſecured by manicole trees ſplit and ſlightly tied together. The light was admitted by a wooden ſhutter, which was kept open by a piece of ſtick. The roof afforded a favourable retreat for centipedes, ſcorpions, and cockroaches, and the ants, which were creeping about the clay floor, ſeemed to be the only ſcavengers of the habitation. A large carpenter's cheſt contained all his pantry, and kitchen utenſils; an old deal table, two ſtools, and a bench, completed the ſcanty furniture; ſave two or three empty gin caſes, whoſe flaſks were converted into water bottles. A hammock was ſlung from the croſs beams, and a mattreſs ſtuffed with plaintain leaves and covered with cotton bagging, was lying in one corner. A hogſhead of ſalt fiſh, a barrel each of ſalt beef, tobacco, and ſalt, had been rolled into another. To this variety of articles, muſt alſo be added, to make up the inventory, a few ſmoked queriman, which were extended from the ceiling, twenty or thirty bunches of plantains, and ſeveral thouſand ears of Indian corn or maize, with three or four old ſhovels. Scarcely was there ever ſuch a collection of filth, vermin, houſehold furniture, plantation ſtores, and proviſions ever got together before. The other end of the building was occupied by ſick negroes, who were then employed in picking and cleaning cotton; the centre was filled with ginnies, machines uſed for ſeparating the ſeed from the wool. I was ſoon driven from my ſeat by ſome dirt, which fell on my head from the ceiling; on looking up, I diſcovered ſeveral chickens ſitting on the beams, which accounted for it. There appeared to be a conſiderable quantity of ſtock feeding about

about the houſe, ſuch as turkies, ducks, fowls, cabborettos, and pigs, which on enquiry afterwards I found to belong to the Indian lady of the manſion.

"I was ſoon appriſed of Mynheer Vos's arrival, by his blowing a ſhell at the door to call his negroes in to dinner; after which he made his appearance, gave me a moſt cordial ſhake of the hand, as is the cuſtom of the country, and inquired after my health; we were obliged to hold the converſation in our reſpective languages.

"I will attempt a deſcription of his perſon and dreſs. He is nearly ſix feet high, very thin and emaciated, his face, hands, and feet, for he had no ſhoes on, bore ſtrong marks of the climate, much wrinkled, and the colour of a piece of tanned leather, his chin was graced with a month's length of beard. His hat, made of plantain leaves, was very broad in the brim; he had a pipe in his mouth, about two inches long in the tube, which was perfectly blacked from frequent application to the fire; an umbrella, which he carried in his hand, was covered with a thin ſort of brown dowlas, not much unlike Scotch Oſnaburgh. The jacket and trowſers were made of Ruſſia duck, which, with a checked ſhirt, compriſed the whole of his dreſs. This groteſque figure, however, received me with the utmoſt cordiality, and getting a gin bottle from the cheſt, offered me a ſapie, which he had poured into a calabaſh, but this I declined accepting; however, drink with him I muſt, and therefore preferred a little lemonade, which was made with lime juice and molaſſes, and then ſtrained through a piece of cotton bagging. We then went to buſineſs. Mynheer made me half a hundred apologies for the trouble I had in calling for the money, as it was his intention to come to Stabroek to pay it, he had juſt ſold his cotton for a bill of ninety days' ſight, for the amount I wanted; and taking an old Dutch writing deſk, of the fifteenth century, from under the table, aſked me for his *acceptatie*, (note of hand) which I accordingly gave him, when he preſented me with a ſet of drafts on a reſpectable houſe in London, for one thouſand pounds. I then took ſome more of his lemonade and called for my horſe, which he inſiſted on leading over the ditch, at the road ſide, where we parted, mutually ſatisfied, at leaſt I was ſo, with my viſit.

"This curious mixture of European induſtry, arithmetic, and frugality, with a Carribee indifference to luxury, grace, and accommodation, is perhaps the form toward which the back-ſettlers of theſe diſtricts inſenſibly tend. By degrees the whole claſs of planters, who can live like Weſtphalian boors in the ſame apartment with their pigs and horſes, will find that by ceding the fee ſimple of an eſtate juſt brought into cultivation, and by conſtantly breaking up freſh lands, they can increaſe their property more rapidly than by ſtationary induſtry. Whenever we have a regular ſet of wood-clearers, or primary ſettlers, the progreſs of colonization in Guyana, will be as rapid as in the moſt fertile parts of North America. European emigrants will land at the ſea-ports, and accommodate themſelves with the completer properties in the neighbourhood of the great town, and within reach of the luxuries

they want: but their deſcendants will learn the ſimpler manners and more natural habits of the old indigenous nations, and will carry into the interior, the uſeful and the profitable, without the unneceſſary arts.

"To the natives of lower Germany, this whole province is well adapted, and is peculiarly inviting. Their own language, manners, and ſyſtem of vaſſalage, has, in a great degree, been already naturalized here by the Dutch; ſo that emigrants from Bremen, or the Hanoverian territory, would feel leſs ſtrange, and have leſs to learn and to alter, in order to adapt themſelves to the colony, than any other Europeans. The Engliſh, muſt, perhaps, be excepted, whoſe predominance is aſtoniſhing, conſidering the novelty of their footing; and who ſeem already to counterpoiſe the Dutch as a landed intereſt, and to outnumber them as a mercantile intereſt.

"The progreſs of Mynheer Vos, in about thirty years, from a common ſoldier to a planter, who can give his daughter a fortune of twenty thouſand pounds, has in it little but what hundreds may expect to rival. There muſt be a conſtitution ſuperior to the climate, and to intemperance; there muſt be frugality, induſtry, perſeverance; there muſt be ſome knowledge of writing and accounts, and much alert obſervation: yet this progreſs has been orderly, at no one moment remarkable, nor the effect of luck, but of permanent cauſes.

If the young Britiſh farmers were aware how various and amuſing are our ruſtic occupations; how profuſe is the profit which attends every little exertion of induſtry; how richly productive is the inceſſant vegetation of our excellent ſoil and climate; and how much of natural luxury there is in the habits and gratifications of the civilized planter, they would more commonly migrate to a country, where the fee ſimple of an eſtate coſts leſs than the renewal of a leaſe in England; and where the ſuperintendence of an agricultural concern, confers not merely the rank of a country gentleman, but that baron-like authority over the growing population of the vaſſals, which the anceſtors of the country gentlemen enjoyed in England during the feudal ages."

Character of the New Zealanders.

(*From ſome account of New Zealand, by J. Savage, Eſq.*)

"In New Zealand, as in all uncivilized countries, the paſſions are the principal guide to the actions of its inhabitants: but in this iſland I conceive thoſe actions are very much reſtrained, either by the ſuperintendance and authority of their chiefs, or by a natural proneneſs to affection: or, perhaps, by a union of the two cauſes: certain it is, however, that a great degree of ſubordination and affection is obſervable among them upon all occaſions.

"The natives of this iſland have hitherto been conſidered cannibals of the worſt deſcription, but I apprehend their character, in this reſpect, is not ſo horrible as repreſented; for although they acknowledge that they have been driven to the dire neceſſity of eating human fleſh, in times of great ſcarcity of food, yet it does not appear

appear that they have any predilection for the practice: the motive which impels them to this inhuman deed, as cuſtomary at preſent, is vengeance, but even this paſſion is not purſued without limitation. Thus, after a conqueſt, the victors do not devour the whole of their priſoners, but are content with ſhewing their power to do ſo, by dividing the chief of the vanquiſhed tribe among them: he is eaten, it is true, but I do not believe that food is the inducement. It is probable that an European, who ſhould act with hoſtility toward them, would be treated in the ſame way, but if caſt defenceleſs upon their ſhores, I have reaſons for believing he would meet with far different treatment.

"There can be no doubt but that the introduction of potatoes has ſaved many lives, for they certainly give that root a decided preference to human fleſh, under every circumſtance except that before ſtated.

"The manners of theſe people are particularly kind and affectionate upon all occaſions; one or two inſtances, of a very ſtriking nature, I obſerved during my ſtay here.

"We had conſtantly a number of natives on board the ſhip; many remained two or three days without viſiting the ſhore, and others viſited it daily. One day, it blowing very ſtrong, a canoe, in which were women and children only, attempting to approach the ſhip, upſet; the lamentations of thoſe on board the ſhip were expreſſed in a moſt affecting manner; but we were too much engaged in lowering down a boat to ſave the lives of the poor creatures, to attend to thoſe who were expreſſing ſo much apprehenſion for their ſafety. Happily the boat ſaved every life: the women clung to the canoe with one hand, and in almoſt every inſtance ſupported a child with the other, their own ſafety appearing evidently to be a ſecondary conſideration. Their ſituation for ſome time was extremely perilous, and that of the natives on board the ſhip truly pitiable, till they found that the boat arrived in time to reſcue the women and children from a watery grave; then their diſtreſs gave way to the moſt tumultuous joy: and when the poor half-drowned ſhivering females and their children were brought on board, the congratulations on their eſcape, and their kind and ſoothing attentions, were ſuch as would by no means have diſgraced the moral character of the moſt refined European; thoſe who had remained on board immediately ſtripping themſelves of their mats to cover their friends or relatives, who had a much greater occaſion for them.

"It was upon this occurrence only that the natives received any ſtrong liquor; I prevailed upon them to take a little wine, which their confidence in me induced them to receive as a medicine to prevent the effects of cold; ſhewing, however, the greateſt ſolicitude for the health of their children by helping them before they took any themſelves.

"The likeneſs I took of Tiarrah was ſo ſtriking, that it gained me a great degree of popularity among the natives, and many of them came a conſiderable diſtance to ſee it; ſeveral offered to accompany me to Europe, and I ſelected one, whoſe countenance

pleaſed me, for the purpoſe of bringing to England. He was a healthy ſtout young man, of the military claſs, and connected with families of the firſt conſideration in theſe parts.

"This man, whoſe name is Moyhanger, accompanied me to London, and furniſhed me with much information concerning his country during the time he remained with me; I found him a moſt affectionate kind-hearted creature, and parted with him reluctantly: a favourable opportunity occurring in a few weeks after my arrival for his return, with Capt. Skelton, of the Ferret, South Whaler, who I knew would treat him with the greateſt kindneſs, I was induced to recommend his departure. The ample ſtock of tools he took with him would render him ſuperior, in point of riches, to any man in New Zealand; and there is not a doubt but the example of his ſucceſs will induce many of his countrymen to try their fortune, whenever an opportunity for emigration may offer.

"The regret at parting between this native and myſelf was equal on both ſides; he held my hand at taking leave a conſiderable time, during the whole of which he wept, and appeared to ſuffer exceedingly: I reminded him of his riches, and the man of conſequence he would become upon his return to his own country—of his power to entertain all his friends by a recital of the wonders he had ſeen, and the knowledge he had acquired: he admitted it all, and the idea pleaſed him, but he left me ſhedding tears, and aſſuring me that I might expect him again when he had diſtributed his wealth, and made ſome family arrangements he conſidered of material conſequence.

"The parting with his relatives previouſly to our leaving New Zealand was remarkably intereſting. Moyhanger had remained on board the ſhip ſeveral days before our ſailing, happy in himſelf, and determined to ſee the world; his friends and relatives came daily to ſee him—ſome approved, and ſome condemned his reſolution; but Moyhanger remained unſhaken, and the time arrived when he was to go through the ceremony of taking leave.

"The canoe containing his kindred came alongſide, and as ſoon as it was made faſt to the ſhip, Moyhanger's father came on board. After a little preliminary diſcourſe the father and ſon fell into each other's arms, in which ſituation they remained near twenty minutes, during which time the right eye of the father was in cloſe contact with the left eye of the ſon: abundance of tears were ſhed, and a variety of plaintive ſounds uttered on both ſides. The venerable appearance of the father, who is of their religious claſs, made the ſcene truly intereſting.

"When this ceremony was concluded with the father, Moyhanger deſcended to the canoe, and embracing his mother, mingled his tears with her's, in a ſimilar way to that which had juſt taken place between the father and himſelf—the ſame plaintive ſounds were uttered, and evidently a great deal of affection expreſſed on both ſides; but the time taken up in parting with his mother was not more than half of that which had been employed in taking leave of the father.

father. His brother came next; when a ſimilar ſcene of grief occurred, but of ſhorter duration: his ſiſters were embraced by him, but in a leſs ceremonious manner.

"This intereſting ceremony being concluded, Moyhanger aſcended the ſhip's ſide, and all parties appeared chearful and happy.

"In the early part of this parting ſcene, the appearance of affliction was ſo great, that I was induced to interrupt it, by deſiring that no ſeparation might take place between friends that were ſo much attached to each other; but I found that it was a matter of courſe, whenever a native quits his parents, and that I ſhould offend all parties by retracting my permiſſion for Moyhanger to accompany me.

"I wiſhed to make a parting preſent to the venerable father, and I thought that ſome poultry might be acceptable: the old man declined every thing I could offer—however he had no objection to my making preſents to any other part of his family; and we accordingly very ſoon got the better of this difficulty.

"When the canoe left the ſhip, the father and mother kept ſpreading their arms, and looking toward heaven, as if ſupplicating the protection of a ſuperior power in behalf of their ſon, during the whole time they remained within ſight.

"The meeting of friends after a ſeparation is alſo remarkable. If the abſence has been ſhort, the ceremony conſiſts in embracing, mingling their tears, and moaning in company for ſome time; but if the abſence has been of long duration, the female relatives of the abſentee expreſs their joy upon his return in a moſt extraordinary and painful manner: they ſcratch and diſfigure their faces with broken pieces of ſhell, ſo as to produce conſiderable ſuffering.

"The cuſtom muſt prove exceedingly diſtreſſing, if the male branches of a family were much in the habit of wandering.

"Poor Moyhanger has two ſiſters, one of them a very fine girl; and I much fear that their joy will be ſo great at his return to them, as to produce a dreadful diſfiguration of their countenances.

"I have mentioned theſe inſtances to ſhew that affection is a very prominent feature in the character of a New Zealander.

"The mode of ſalutation here is ſimilar to that practiſed in other parts of the South Sea: that of bringing the noſes of the parties in contact. This ceremony took place between Moyhanger's friends and myſelf at parting.

"Polygamy is permitted among theſe people, and a man does not appear to be ſatisfied in all caſes with one female of a family, but in ſome inſtances eſpouſes ſeveral ſiſters at the ſame time; Tippeehee had four ſiſters as his wives, beſides ſeveral concubines: he was far advanced in years, and had become paralytic; a combination of theſe circumſtances had probably induced him to try the effects of a change of air.

"The children here appear to be treated with a great degree of parental affection. They are robuſt, lively, and poſſeſs, in general, pleaſing countenances; their actions are totally unreſtrained by cloath-

cloathing, or bandage, which muſt undoubtedly lay the foundation of their future hardihood and healthy conſtitution.

"The mode of carrying the children, if not the moſt graceful, is certainly not the moſt inconvenient. The child is placed aſtride on the ſhoulder of the nurſe, who ſecures it in this poſture by one of its arms; the other being left at liberty, it employs it in playing with the ornaments on the head of its mother; and as theſe are ſometimes numerous, conſiſting of feathers, ſhells, buttons, and ſharks teeth, the child is provided with an ample ſource of amuſement.

"In early infancy the child's ears are pierced, and the puncture gradually dilated by various ſoft ſubſtances, until an aperture is formed capable of receiving two or three fingers: this is conſidered a beauty; it is certainly a convenience, for not only are a variety of ornaments ſuſpended from this loop-hole, but their ſmaller tools, needles, &c. bear them company.

"I believe it is not cuſtomary to tattoo the children until they are eight or ten years of age; indeed at an earlier period the operation would be attended with conſiderable danger, from the inflammation that would be excited: even later in life the effects are ſometimes ſo ſevere as to produce a great degree of fever, and ſome caſes have occurred where death has been the conſequence.

"The operation of tattooing, which the natives call amoco, is uſually performed in the following manner.

"The device being marked out with a piece of burnt ſtick, or red earth, the ſkin is punctured with the ſharp point of a piece of bone, into which a vegetable fluid is inſerted: as the pain is conſiderable, a portion only of the intended figure can be depicted at one time; as the inflammation abates they continue their work, but it is not without a great degree of ſuffering that they arrive at the honour of a complete tattooing: however, as honour is the reward, and this honour is beſtowed chiefly upon thoſe intended for the profeſſion of arms, it would be highly unbecoming their military character to complain of hardſhip in ſubmitting to it.

"In the likeneſs of Tiarrah the tattooing is completed: I have only exhibited his face, and though he in all probability ſuffered conſiderably from having it, as they conceive, ſo highly ornamented, yet his ſuffering muſt have been very much increaſed from having other parts of his body operated upon in the ſame manner.

"The pantaloons, particularly the poſterior part, are in general very highly embroidered, and of which they are not a little vain.

"Thoſe intended for the performance of their religious ceremonies have only a ſmall ſquare patch of tattooing over the right eye.

"The women ſuffer but little from this barbarous cuſtom: a ſmall ſpiral figure on each ſide the chin, a ſemicircular figure over each eyebrow, and two, or ſometimes three lines, on each lip, are all they are required to ſubmit to. Their lips are naturally thin, and well formed, but ſo prepoſterous are their ideas of beauty, that they endeavour to render them as thick as poſſible by this operation.

"The cloathing of the natives of

of this part of New Zealand, and probably of the whole iſland, is, upon ordinary occaſions, not more abundant than the ſeaſon requires.

" The common covering is a mat, compoſed of ſtrong bladed graſs, and ſo thickly woven, that it muſt prove an excellent defence againſt the heat of the ſun, and would certainly keep out a long continued rain: it is in effect a complete thatch, and being of ſuch a length, as to reach half way down the thigh; when they are ſeated, or ſquatted down, their figure very much reſembles a large bee-hive, ſuper-mounted with the head of a New Zealander.

" It does not appear that they have ever thought of any artificial covering for the head, but the mode of dreſſing their hair, in all probability, is found to ſuperſede the neceſſity.

" The hair is collected all round the head and combed upward, ſo as to be ſecured on the crown by ligatures and bodkins, where it forms a knot of conſiderable bulk; which having a great quantity of red earth and fiſh oil incorporated with it, as well as with the whole of the hair, ſufficiently protects the head from all inclemencies of the weather. Europeans have hitherto given the preference to white powder, to which they have added unctuous ſubſtances, which modern times have enabled them to render more agreeable to the noſes of their part of the world, by the addition of perfumes of various denominations. But the taſte of an European is not to be diſputed.

" The ordinary clothing of both men and women is exactly ſimilar, ſo that the only diſtinction is in their faces, and the heads of the females, which have uſually a greater number of ornaments than thoſe of the men.

" It is really curious to obſerve a family of natives ſeated as I have mentioned. They give you the idea of a village, compoſed of a number of ſmall huts, one of which is formed by each individual: their heads, at a diſtance, may eaſily be miſtaken for chimneys.

" Their mats being faſtened at the neck only, they are ſoon thrown off; and as they are not worn when any active exertion is required, the facility with which they diſengage themſelves from them is found a great convenience.

" The dreſs of the natives conſiſts in a mat finely wove of the native flax, and its gloſſy appearance, with a fringe all round, renders it by no means an inelegant ſort of mantle. Theſe mats are made of greater dimenſions than thoſe uſed as ordinary covering: they are faſtened at the neck only, but are uſually wrapped round the figure, and retained in that ſituation by the hands of the wearer. In cold weather this article of dreſs is ſometimes applied on the outſide of the common covering mat, and as this is, from long wearing, or ſome other cauſe, frequently not the moſt cleanly, the outer garment in many inſtances conceals what is not well ſuited to meet the eye of cleanlineſs or delicacy. The hair, whenever the dreſs mats are worn, is well powdered and pomatumed, in which feathers, ſharks' teeth, pieces of bone, European buttons, beads, bugles, &c. &c. are faſtened, inſtead of broaches, or other ornaments.

" The ſame articles are collected for

for necklaces and bracelets, though they make these ornaments sometimes of short pieces of bone, somewhat similar to bugles, which being of various colours are in many instances arranged with considerable taste. Necklaces are also made of pieces of reed.

"The man in the moon, or green amulet, is suspended from the neck upon all occasions of full dress, though indeed it is very commonly worn at other times. There are smaller ones, made to be worn by children. That which I have delineated is of the size usually worn by adults.

"The men, whether dressed or in their ordinary clothing, carry a waddy, suspended by a thong from the wrist. The waddy is in figure somewhat resembling a large battledore, and is usually formed of hard black stone, but some are made of bone taken from the head of the whale. This instrument is the sword of New Zealand, and proves as destructive a weapon as the sword of Europeans.

"Whenever they dress for any particular occasion, the body is anointed all over with a composition of red earth and fish oil, or any other greasy substance they can procure; and in proportion to the elegance required, a greater or less quantity is employed. If they wish to appear remarkably splendid, or in full dress, rouge and grease are lavished upon their persons with the utmost profusion.

"The dress of the military is a mat also, but in the manufacture of which much more labour is bestowed than upon any of the others; the materials are the same as those of the dress mats, but so tightly woven, that when hanging loose, a spear will not penetrate it: this gives it the double advantage of a dress and a shield.

"The war-mat is generally ornamented with a border, which frequently displays a great degree of taste: the Vandyke is a common pattern.

"The priests, if so they may be called, appear to attend but little to the ornaments of dress. I believe they use but little, if any, red earth, either on their persons or hair; the unctuous matter is used by them as a defence to the skin against the rays of the sun. Their heads are destitute of ornament, the hair being simply collected into a knot on the crown. The mat they wear is of a texture suited to the season.

"The children go perfectly naked till about eight years of age. They wear ear ornaments from earliest infancy.

Account of Moyhanger, a Native of New Zealand.

(*From the same.*)

"Of Moyhanger, the native of New Zealand, whom I brought to England, I have before spoken, in order to shew the affectionate disposition of the natives of this island: I shall now add some account of his conduct upon and subsequently to his departure from his own country.

"Our sailing from the bay was, for several days, prevented by adverse winds, after Moyhanger and his friends had taken a formal leave of each other, during which time their visits were several times repeated.

"A day or two previously to our

our departure I had him equipped in European cloathing; it was coarſe, and ſuch as is uſually worn by ſailors at ſea; but however it pleaſed him and all his kindred: he appeared to aſſume a ſort of ſuperiority over his matted acquaintance, and they eyed him in a manner expreſſive of their idea of his being highly favoured by the fickle goddeſs. Moyhanger bore up againſt the laſt farewell with much reſolution; but as our diſtance from the land increaſed, his feelings ſuffered exceedingly. The ſun ſet beautifully over his native iſland, and his eye dwelt ſteadfaſtly upon it till darkneſs concealed it from further view. The recollection of ſcenes of youthful happineſs, which he was leaving to traverſe an element that affords but little of pleaſure or repoſe, frequently brought the big tear into his eye; but Moyhanger was determined to be a man: he ſung his evening ſong and retired to reſt.

"For ſeveral days following Moyhanger looked anxiouſly to the weſtward, the direction in which his native land had diſappeared, but he ſoon recovered his ſpirits, and was not only merry himſelf but the cauſe of mirth in others.

"During the long and dreary courſe between New Zealand and Cape Horn, Moyhanger preſerved a great degree of cheerfulneſs—his morning and evening ſong were never forgotten: he amuſed himſelf among the ſailors, and frequently exerciſed his talent for mimicry at their expence.

"The diſtant view of Cape Horn gave him much ſatisfaction: I believe indeed that he began to apprehend that he had embarked on a world of waters in the literal ſenſe of the word.

"When we approached the land, and diſcovered it covered with ſnow, he appeared to be a good deal diſappointed, and concluded that he had done wrong in leaving a fine fertile country for one that appeared to be ſterile in the extreme.

"They eſtimate the value of land by the quantity of potatoes it produces, and as there were no ſigns of cultivation here, Moyhanger was very glad to turn his back upon it, and we proceeded on our way to St. Helena. Many ſea birds ſeen on our paſſage were new to him, and attracted his attention; and the flying fiſh afforded him much amuſement. He ſwam uncommonly well, as may be ſuppoſed; and in warm weather, the ſhip proceeding but ſlowly, he frequently indulged in bathing: upon one of theſe occaſions a very large ſhark had nearly put a ſtop to poor Moyhanger's travels: we ſaw his danger and alarmed him, and he narrowly eſcaped the jaws of the ravenous monſter. The ſhark followed the ſhip for ſome time: Moyhanger contemplated it with horror, frequently pronouncing the words kiooda eka, matta matta, Moyhanger—very bad fiſh to deſtroy Moyhanger. At length, to his great joy, we made the iſland of St. Helena.

"The fine climate, the buildings on ſhore, and the numerous ſhips in the road, rendered the ſcene exhilarating to all on board; but Moyhanger was perfectly delighted: he danced and ſung, and exclaimed, piannah-miti, very good, very fine, repeatedly; and when I inform-

informed him that the iſland produced abundance of excellent potatoes, I believe his native country was almoſt forgotten.

"During the interval between our coming to an anchor, and my taking him on ſhore, a ſalute was fired from the battery on Ladder-hill; his fear and aſtoniſhment were now exceſſive; he lay down on the deck, ſtopped his ears, and I believe thought that his final diſſolution was at hand; however, as the firing continued, and he ſtill remained unhurt, he gradually acquired courage and confidence: but upon all ſimilar occaſions he expreſſed ſome uneaſineſs, and conſtantly ſtopped his ears, ſaying, matta matta teringa, it gives pain to my ears.

"We now went on ſhore, and nothing eſcaped Moyhanger's obſervation. The quantity of large anchors, ordnance, and other articles formed of iron, aſtoniſhed him; he ſeemed to have hitherto entertained no adequate idea of our national wealth. The military attracted much of his attention: he had a diſpoſition to quiz whenever an opportunity preſented itſelf, whether in the perſon or attire of individuals, and the dreſs of the garriſon enabled him to exerciſe his propenſity: he would ſometimes make ſo free in this reſpect, that in all probability he would have been roughly handled, had I not been preſent to aſſure the offended party that no inſult could be intended, and that his rudeneſs proceeded entirely from his ignorance of our manners and cuſtoms.

"He approved very much of the buildings at St. Helena, but of the iſland itſelf he had a very unfavourable opinion, frequently ſaying, Kiooda oota, very bad land.

"The firſt time he ſaw a yoke of oxen his wonder was very great, having no idea of an animal of that ſize; and he ſoon after ſaw a man on horſeback, which ſo much pleaſed him that he laughed heartily, and when the animal ſet off at a moderate canter, Moyhanger accompanied him up the valley: he then returned to me and expreſſed his approbation of that mode of conveyance. The regimental band delighted him exceedingly: indeed, for muſic of any kind, he had a very ſtrong paſſion; I have ſeen him in raptures at a violin. Every thing was new, and moſt things pleaſed him. I introduced him to Governor Patten, who, I told, him, was chief of the iſland: he was much pleaſed with the governor, and frequently repeated to me, Piannah tippeehee-piannah.

"St. Helena does not abound in great variety, and Moyhanger, in a ſhort time after our arrival, preferred the ſhip to the ſhore. He had acquaintances on board, and he found great amuſement in fiſhing, at which he was very expert. During our ſtay here he had another narrow eſcape from a ſhark: he was bathing one morning, when one of theſe voracious animals entered the road, and was within a ſhort diſtance of Moyhanger, who reached the ſhip in time to ſave himſelf from deſtruction: unfortunately this monſter of the deep was more fortunate upon another occaſion; an officer of dragoons, on his paſſage from India, fell a victim to his rapaciouſneſs. We proceeded on our paſſage to England, and nothing material occurred to excite the attention of Moyhanger;

hanger: it was however worthy of remark how much his ſight and hearing were ſuperior to other perſons on board the ſhip: the ſound of a diſtant gun was diſtinctly heard, or a ſtrange ſail readily diſcernible by Moyhanger, when no other man on board could hear or perceive them.

"At length the long wiſhed for land, the land of promiſe to Moyhanger, appeared in view, and the abundant ſupply of fiſh, meat, and vegetables of an Iriſh port made a favourable impreſſion upon him reſpecting our country. The number of ſhips, from which he eſtimated our wealth and population, was a conſtant ſource of wonder, which upon ſailing up to the port of London became perfect aſtoniſhment.

"I had diſpatches for government, and it was neceſſary I ſhould proceed to London from Cork, by way of Dublin and Holyhead. The ſhip was detained ſeveral days by contrary winds, during which time Moyhanger regretted my abſence in a moſt affectionate manner.

"Upon the arrival of the ſhip in the River Thames, I went to meet Moyhanger, who was very much pleaſed to ſee me. The great quantity of ſhipping, and the appearance of London altogether excited a degree of ſurpriſe greater than any he had heretofore experienced; but it gave riſe to a reflection that caſt a gloom upon his countenance. He told me that in New Zealand he was a man of ſome conſequence, but he ſaw that in ſuch a country as he was now in, his conſideration muſt be entirely loſt: however, Moyhanger never took any thing to heart for any length of time, and he accompanied me to the ſhore with great cheerfulneſs.

"This immenſe metropolis has amazed the moſt enlightened; it will not therefore appear extraordinary that an uncultivated native of the antipodes ſhould be ſtruck with the greateſt poſſible degree of wonder. We landed at the eaſternmoſt part of the town, and had ſome diſtance to walk before we could procure a hackney coach: he had during this perambulation ſomething to admire in every thing he ſaw. The ſhops with immenſe ſtores of ironmongery excited much of his attention; as we paſſed houſes where thoſe articles were preſented for ſale, he always obſerved to me, Piannah Oota nue nue tokee—very good country, plenty of iron. Commodities of real utility uniformly claimed his firſt conſideration. The ſhops that exhibited articles of dreſs and ornamental finery excited his laughter; while thoſe that diſplayed ſubſtantial cloathing appeared to give him real ſatisfaction. Through the part of the town we had to walk, there are many ſhops of the latter deſcription: whenever he paſſed one, he obſerved to me, Piannah, nue nue Kakahow—This is very good, there is plenty of cloathing.

"The ſailors had learnt him the familiar mode of addreſs,—How do you do, my boy? Moyhanger found it uſeful in his walk, for the ſingularity of his appearance attracted much notice from the paſſengers: they frequently ſtood to gaze at him. Moyhanger had a vaſt deal of good nature, and whenever he obſerved this, he faced about and offered his hand, with, How do you do, my boy? His appearance

pearance intimidated many, and they withdrew from his proffered kind ſhake by the hand.

" The coach gave him great ſatisfaction: when the horſes firſt ſtarted off, the motion ſeemed to alarm him a little; but with me he ſoon gained confidence. He looked out on each ſide—then in front—then appeared thoughtful. I aſked him how he liked our preſent ſituation: he replied, Piannah wurrie nuenue yaieda—Very good houſe, it walks very faſt.

" As we paſſed through a number of ſtreets in our way to my lodgings, at the weſt end of the town, nothing eſcaped his obſervation. The church ſteeples—the ſhops—the paſſengers—the horſes and carriages, all called forth ſome ſingular remark. Of the height of the ſteeples he obſerved, Piannah wurrie tuwittee tuwittee paucoora—Very good houſe, it goes up to the clouds. On noticing any ſingularities, decrepitude, lameneſs, or infirmity, in a paſſenger, he always remarked, Kioòda tungata, or Kioòda wyeena—Good for nothing man or woman. His eye was conſtantly ſeeking articles of iron, cloathing, or food. Of ſome of the ſtreets he obſerved, Nue nue tungata, nue nue wurrie, ittee ittee eka, ittee ittee potatoe—Plenty of men, plenty of houſes, but very little fiſh, and very few potatoes.

" I never could make Moyhanger pronounce the word England, therefore I was content to allow him to make uſe of Europe in its ſtead, which he pronounced without difficulty. Sometimes on our way he would draw a compariſon between this country and his own, which appeared to give riſe to melancholy reflections. He would ſay, Nue nue Europe, ittee ittee New Zealand.

" We arrived at my lodging, where Moyhanger joined my ſervant boy, who had been his companion during our paſſage to England, and he appeared perfectly happy.

" Soon after my arrival I introduced Moyhanger to Earl Fitzwilliam. I told him that his lordſhip was a chief, and Moyhanger entered the manſion with becoming reſpect. The furniture and paintings pleaſed him highly, but with the affability of his lordſhip, and the Countess Fitzwilliam, he was quite delighted. Lord Milton and ſome noble relatives of Lord Fitzwilliam's were preſent, who all ſhared in Moyhanger's approbation. He was a great phyſiognomiſt, and approved or diſliked at a firſt interview. The lines of his lordſhip's face pleaſed him more than thoſe of any man, of whom I had yet heard his opinion. A marble buſt which repreſented his lordſhip, engroſſed the whole of his attention for many minutes; he placed himſelf in a chair oppoſite to it, and contemplated the features with great admiration. He ſaid, on his return to New Zealand he ſhould endeavour to carve a figure in imitation of it. He whiſpered me whenever Lord Fitzwilliam turned his back, Piannah tippeehee—Very good chief; and with her ladyſhip and the company he was equally pleaſed.

" The ornamental parts of the furniture did not make ſuch an impreſſion upon him, as might be imagined: of the mirrors, and other ſplendid ornaments, he merely obſerved,

obſerved, Miti—they are very fine; and while I thought he was admiring the more ſtriking objects, I found he was counting the chairs. He had procured a ſmall piece of ſtick, which he had broken into a number of pieces to aſſiſt his recollection. He obſerved, Nue nue tungata noho tippeehee—A great number of men ſit with the chief.

"Moyhanger departed highly delighted with his viſit; he frequently requeſted me to repeat it, and often enquired after the health of the chief and his family.

"It was extremely inconvenient to take Moyhanger to public exhibitions, or even to walk with him in the ſtreets, on account of John Bull's curioſity: I therefore did not ſhew ſo many of the lions as I otherwiſe ſhould have done. I accompanied him to St. Paul's cathedral: the vaſt dimenſions of this pile of building appeared to aſtoniſh him: the ſpace beneath the dome he contemplated with much ſatisfaction, but he dwelt with infinite pleaſure upon the monuments of our great men.

"A great ſource of entertainment to this native was obſerving the paſſengers, making a variety of obſervations upon their faces and perſons, and not unfrequently laughing heartily at their expence.

"Wooden legs amuſed him very much.—One day he ſaw a man with two; he called me in great haſte to obſerve the unfortunate fellow, ſaying, Tungata cadooa poona poona racoo—Here is a man with two wooden legs.

"Noiſe or ſcolding he very much diſliked; the diſſonance of the London cries conſequently diſpleaſed him; he would, upon theſe occaſions, expreſs himſelf, Kiooda tungata, or kiooda wyeena nue une mum mum mum—Bad man or woman to make ſuch a noiſe.

"Our markets afforded him much ſatisfaction, by enabling him to perceive that we were abundantly ſupplied with food; indeed the appearance of many of the paſſengers relieved him from any apprehenſion of want, if he had previouſly entertained any ſuch ideas. Whenever he ſaw a corpulent man paſs by he would ſay, Tungata nue nue kikie—That man has plenty to eat. How ſuch an immenſe population could be fed was to him, at firſt, a myſtery, ſeeing no appearance of cattle or cultivation; but the arrival of ſome droves of oxen, and the waggon loads of vegetables that conſtantly paſſed our houſe, ſoon relieved him from any apprehenſion on our account.

I have mentioned my reaſons for ſending Moyhanger home in ſo ſhort a time after his arrival, and the affectionate manner in which he took leave of me, in the body of the work. When he arrives in his own country he will be a very ſuperior man in point of riches and uſeful knowledge. The uſe of carpenters' and coopers' tools he is tolerably well acquainted with, and I have no doubt if he remains in New Zealand, that he will remember his viſit to Europe with peculiar ſatisfaction for the remainder of his life.

NATURAL HISTORY.

On the Decompoſition of the Fixed Alkalies. By H. Davy, Eſq.

(From the Tranſactions of the Royal Society, for 1808.)

"I. *Introduction.*

"IN the Bakerian Lecture which I had the honour of preſenting to the Royal Society laſt year, I deſcribed a number of decompoſitions and chemical changes produced in ſubſtances of known compoſition by electricity, and I ventured to conclude from the general principles on which the phenomena were capable of being explained, that the new methods of inveſtigation promiſed to lead to a more intimate knowledge than had hitherto been obtained, concerning the true elements of bodies.

"This conjecture, then ſanctioned only by ſtrong analogies, I am now happy to be able to ſupport by ſome concluſive facts. In the courſe of a laborious experimental application of the powers of electro-chemical analyſis, to bodies which have appeared ſimple when examined by common chemical agents, or which at leaſt have never been decompoſed, it has been my good fortune to obtain new and ſingular reſults.

"Such of the ſeries of experiments as are in a tolerably mature ſtate, and capable of being arranged in a connected order, I ſhall detail in the following ſections, particularly thoſe which demonſtrate the decompoſition and compoſition of the fixed alkalies, and the production of the new and extraordinary bodies which conſtitute their baſes.

"In ſpeaking of novel methods of inveſtigation, I ſhall not fear to be minute. When the common means of chemical reſearch have been employed, I ſhall mention only reſults. A hiſtorical detail of the progreſs of the inveſtigation, of all the difficulties that occurred, and of the manner in which they were overcome, and of all the manipulations employed, would far exceed the limits aſſigned to this lecture. It is proper to ſtate, however, that when general facts are mentioned, they are ſuch only as have been deduced from proceſſes carefully performed and often repeated.

"II. *On*

" II. *On the Methods uſed for the Decompoſition of the fixed Alkalies.*

" The reſearches I had made on the decompoſition of acids, and of alkaline and earthy neutral compounds, proved that the powers of electrical decompoſition were proportional to the ſtrength of the oppoſite electricities in the circuit, and to the conducting power and degree of concentration of the materials employed.

" In the firſt attempts that I made on the decompoſition of the fixed alkalies, I acted upon aqueous ſolutions of potaſh and ſoda, ſaturated at common temperatures, by the higheſt electrical power I could command, and which was produced by a combination of Voltaic batteries belonging to the Royal Inſtitution, containing 24 plates of copper and zinc of 12 inches ſquare, 100 plates of ſix inches, and 150 of four inches ſquare, charged with ſolutions of alum and nitrous acid; but in theſe caſes, though there was a high intenſity of action, the water of the ſolutions alone was affected, and hydrogene and oxygene diſengaged with the production of much heat and violent efferveſcence.

" The preſence of water appearing thus to prevent any decompoſition, I uſed potaſh in igneous fuſion. By means of a ſtream of oxygene gas from a gaſometer applied to the flame of a ſpirit lamp, which was thrown on a platina ſpoon containing potaſh, this alkali was kept for ſome minutes in a ſtrong red heat, and in a ſtate of perfect fluidity. The ſpoon was preſerved in communication with the poſitive ſide of the battery of the power of 100 of ſix inches, highly charged; and the connection from the negative ſide was made by a platina wire.

" By this arrangement ſome brilliant phenomena were produced. The potaſh appeared a conductor in a high degree, and as long as the communication was preſerved, a moſt intenſe light was exhibited at the negative wire, and a column of flame, which ſeemed to be owing to the developement of combuſtible matter, aroſe from the point of contact.

" When the order was changed, ſo that the platina ſpoon was made negative, a vivid and conſtant light appeared at the oppoſite point: there was no effect of inflammation round it; but aeriform globules, which inflamed in the atmoſphere, roſe through the potaſh.

" The platina, as might have been expected, was conſiderably acted upon; and in the caſes when it had been negative in the higheſt degree.

" The alkali was apparently dry in this experiment; and it ſeemed probable that the inflammable matter aroſe from its decompoſition. The reſidual potaſh was unaltered; it contained indeed a number of dark grey metallic particles, but theſe proved to be derived from the platina.

" I tried ſeveral experiments on the electrization of potaſh rendered fluid by heat, with the hopes of being able to collect the combuſtible matter, but without ſucceſs; and I only attained my object, by employing electricity as the common agent for fuſion and decompoſition.

" Though potaſh, perfectly dried by ignition, is a non-conductor, yet it is rendered a conductor, by a very ſlight addition of moiſture, which

does not perceptibly deſtroy its aggregation; and in this ſtate it readily fuſes and decompoſes by ſtrong electrical powers.

"A ſmall piece of pure potaſh, which had been expoſed for a few ſeconds to the atmoſphere, ſo as to give conducting power to the ſurface, was placed upon an inſulated diſc of platina, connected with the negative ſide of the battery of the power of 250 of 6 and 4, in a ſtate of intenſe activity; and a platina wire, communicating with the poſitive ſide, was brought in contact with the upper ſurface of the alkali. The whole apparatus was in the open atmoſphere.

"Under theſe circumſtances a vivid action was ſoon obſerved to take place. The potaſh began to fuſe at both its points of electrization. There was a violent effervescence at the upper ſurface; at the lower or negative ſurface, there was no liberation of elaſtic fluid; but ſmall globules having a high metallic luſtre, and being preciſely ſimilar in viſible characters to quick-ſilver, appeared, ſome of which burnt with exploſion and bright flame, as ſoon as they were formed, and others remained, and were merely tarniſhed, and finally covered by a white film which formed on their ſurfaces.

"Theſe globules, numerous experiments ſoon ſhewed to be the ſubſtance I was in ſearch of, and a peculiar inflammable principle the baſis of potaſh. I found that the platina was in no way connected with the reſult, except as the medium for exhibiting the electrical powers of decompoſition; and the ſubſtance of the ſame kind was produced when pieces of copper, ſilver, gold, plumbago, or even charcoal, were employed for completing the circuit.

"The phenomenon was independent of the preſence of air; I found that it took place when the alkali was in the vacuum of an exhauſted receiver.

"The ſubſtance was likewiſe produced from potaſh fuſed by means of a lamp, in glaſs tubes confined by mercury, and furniſhed with hermetically inſerted platina wires, by which the electrical action was tranſmitted. But this operation could not be carried on for any conſiderable time; the glaſs was rapidly diſſolved by the action of the alkali, and this ſubſtance ſoon penetrated through the body of the tube.

"Soda, when acted upon in the ſame manner as potaſh, exhibited an analogous reſult; but the decompoſition demanded greater intenſity of action in the batteries, or the alkali was required to be in much thinner and ſmaller pieces. With the battery of 100 of ſix inches in full activity, I obtained good reſults from pieces of potaſh weighing from 40 to 70 grains, and of a thickneſs which made the diſtance of the electrified metallic ſurfaces nearly a quarter of an inch; but with a ſimilar power it was impoſſible to produce the effects of decompoſition on pieces of ſoda of more than 15 or 20 grains in weight, and that only when the diſtance between the wires was about one-eighth or one-tenth of an inch.

"The ſubſtance produced from potaſh remained fluid at the temperature of the atmoſphere at the time of its production; that from ſoda, which was fluid in the degree of heat

heat of the alkali during its formation, became ſolid on cooling, and appeared having the luſtre of ſilver.

" When the power of 250 was uſed, with a very high charge for the decompoſition of ſoda, the globules often burnt at the moment of their formation, and ſometimes violently exploded and ſeparated into ſmaller globules, which flew with great velocity through the air in a ſtate of vivid combuſtion, producing a beautiful effect of continued jets of fire.

" III. *Theory of the decompoſition of the fixed Alkalies; their Compoſition and Production.*

" As in all decompoſitions of compound ſubſtances which I had previouſly examined, at the ſame time that combuſtible baſes were developed at the negative ſurface in the electrical circuit, oxygene was produced, and evolved or carried into combination at the poſitive ſurface, it was reaſonable to conclude that this ſubſtance was generated in a ſimilar manner by the electrical action upon the alkalies; and a number of experiments made above mercury, with the apparatus made for excluding external air, proved that this was the caſe.

" When the ſolid potaſh, or ſoda in its conducting ſtate, was included in glaſs tubes furniſhed with electrified platina wires, the new ſubſtances were generated at the negative ſurfaces; the gas given out at the other ſurface proved by the moſt delicate examination to be pure oxygene; and unleſs an exceſs of water was preſent, no gas was evolved from the negative ſurface.

" In the ſynthetical experiments, a perfect coincidence likewiſe will be found.

" I mentioned that the metallic luſtre of the ſubſtance from potaſh immediately became deſtroyed in the atmoſphere, and that a white cruſt formed upon it. This cruſt I ſoon found to be pure potaſh, which immediately deliqueſced and new quantities were formed, which in their turn attracted moiſture from the atmoſphere till the whole globule diſappeared, and aſſumed the form of a ſaturated ſolution of potaſh.

" When globules were placed in appropriate tubes containing common air or oxygene gas confined by mercury, an abſorption of oxygene took place; a cruſt of alkali inſtantly formed upon the globule; but from the want of moiſture for its ſolution, the proceſs ſtopped, the interior being defended from the action of the gas.

" With the ſubſtance from ſoda, the appearances and effects were analogous.

" When the ſubſtances were ſtrongly heated, confined in given portions of oxygene, a rapid combuſtion with a brilliant white flame was produced, and the metallic globules were found converted into a white and ſolid maſs, which in the caſe of the ſubſtance from the potaſh was found to be potaſh, and in the caſe of that from ſoda, ſoda.

" Oxygene gas was abſorbed in this operation, and nothing emitted which affected the purity of the reſidual air.

" The alkalies produced were apparently dry, or at leaſt contained no more moiſture than might well be conceived to exiſt in the oxygene gas

gas abſorbed; and their weights conſiderably exceeded thoſe of the combuſtible matters conſumed.

"The proceſſes on which theſe concluſions were founded will be fully deſcribed hereafter, when the minute details which are neceſſary will be explained, and the proportions of oxygene, and of the reſpective inflammable ſubſtances which enter into union to form the fixed alkalies, will be given.

"It appears, then, that in theſe facts there is the ſame evidence for the decompoſition of potaſh and ſoda into oxygene and two peculiar ſubſtances, as there is for the decompoſition of ſulphuric and phoſphoric acids and the metallic oxides into oxygene and their reſpective combuſtible baſes.

"In the analytical experiments, no ſubſtances capable of decompoſition are preſent but the alkalies and a minute portion of moiſture; which ſeems in no other way eſſential to the reſult, than in rendering them conductors at the ſurface: for the new ſubſtances are not generated till the interior, which is dry, begins to be fuſed; they explode when, in riſing through the fuſed alkali, they come in contact with the heated moiſtened ſurface; they cannot be produced from chryſtallized alkalies, which contain much water; and the effect produced by the electrization of ignited potaſh, which contains no ſenſible quantity of water, confirms the opinion of their formation independently of the preſence of this ſubſtance.

"The combuſtible baſes of the fixed alkalies ſeem to be repelled as other combuſtible ſubſtances, by poſitively electrified ſurfaces, and attracted by negatively electrified ſurfaces, and the oxygene follows the contrary order; or the oxygene being naturally poſſeſſed of the negative energy, and the baſes of the poſitive, do not remain in combination when either of them is brought into an electrical ſtate oppoſite to its natural one. In the ſyntheſis, on the contrary, the natural energies or attractions come in equilibrium with each other; and when theſe are in a low ſtate at common temperatures, a ſlow combination is effected; but when they are exalted by heat, a rapid union is the reſult; and as in other like caſes with the production of fire. A number of circumſtances relating to the agencies of the baſes of the alkalies will be immediately ſtated, and will be found to offer confirmations of theſe general concluſions.

"IV. *On the Properties and Nature of the Baſis of Potaſh.*

"After I had detected the baſes of the fixed alkalies, I had conſiderable difficulty to preſerve and confine them ſo as to examine their properties, and ſubmit them to experiments; for, like the *alkaheſts* imagined by the alchemiſts, they acted more or leſs upon almoſt every body to which they were expoſed.

"The fluid ſubſtance amongſt all thoſe I have tried, on which I find they have leaſt effect, is recently diſtilled naphtha.—In this material, when excluded from the air, they remain for many days without conſiderably changing, and their phyſical properties may be eaſily examined in the atmoſphere when they are covered by a thin film of it.

"The baſis of potaſh at 60° Fahrenheit, the temperature in which I firſt

firſt examined it, appeared, as I have already mentioned, in ſmall globules poſſeſſing the metallic luſtre, opacity, and general appearance of mercury; ſo that when a globule of mercury was placed near a globule of the peculiar ſubſtance, it was not poſſible to detect a difference by the eye.

"At 60° Fahrenheit it is, however, only imperfectly fluid, for it does not readily run into a globule when its ſhape is altered; at 70° it becomes more fluid; and at 100° its fluidity is perfect, ſo that different globules may be eaſily made to run into one. At 50° Fahrenheit it becomes a ſoft and malleable ſolid, which has the luſtre of poliſhed ſilver; and at about the freezing point of water it becomes harder and brittle, and, when broken in fragments, exhibits a chryſtallized texture, which in the microſcope ſeems compoſed of beautiful facets of a perfect whiteneſs and high metallic ſplendour.

"To be converted into vapour, it requires a temperature approaching that of the red heat: and when the experiment is conducted under proper circumſtances, it is found unaltered after diſtillation.

"It is a perfect conductor of electricity. When a ſpark from the Voltaic battery of 100 of ſix inches is taken upon a large globule in the atmoſphere, the light is green, and combuſtion takes place at the point of contact only. When a ſmall globule is uſed, it is completely diſſipated with exploſion, accompanied by a moſt vivid flame, into alkaline fumes.

"It is an excellent conductor of heat.

"Reſembling the metals in all theſe ſenſible properties, it is, however, remarkably different from any of them in ſpecific gravity; I found that it roſe to the ſurface of naphtha diſtilled from petroleum, and of which the ſpecific gravity was 861, and it did not ſink in double diſtilled naphtha, the ſpecific gravity of which was about 770, that of water being conſidered as 1. The ſmall quantities in which it is produced by the higheſt electrical powers, rendered it very difficult to determine this quality with minute preciſion. I endeavoured to gain approximations on the ſubject by comparing the weights of perfectly equal globules of the baſis of potaſh and mercury. I uſed the very delicate balance of the Royal Inſtitution, which, when loaded with the quantity I employed, and of which the mercury never exceeded ten grains, is ſenſible at leaſt to the $\frac{1}{2000}$ of a grain. Taking the mean of four experiments, conducted with great care, its ſpecific gravity at 62° Fahrenheit, is to that of mercury as 10 to 223, which gives a proportion to that of water nearly as 6 to 10; ſo that it is the lighteſt fluid body known. In its ſolid form it is a little heavier, but even in this ſtate when cooled to 43° Fahrenheit, it ſwims in the double diſtilled naphtha.

"The chemical relations of the baſis of potaſh are ſtill more extraordinary than its phyſical ones.

"I have already mentioned its alkalization and combuſtion in oxygene gas.—It combines with oxygene ſlowly and without flame at all temperatures that I have tried below that of its vaporization.—But at this temperature combuſtion takes place, and the light is of a brilliant whiteneſs, and the heat intenſe. When heated ſlowly in a

quantity of oxygene gas not ſufficient for its complete converſion into potaſh, and at a temperature inadequate to its inflammation, 400° Fahrenheit, for inſtance, its tint changes to that of a red brown, and when the heat is withdrawn, all the oxygene is found to be abſorbed, and a ſolid is formed of a greyiſh colour, which partly conſiſts of potaſh, and partly of a baſis of potaſh in a lower degree of oxygenation,—and which becomes potaſh by being expoſed to water, or by being again heated in freſh quantities of air.

" The ſubſtance conſiſting of the baſis of potaſh combined with an under proportion of oxygene, may likewiſe be formed by fuſing dry potaſh and its baſis together under proper circumſtances.—The baſis rapidly loſes its metallic ſplendour; the two ſubſtances unite into a compound, of a red brown colour when fluid, and of a dark grey hue when ſolid; and this compound ſoon abſorbs its full proportion of oxygene when expoſed to the air, and is wholly converted into potaſh.

" And the ſame body is often formed in the analytical experiments when the action of the electricity is intenſe, and the potaſh much heated.

" The baſis of potaſh when introduced into oxymuriatic acid gas burns ſpontaneouſly with a bright red light, and a white ſalt, proving to be muriate of potaſh, is formed.

" When a globule is heated in hydrogene at a degree below its point of vaporization, it ſeems to diſſolve in it, for the globule diminiſhes in volume, and the gas explodes with alkaline fumes and bright light, when ſuffered to paſs into the air; but by cooling, this ſpontaneous detonating property is deſtroyed, and the baſis is either wholly or principally depoſited.

" The action of the baſis of potaſh on water expoſed to the atmoſphere is connected with ſome beautiful phenomena. When it is thrown upon water, or when it is brought into contact with a drop of water at common temperatures, it decompoſes it with great violence, an inſtantaneous exploſion is produced with brilliant flame, and a ſolution of pure potaſh is the reſult.

" In experiments of this kind, an appearance often occurs ſimilar to that produced by the combuſtion of phoſphuretted hydrogene; a white ring of ſmoke, which gradually extends as it riſes into the air.

" When water is made to act upon the baſis of potaſh out of the contact of air, and preſerved by means of a glaſs tube under naphtha, the decompoſition is violent; and there is much heat and noiſe, but no luminous appearance, and the gas evolved, when examined in the mercurial or water pneumatic apparatus, is found to be pure hydrogene.

" When a globule of the baſis of potaſh is placed upon ice, it inſtantly burns with a bright flame, and a deep hole is made in the ice, which is found to contain a ſolution of potaſh.

" The theory of the action of the baſis of potaſh upon water expoſed to the atmoſphere, though complicated changes occur, is far from being obſcure. The phenomena ſeem to depend on the ſtrong attractions of the baſis for oxygene and of the potaſh formed for water. The heat, which ariſes from two

cauſes,

cauſes, decompoſition and combination, is ſufficiently intenſe to produce the inflammation. Water is a bad conductor of heat; the globule ſwims expoſed to air; a part of it, there is the greateſt reaſon to believe, is diſſolved by the heated naſcent hydrogene; and this ſubſtance being capable of ſpontaneous inflammation, explodes and communicates the effect of combuſtion to any of the baſis that may be yet uncombined.

"When a globule confined out of the contact of air is acted upon by water, the theory of decompoſition is very ſimple, the heat produced is rapidly carried off, ſo that there is no ignition; and a high temperature being requiſite for the ſolution of the baſis in hydrogene, this combination probably does not take place, or at leaſt it can have a momentary exiſtence only.

"The production of alkali in the decompoſition of water by the baſis of potaſh is demonſtrated in a very ſimple and ſatisfactory manner by dropping a globule of it upon moiſtened paper tinged with turmeric. At the moment that the globule comes into contact with the water, it burns, and moves rapidly on the paper, as if in ſearch of moiſture, leaving behind it a deep reddiſh brown trace, and acting upon the paper preciſely as dry cauſtic potaſh.

"So ſtrong is the attraction of the baſis of potaſh for oxygene, and ſo great the energy of its action upon water, that it diſcovers and decompoſes the ſmall quantities of water contained in alcohol and ether, even when they are carefully purified.

"In ether this decompoſition is connected with an inſtructive reſult. Potaſh is inſoluble in this fluid; and when the baſis of potaſh is thrown into it, oxygene is furniſhed to it, and hydrogene gas diſengaged, and the alkali, as it forms, renders the ether white and turbid.

"In both theſe inflammable compounds the energy of its action is proportional to the quantity of water they contain, and hydrogene and potaſh are the conſtant reſult.

"The baſis of potaſh, when thrown into ſolutions of the mineral acids, inflames and burns on the ſurface. When it is plunged by proper means beneath the ſurface enveloped in potaſh, ſurrounded by naphtha, it acts upon the oxygene with the greateſt intenſity, and all its effects are ſuch as may be explained from its ſtrong affinity for this ſubſtance. In ſulphuric acid a white ſaline ſubſtance with a yellow coating, which is probably ſulphate of potaſh ſurrounded by ſulphur, and a gas which has the ſmell of ſulphureous acid, and which probably is a mixture of that ſubſtance with hydrogene gas, are formed. In nitrous acid, nitrous gas is diſengaged, and nitrate of potaſh formed.

"The baſis of potaſh readily combines with the ſimple inflammable ſolids, and with the metals; with phoſphorus and ſulphur, it forms compounds ſimilar to the metallic phoſphurets and ſulphurets.

"When it is brought in contact with a piece of phoſphorus, and preſſed upon, there is a conſiderable action: they become fluid together, burn, and produce phoſphate of potaſh. When the experiment is made under naphtha, their combination takes place without the liberation of any elaſtic matter, and

and they form a compound which has a conſiderably higher point of fuſion than its two conſtituents, and which remains a ſoft ſolid in boiling naphtha. In its appearance it perfectly agrees with a metallic phoſphuret; it is of the colour of lead, and when ſpread out, has a luſtre ſimilar to poliſhed lead. When expoſed to air at common temperatures, it ſlowly combines with oxygene, and becomes phoſphate of potaſh. When heated upon a plate of platina, fumes exhale from it, and it does not burn till it attains the temperature of the rapid combuſtion of the baſis of potaſh.

"When the baſis of potaſh is brought in contact with ſulphur in fuſion, in tubes filled with the vapour of naphtha, they combine rapidly with the evolution of heat and light, and a grey ſubſtance, in appearance like artificial ſulphuret of iron, is formed, which, if kept in fuſion, rapidly diſſolves the glaſs, and becomes bright brown. When this experiment is made in a glaſs tube hermetically ſealed, no gas is liberated if the tube is opened under mercury; but when it is made in a tube connected with a mercurial apparatus, a ſmall quantity of ſulphuretted hydrogene is evolved, ſo that the phenomena are ſimilar to thoſe produced by the union of ſulphur with the metals in which ſulphuretted hydrogene is likewiſe diſengaged, except that the ignition is ſtronger. When the union is effected in the atmoſphere, a great inflammation takes place, and ſulphuret of potaſh is formed. The ſulphuretted baſis likewiſe gradually becomes oxygenated by expoſure to the air, and is finally converted into ſulphate.

"The new ſubſtance produces ſome extraordinary and beautiful reſults with mercury. When one part of it is added to 8 or 10 parts of mercury in volume at 60° Fahrenheit, they inſtantly unite and form a ſubſtance exactly like mercury in colour, but which ſeems to have leſs coherence, for ſmall portions of it appear as flattened ſpheres. When a globule is made to touch a globule of mercury about twice as large, they combine with conſiderable heat; the compound is fluid at the temperature of its formation; but when cool it appears as a ſolid metal, ſimilar in colour to ſilver. If the quantity of the baſis of potaſh is ſtill farther increaſed, ſo as to be about $\frac{1}{30}$th the weight of the mercury, the amalgam increaſes in hardneſs, and becomes brittle. The ſolid amalgam, in which the baſis is in the ſmalleſt proportion, ſeems to conſiſt of about 1 part in weight of baſis, and 70 parts of mercury, and is very ſoft and malleable.

"When theſe compounds are expoſed to air, they rapidly abſorb oxygene; potaſh which deliqueſces is formed, and in a few minutes the mercury is found pure and unaltered.

"When a globule of the amalgam is thrown into water, it rapidly decompoſes it with a hiſſing noiſe; potaſh is formed, pure hydrogene diſengaged, and the mercury remains free.

"The fluid amalgam of mercury and this ſubſtance diſſolves all the metals I have expoſed to it; and in this ſtate of union, mercury acts on iron and platina.

"When the baſis of potaſh is heated with gold, or ſilver, or copper, in a cloſe veſſel of pure glaſs, it rapidly acts upon them; and when

when the compounds are thrown into water, this fluid is decompoſed, potaſh formed, and the metals appear to be ſeparated unaltered.

" The baſis of potaſh combines with fuſible metal, and forms an alloy with it, which has a higher point of fuſion than the fuſible metal.

" The action of the baſis of potaſh upon the inflammable oily compound bodies, confirms the other facts of the ſtrength of its attraction for oxygene.

" On naphtha colourleſs and recently diſtilled, I have already ſaid, it has very little power of action; but in naphtha that has been expoſed to the air it ſoon oxidates, and alkali is formed, which unites with the naphtha into a brown ſoap that collects round the globule.

" On the concrete oils (tallow, ſpermaceti, wax, for inſtance), when heated, it acts ſlowly, coaly matter is depoſited, a little gas is evolved, and a ſoap is formed; but in theſe caſes it is neceſſary that a large quantity of the oil be employed. On the fluid fixed oils it produces the ſame effects, but more ſlowly.

" By heat likewiſe it rapidly decompoſes the volatile oils; alkali is formed, a ſmall quantity of gas is evolved, and charcoal is depoſited.

" When the baſis of potaſh is thrown into camphor in fuſion, the camphor ſoon becomes blackened, no gas is liberated in the proceſs of decompoſition, and a ſaponaceous compound is formed; which ſeems to ſhew that camphor contains more oxygene than the volatile oils.

" The baſis of potaſh readily reduces metallic oxides when heated in contact with them. When a ſmall quantity of the oxide of iron was heated with it, to a temperature approaching its point of diſtillation, there was a vivid action; alkali and grey metallic particles, which diſſolved with effervescence in muriatic acid, appeared. The oxides of lead and the oxides of tin were revived ſtill more rapidly; and when the baſis of potaſh was in exceſs, an alloy was formed with the revived metal.

" In conſequence of this property, the baſis of potaſh readily decompoſes flint glaſs and green glaſs, by a gentle heat; alkali is immediately formed by oxygene from the oxides which diſſolves the glaſs, and a new ſurface is ſoon expoſed to the agent.

" At a red heat, even the pureſt glaſs is altered by the baſis of potaſh: the oxygene in the alkali of the glaſs ſeems to be divided between the two baſes, the baſis of potaſh and the alkaline baſis in the glaſs, and oxides, in the firſt degree of oxygenation, are the reſult. When the baſis of potaſh is heated in tubes made of plate glaſs filled with the vapour of naphtha, it firſt acts upon the ſmall quantity of the oxides of cobalt and manganeſe in the interior ſurface of the glaſs, and a portion of alkali is formed. As the heat approaches to redneſs, it begins to riſe in vapour, and condenſes in the colder parts of the tube; but at the point where the heat is ſtrongeſt, a part of the vapour ſeems to penetrate the glaſs, rendering it of a deep red brown colour; and by repeatedly diſtilling and heating the ſubſtance in a cloſe tube of this kind, it finally loſes its metallic form, and a thick brown cruſt, which ſlowly decompoſes water, and which combines with

with oxygene, when expoſed to air forming alkali, lines the interior of the tube, and in many parts is found penetrating through its ſubſtance.

" In my firſt experiments on the diſtillation of the baſis of potaſh, I had great difficulty in accounting for theſe phenomena; but the knowledge of the ſubſtance it forms in its firſt degree of union with oxygene, afforded a ſatisfactory explanation.

" V. *On the Properties and Nature of the Baſis of Soda.*

" The baſis of ſoda, as I have already mentioned, is a ſolid at common temperatures. It is white, opaque, and when examined under a film of naphtha, has the luſtre and general appearance of ſilver. It is exceedingly malleable, and is much ſofter than any of the common metallic ſubſtances. When preſſed upon by a platina blade, with a ſmall force, it ſpreads into thin leaves, and a globule of the $\frac{1}{10}$th or $\frac{1}{12}$th of an inch in diameter is eaſily ſpread over a ſurface of a quarter of an inch, and this property does not diminiſh when it is cooled to 32° Fahrenheit.

" It conducts electricity and heat in a ſimilar manner to the baſis of potaſh; and ſmall globules of it inflame by the voltaic electrical ſpark, and burn with bright exploſions.

" Its ſpecific gravity is leſs than that of water. It ſwims in oil of ſaſſafras, of 1.096, water being 1, and ſinks in naphtha of ſpecific gravity .861. This circumſtance enabled me to aſcertain the point with preciſion. I mixed together oil of ſaſſafras and naphtha, which combine very perfectly, obſerving the proportions, till I had compoſed a fluid, in which it remained at reſt above or below: and this fluid conſiſted of nearly twelve parts naphtha, and five of oil of ſaſſafras, which gives a ſpecific gravity to that of water, nearly as nine to ten, or more accurately as .9348 to 1.

" The baſis of ſoda has a much higher point of fuſion than the baſis of potaſh; its parts begin to loſe their coheſion at about 120° Fahrenheit, and it is a perfect fluid at about 180°, ſo that it readily fuſes under boiling naphtha.

" I have not yet been able to aſcertain at what degree of heat it is volatile; but it remains fixed in a ſtate of ignition at the point of fuſion of plate glaſs.

" The chemical phenomena produced by the baſis of ſoda, are analogous to thoſe produced by the baſis of potaſh; but with ſuch characteriſtic differences as might be well expected.

" When the baſis of ſoda is expoſed to the atmoſphere, it immediately tarniſhes, and by degrees becomes covered with a white cruſt, which deliqueſces much more ſlowly than the ſubſtance which forms on the baſis of potaſh. It proves, on minute examination, to be pure ſoda.

" The baſis of ſoda combines with oxygene ſlowly, and without luminous appearance at all common temperatures; and when heated, this combination becomes more rapid; but no light is emitted till it has acquired a temperature nearly that of ignition.

" The flame that it produces in oxygene gas is white, and it ſends forth bright ſparks, occaſioning a very beautiful effect; in common air, it burns with light of the co-

lour

lour of that produced during the combuſtion of charcoal, but much brighter.

"The baſis of ſoda when heated in hydrogene, ſeemed to have no action upon it. When introduced into oxymuriatic acid gas, it burnt vividly with numerous ſcintillations of a bright red colour. Saline matter was formed in this combuſtion, which, as might have been expected, proved to be muriate of ſoda.

"Its operation upon water offers moſt ſatisfactory evidence of its nature. When thrown upon this fluid, it produces a violent effervescence, with a loud hiſſing noiſe; it combines with the oxygene of the water to form ſoda, which is diſſolved, and its hydrogene is diſengaged. In this operation there is no luminous appearance; and it ſeems probable that even in the naſcent ſtate hydrogene is incapable of combining with it.

"When the baſis of ſoda is thrown into hot water, the decompoſition is more violent, and in this caſe a few ſcintillations are generally obſerved at the ſurface of the fluid; but this is owing to ſmall particles of the baſis, which are thrown out of the water ſufficiently heated, to burn in paſſing through the atmoſphere. When, however, a globule is brought in contact with a ſmall particle of water, or with moiſtened paper, the heat produced (there being no medium to carry it off rapidly) is uſually ſufficient for the accenſion of the baſis.

"The baſis of ſoda acts upon alcohol and ether preciſely in a ſimilar manner with the baſis of potaſh. The water that they contain is decompoſed; ſoda is rapidly formed, and hydrogene diſengaged.

"The baſis of ſoda, when thrown upon the ſtrong acids, acts upon them with great energy. When nitrous acid is employed, a vivid inflammation is produced; with muriatic and ſulphuric acid, there is much heat generated, but no light.

"When plunged, by proper means, beneath the ſurface of the acids, it is rapidly oxygenated; ſoda is produced, and the other educts are ſimilar to thoſe generated by the action of the baſis of potaſh.

"With reſpect to the fixed and volatile oils and naphtha in their different ſtates, there is a perfect coincidence between the effects of the two new ſubſtances, except in the difference of the appearances of the ſaponaceous compounds formed: thoſe produced by the oxydation and combination of the baſis of ſoda being of a darker colour, and apparently leſs ſoluble.

"The baſis of ſoda, in its degrees of oxydation, has preciſely ſimilar habits with the baſis of potaſh.

"When it is fuſed with dry ſoda, in certain quantities, there is a diviſion of oxygene between the alkali and the baſe; and a deep brown fluid is produced, which becomes a dark grey ſolid on cooling, and which attracts oxygene from the air, or which decompoſes water, and becomes ſoda.

"The ſame body is often formed in the analytical proceſſes of decompoſition, and it is generated when the baſis of ſoda is fuſed in tubes of the pureſt plate glaſs.

"There is ſcarcely any difference in the viſible phenomena of the agencies of the baſis of ſoda, and that of potaſh on ſulphur, phoſphorus, and the metals.

"It

"It combines with ſulphur in cloſe veſſels filled with the vapour of naphtha with great vividneſs, with light, heat, and often with exploſion from the vaporization of a portion of ſulphur, and the diſengagement of ſulphuretted hydrogene gas. The ſulphuretted baſis of ſoda is of a deep grey colour.

"The phoſphuret has the appearance of lead, and forms phoſphate of ſoda by expoſure to air, or by combuſtion.

"The baſis of ſoda in the quantity of $\frac{1}{40}$, renders mercury a fixed ſolid of the colour of ſilver, and the combination is attended with a conſiderable degree of heat.

"It makes an alloy with tin, without changing its colour, and it acts upon lead and gold when heated. I have not examined its habitudes with any other metals, but in its ſtate of alloy, it is ſoon converted into ſoda by expoſure to air, or by the action of water, which it decompoſes with the evolution of hydrogene.

"The amalgam of mercury and the baſis of ſoda, ſeems to form triple compounds with other metals. I have tried iron and platina, which I am inclined to believe remain in combination with the mercury, when it is deprived of the new ſubſtance by expoſure to air.

"The amalgam of the baſis of ſoda and mercury likewiſe combines with ſulphur, and forms a triple compound of a dark grey colour.

"VI. *On the Proportions of the peculiar Baſes and Oxygene in Potaſh and Soda.*

"The facility of combuſtion of the baſis of the alkalies, and the readineſs with which they decompoſed water, offered means fully adequate for determining the proportions of their ponderable conſtituent parts.

"I ſhall mention the general methods of the experiments, and the reſults obtained by the different ſeries, which approach as near to each other as can be expected in operations performed on ſuch ſmall quantities of materials.

"For the proceſs in oxygene gas, I employed glaſs tubes containing ſmall trays made of thin leaves of ſilver, or other noble metals, on which the ſubſtance to be burnt, after being accurately weighed or compared with a globule of mercury equal in ſize, was placed: the tube was ſmall at one end, curved, and brought to a fine point, but ſuffered to remain open; and the other end was fitted to a tube communicating with a gazometer, from which the oxygene gas was introduced, for neither water nor mercury could be uſed for filling the apparatus. The oxygene gas was carried through the tube till it was found that the whole of the common air was expelled. The degree of its purity was aſcertained by ſuffering a ſmall quantity to paſs into the mercurial apparatus. The lower orifice was then hermetically ſealed by a ſpirit lamp, and the upper part drawn out and finally cloſed, when the aperture was ſo ſmall, as to render the temperature employed incapable of materially influencing the volume of the gas; and when the whole arrangement was made, the combination was effected by applying heat to the glaſs in contact with the metallic tray.

"In performing theſe experiments many difficulties occurred. When

When the flame of the lamp was immediately brought to play upon the glaſs, the combuſtion was very vivid, ſo as ſometimes to break the tube; and the alkali generated partly roſe in white fumes, which were depoſited upon the glaſs.

"When the temperature was ſlowly raiſed, the baſis of the alkalies acted upon the metallic tray, and formed alloys, and in this ſtate it was very difficult to combine them with their full proportion of oxygene; and glaſs alone could not be employed, on account of its decompoſition by the alkaline baſes; and porcelain is ſo bad a conductor of heat, that it was not poſſible to raiſe it to the point required for the proceſs, without ſoftening the glaſs.

"In all caſes the globules of the alkaline baſes were carefully freed from naphtha before they were introduced; of courſe a ſlight cruſt of alkali was formed before the combuſtion, but this could not materially affect the reſult; and when ſuch a precaution was not uſed, an exploſion generally took place from the vaporization and decompoſition of the film of naphtha ſurrounding the globule.

"After the combuſtion, the abſorption of gas was aſcertained, by opening the lower point of the tube under water or mercury. In ſome caſes the purity of the reſidual air was aſcertained, in others the alkali formed in the tray was weighed.

"From ſeveral experiments on the ſyntheſis of potaſh by combuſtion, I ſhall ſelect two, which were made with every poſſible attention to accuracy, and under favourable circumſtances for a mean reſult.

"In the firſt experiment 0.12 grains of the baſis were employed. The combuſtion was made upon platina, and was rapid and complete; and the baſis appeared to be perfectly ſaturated, as no diſengagement of hydrogene took place when the platina tray was thrown into water. The oxygene gas abſorbed equalled in volume 190 grain meaſures of quickſilver; barometer being at 29.6 inches, thermometer 62° Fahrenheit; and this reduced to a temperature of 60° Fahrenheit, and under a preſſure equal to that indicated by 30 inches, would become 186.67 meaſures, the weight of which would be about .0184 grains troy; but .0184 : .1384 : : 13.29 : 100; and according to this eſtimation 100 parts of potaſh will conſiſt of 86.7 baſis, and 18.3 oxygene nearly.

"In the ſecond experiment .07 grains of the baſis abſorbed at temperature 63° Fahrenheit, and under preſſure equal to 30.1 barometer inches, a quantity of oxygene equal in volume to 121 grain meaſures of mercury, and the proper corrections being made, as in the former caſe, this gas would weigh .01189 grains.

"But as .7 + .01189 = .08189 : 07 : : 100 : 85.48 nearly, and 100 parts of potaſh will conſiſt of 85.5 of baſis and 14.5 of oxygene nearly. And the mean of the two experiments will be 86.1 of baſis to 13.9 of oxygene for 100 parts.

"In the moſt accurate experiment that I made on the combuſtion of the baſis of ſoda .08 parts of the baſis abſorbed a quantity of oxygene equal to 206 grain meaſures of mercury; the thermometer being at 56° Fahrenheit; and the barometer at 29.4; and this quantity, the corrections being made as before

before for the mean temperature and preſſure, equals .02 grains of oxygene.

" And as .08 + .02 = .10 : .08, : : 100 : 80, and 100 parts of ſoda, according to this eſtimation, will conſiſt of 80 baſis to 20 of oxygene.

In all caſes of ſlow combuſtion, in which the alkalies were not carried out of the tray, I found a conſiderable increaſe of weight, but as it was impoſſible to weigh them except in the atmoſphere, the moiſture attracted rendered the reſults doubtful; and the proportions from the weight of the oxygene abſorbed are more to be depended on. In the experiments in which the proceſſes of weighing were moſt ſpeedily performed, and in which no alkali adhered to the tube, the baſis of potaſh gained nearly 2 parts for 10, and that of ſoda between 3 and 4 parts.

" The reſults of the decompoſition of water by the baſis of the alkalies were much more readily and perfectly obtained than thoſe of their combuſtion.

" To check the rapidity of the proceſs, and, in the caſe of potaſh, to prevent any of the baſis from being diſſolved, I employed the amalgams with mercury, uſed a known weight of the baſis, and made the amalgams under naphtha, uſing about two parts of mercury in volume to one of baſis.

" In the firſt inſtances I placed the amalgams under tubes filled with naphtha, and inverted in glaſſes of naphtha, and ſlowly admitted water to the amalgam at the bottom of the glaſs; but this precaution I ſoon found unneceſſary, for the action of the water was not ſo intenſe but that the hydrogene gas could be wholly collected.

" I ſhall give an account of the moſt accurate experiments made on the decompoſition of water by the baſis of potaſh and ſoda.

" In an experiment on the baſis of potaſh conducted with every attention that I could pay to the minutiæ of the operations, hydrogene gas, equal in volume to 298 grains of mercury, were diſengaged by the action of .08 grains of the baſis of potaſh which had been amalgamated with about 3 grains of mercury. The thermometer at the end of the proceſs indicated a temperature of 56° Fahrenheit, and the barometer an atmoſpheric preſſure equal to 29.6 inches.

" Now this quantity of hydrogene would require for its combuſtion a volume of oxygene gas about equal to that occupied by 154.9 grains of mercury, which gives the weight of oxygene required to ſaturate the .08 grains of the baſis of potaſh at the mean temperature and preſſure nearly .0151 grains. And .08 + .0151 = .0951 : .08 : : 100 : 84.1 nearly.

" And according to theſe indications 100 parts of potaſh conſiſt of about 84 baſis and 16 oxygene.

" In an experiment on the decompoſition of water by the baſis of ſoda, the mercury in the barometer ſtanding at 30.4 inches, and in the thermometer at 52° Fahrenheit, the volume of hydrogene gas evolved by the action of .54 grains of baſis equalled that of 326 grains of quickſilver. Now this at the mean temperature and preſſure would require for its converſion into water, .0172 of oxygene, and .054 + .0172 = .0712 : .054 : : 100 :

100 : 76 nearly; and according to these indications, 100 parts of soda consist of nearly 76 basis, and 24 oxygene.

"In another experiment made with very great care, .052 of the basis of soda were used; the mercury, in the barometer was at 29.9 inches, and that in the thermometer at 58° Fahrenheit. The volume of hydrogene evolved was equal to that of 302 grains of mercury; which would demand for its saturation by combustion, at the mean temperature and pressure .01549 grains of oxygene; and 100 parts of soda, according to this proportion, would consist nearly of 77 basis, and 23 oxygene.

"The experiments which have been just detailed, are those in which the largest quantities of materials were employed; I have compared their results, however, with the results of several others, in which the decomposition of water was performed with great care, but in which the proportion of the basis was still more minute: the largest quantity of oxygene indicated by these experiments was, for potash 17, and for soda 26 parts in 100, and the smallest 13, and 19; and comparing all the estimations, it will probably be a good approximation to the truth, to consider potash as composed of about 6 parts basis and 1 of oxygene; and soda, as consisting of 7 basis and 2 oxygene.

"VII. *Some general Observations on the Relations of the Basis of Potash and Soda to other Bodies.*

"Should the basis of potash and soda be called metals? The greater number of philosophical persons to whom this question has been put, have answered in the affirmative. They agree with metals in opacity, lustre, malleability, conducting powers as to heat and electricity, and in their qualities of chemical combination.

"Their low specific gravity does not appear a sufficient reason for making them a new class; for amongst the metals themselves there are remarkable differences in this respect, platina being nearly four times as heavy as tellurium; and in the philosophical division of the classes of bodies, the analogy between the greater number of properties must always be the foundation of arrangement.

"On this idea, in naming the basis of potash and soda, it will be proper to adopt the termination which, by common consent, has been applied to other newly-discovered metals, and which, though originally Latin, is now naturalized in our language.

"Potasium and Sodium are the names by which I have ventured to call the two new substances: and whatever changes of theory, with regard to the composition of bodies, may hereafter take place, these terms can scarcely express an error; for they may be considered as implying simply the metals produced from potash and soda. I have consulted with many of the most eminent scientific persons in this country, upon the methods of derivation, and the one I have adopted has been the one most generally approved. It is perhaps more significant than elegant. But it was not possible to found names upon specific properties not common to both; and though a name for the basis of soda might have been borrowed from the Greek, yet an analogous one could not

not have been applied to that of potaſh, for the ancients do not ſeem to have diſtinguiſhed between the two alkalies.

" The more caution is neceſſary in avoiding any theoretical expreſſion in the terms, becauſe the new electro-chemical phenomena that are daily becoming diſcloſed, ſeem diſtinctly to ſhew that the mature time for a complete generalization of chemical facts is yet far diſtant; and though, in the explanations of the various reſults of experiments that have been detailed, the antiphlogiſtic ſolution of the phenomena has been uniformly adopted, yet the motive for employing it has been rather a ſenſe of its beauty and preciſion, than a conviction of its permanency and truth.

" The diſcovery of the agencies of the gaſſes deſtroyed the hypotheſis of Stahl. The knowledge of the powers and effects of the etherial ſubſtances may at a future time poſſibly act a ſimilar part with regard to the more refined and ingenious hypotheſis of Lavoiſier; but in the preſent ſtate of our knowledge, it appears the beſt approximation that has been made to a perfect logic of chemiſtry.

" Whatever future changes may take place in theory, there ſeems, however, every reaſon to believe that the metallic baſis of the alkalies, and the common metals, will ſtand in the ſame arrangement of ſubſtances; and as yet we have no good reaſons for aſſuming the compound nature of this claſs of bodies.

" The experiments in which it is ſaid that alkalies, metallic oxides, and earths, may be formed from air and water alone, in proceſſes of vegetation, have been always made in an inconcluſive manner; for diſtilled water, as I have endeavoured to ſhow, may contain both ſaline and metallic impregnations; and the free atmoſphere almoſt conſtantly holds in mechanical ſuſpenſion ſolid ſubſtances of various kinds.

" In the common proceſſes of nature, all the products of living beings may be eaſily conceived to be elicited from known combinations of matter. The compounds of iron, of the alkalies, and earth, with mineral acids, generally abound in ſoils. From the decompoſition of baſaltic, porphyritic, and granitic rocks, there is a conſtant ſupply of earthy, alkaline, and ferruginous materials to the ſurface of the earth. In the ſap of all plants that have been examined, certain neutro-ſaline compounds, containing potaſh, or ſoda, or iron, have been found. From plants they may be ſupplied to animals; and the chemical tendency of organization ſeems to be rather to combine ſubſtances into more complicated and diverſified arrangements, than to reduce them into ſimple elements.

" VIII. *On the Nature of Ammonia and Alkaline Bodies in general; with Obſervations on ſome Proſpects of Diſcovery offered by the preceding Facts.*

" Ammonia is a ſubſtance, the chemical compoſition of which has always been conſidered of late years as moſt perfectly aſcertained, and the apparent converſion of it into hydrogene and nitrogene, in the experiments of Scheele, Prieſtley, and the more refined and accurate

curate experiments of Berthollet, had left no doubt of its nature in the minds of the moſt enlightened chemiſts.

" All new facts muſt be accompanied, however, by a train of analogies, and often by ſuſpicions with regard to the accuracy of former concluſions. As the two fixed alkalies contain a ſmall quantity of oxygene united to peculiar baſes, may not the volatile alkali likewiſe contain it? was a query which ſoon occurred to me in the courſe of inquiry; and in peruſing the accounts of the various experiments made on the ſubject, ſome of which I had carefully repeated, I ſaw no reaſon to conſider the circumſtance as impoſſible. For, ſuppoſing hydrogene and nitrogene to exiſt in combination with oxygene in low proportion, this laſt principle might eaſily diſappear in the analytical experiments of decompoſition by heat and electricity, in water depoſited upon the veſſels employed or diſſolved in the gaſſes produced.

" Of the exiſtence of oxygene in volatile alkali I ſoon ſatisfied myſelf. When charcoal carefully burnt and freed from moiſture was ignited by the Voltaic battery of the power of 250 of 6 and 4 inches ſquare, in a ſmall quantity of very pure ammoniacal gas, a great expanſion of the æriform matter took place, and a white ſubſtance formed, which collected on the ſides of the glaſs tube employed in the proceſs; and this matter, expoſed to the action of diluted muriatic acid, effervеſced, ſo that it was probably carbonate of ammonia.

" A proceſs of another kind offered ſtill more deciſive reſults. In this the two mercurial gazometers, of the invention of Mr. Pepys, deſcribed in No. XIV. of the Phil. Tranſ. for 1807, were uſed with the ſame apparatus, as that employed by Meſſrs. Allen and Pepys, for the combuſtion of the diamond, and theſe gentlemen kindly aſſiſted in the experiment.

" Very pure ammoniacal gas was paſſed over iron wire ignited in a platina tube, and two curved glaſs tubes were ſo arranged as to be inſerted into a freezing mixture; and through one of theſe tubes the gas entered into the platina tube, and through the other, it paſſed from the platina tube into the air-holder arranged for its reception.

" The temperature of the atmoſphere was 55°; but it was obſerved that no ſenſible quantity of water was depoſited in the cooled glaſs tube tranſmitting the unaltered ammonia; but in that receiving it after its expoſure to heat, moiſture was very diſtinct, and the gas appeared in the air-holder denſely clouded.

" This circumſtance ſeems diſtinctly to prove the formation of water in this operation for the decompoſition of ammonia; unleſs indeed it be aſſerted that the hydrogene and nitrogene gaſſes evolved hold leſs water in ſolution or ſuſpenſion than the ammonia decompoſed, an idea ſtrongly oppoſed by the concluſions of Mr. Dalton, and the experiments of Mrs. Deformes and Clement.

" After the gas had been paſſed ſeveral times through the ignited tube from one gazometer to the other, the reſults were examined. The iron wire became converted ſuperficially into oxide, and had gained in weight $\frac{44}{100}$ parts of a grain;

grain; about $\frac{4}{10}$ of a grain of water were collected from the cooled glass tubes by means of filtering paper, and 33.8 cubic inches of gas were expanded into 55.3 cubic inches, and by detonation with oxygene it was found that the hydrogen gas in these was to the nitrogene as 3.2 to 1 in volume.

"It will be useless to enter into the more minute details of this experiment, as no perfectly accurate data for proportions can be gained from them; for the whole of the ammonia was not decomposed; and as the gas had been prepared by being sent from a heated mixture of sal ammoniac and quick lime, into the air-holder, it was possible that some solution of ammonia might have been deposited, which, by giving out new gas during the operation, would increase the absolute quantity of the material acted upon.

"In examining the results of M. Berthollet's elaborate experiments on the decomposition of ammonia by electricity, I was surprised to find that the weight of the hydrogene and nitrogene produced, rather exceeded than fell short of that of the ammonia considered as decomposed, which was evidently contradictory to the idea of its containing oxygene. This circumstance, as well as the want of coincidence between the results and those of Priestley and Van Marum on the same subject, induced me to repeat the process of the electrization of ammonia, and I soon found that the quantities of the products, in their relations to the apparent quantity of gas destroyed, were influenced by many different causes.

"Ammonia, procured over dry mercury from a mixture of dry lime and muriate of ammonia, I found deposited moisture upon the sides of the vessel in which it was collected; and in passing the gas into the tube for electrization, it was not easy to avoid introducing some of this moisture, which must have been a saturated solution of ammonia, at the same time.

"In my first trials made upon gas, passed immediately from the vessel in which it had been collected into the apparatus, I found the expansion of 1 of ammonia vary in different instances from 2.8 to 2.2 measures, but the proportions of the nitrogene and hydrogene appeared uniform, as determined by detonation of the mixed gas with oxygene, and nearly as 1 to 3 in volume.

"To exclude free moisture entirely, I carefully prepared ammonia in a mercurial air-holder, and after it had been some hours at rest, passed a quantity of it into the tube for decomposition, which had been filled with dry mercury. In this case 50 parts became 103 parts by electrization, and there was still reason to suspect sources of error.

"I had used iron wires not perfectly free from rust, for taking the spark, and a black film from the mercury appeared on the sides of the tube. It was probable that some ammonia had been absorbed by the metallic oxides both upon the iron and the mercury, which might again have been given out in the progress of the operation.

"I now used recently distilled mercury, which did not leave the slightest film on the glass tube, and wires of platina. The ammonia had been exposed to dry caustic potash,

potash, and proved to be equally pure with that mentioned in page 36. 60 measures of it, each equal to a grain of water, were electrized till no farther expansion could be produced; the gas filled a space equal to that occupied by 108 grains of water. The thermometer in this experiment was at 56°, and the barometer at 30.1 inches. The wire of platina transmitting the spark was slightly tarnished. The 108 measures of gas carefully analyzed, were found to consist of 80 measures in volume of hydrogene, and 28 measures of nitrogene.

"The results of an experiment that I made in 1799, give the weight of 100 cubic inches of ammonia, as 18.18 grains at the mean temperature and pressure. I had reasons, however, for suspecting that this estimation might be somewhat too low, and on mentioning the circumstance to Messrs. Allen and Pepys, they kindly undertook the examination of the subject, and Mr. Allen soon furnished me with the following data. 'In the first experiment 21 cubic inches of ammonia weighed 4.05 grains; in a second experiment, the same quantity weighed 4.06 grains, barometer 30.65. thermometer 54° Fahrenheit.'

"Now, if the corrections for temperature and pressure be made for these estimations, and a mean taken, 100 cubic inches of ammonia will weigh 18.67 grains, barometer being at 30, and the thermometer at 60° Fahrenheit; and if the quantity used in the experiment of decomposition be calculated upon as cubic inches, 60 will weigh 11.2 grains. But the hydrogene gas evolved equal to 80 will weigh 1.93 grains, and the nitrogene equal to 28, 8.3. And 11.2 grains, — 1.9 + 8.3 = 10.2 and 11.2 — 10.2 = 1, all the estimations being made according to the standard temperature and pressure.

"So that in this experiment on the decomposition of ammonia, the weight of the gasses evolved is less by nearly $\frac{1}{11}$ than that of the ammonia employed; and this loss can only be ascribed to the existence of oxygene in the alkali; part of which probably combined with the platina wires employed for electrization, and part with hydrogene.

"After these ideas the oxygene in ammonia cannot well be estimated at less than 7 or eight parts in the hundred; and it possibly exists in a larger proportion, as the gasses evolved may contain more water than the gas decomposed, which of course would increase their volume and their absolute weight.

"In supposing ammonia a triple compound of nitrogene, hydrogene, and oxygene, it is no less easy to give a rational account of the phenomena of its production and decomposition, than in adopting the generally received hypothesis of its composition.

"Oxygene, hydrogene, and nitrogene, are always present in cases in which volatile alkali is formed; and it usually appears during the decomposition of bodies in which oxygene is loosely attached, as in that of the compounds of oxygene and nitrogene dissolved in water.

"At common temperatures, under favourable circumstances, the three elements may be conceived capable of combining and of remaining in union: but at the heat of ignition the affinity of hydrogene

for oxygene prevails over the complex attraction, water is formed, and hydrogene and nitrogene are evolved; and according to these concluſions, ammonia will bear the ſame relations to the fixed alkalies, as the vegetable acids with compound baſes do to the mineral ones with ſimple baſes.

"Oxygene then may be conſidered as exiſting in, and as forming an element in all the true alkalies; and the principle of acidity of the French nomenclature, might now likewiſe be called the principle of alkaleſcence.

"From analogy alone it is reaſonable to expect that the alkaline earths are compounds of a ſimilar nature to the fixed alkalies, peculiar highly combuſtible metallic baſes united to oxygene. I have tried ſome experiments upon barytes and ſtrontites; and they go far towards proving that this muſt be the caſe. When barytes and ſtrontites, moiſtened with water, were acted upon by the power of the battery of 250 of 4 and 6, there was a vivid action and a brilliant light at both points of communication, and an inflammation at the negative point. In theſe caſes the water might poſſibly have interfered. Other experiments gave, however, more diſtinct reſults.

"Barytes and ſtrontites, even when heated to intenſe whiteneſs, in the electrical circuit, by a flame ſupported by oxygene gas, are non-conductors; but by means of combination with a very ſmall quantity of boracic acid, they become conductors; and in this caſe inflammable matter which burns with a deep red light in each inſtance, is produced from them at the negative ſurface. The high temperature has prevented the ſucceſs of attempts to collect this ſubſtance; but there is much reaſon to believe that it is the baſis of the alkaline earth employed.

"Barytes and ſtrontites have the ſtrongeſt relations to the fixed alkalies of any of the earthy bodies; but there is a chain of reſemblances, through lime, magneſia, glucina, alumina, and ſilex. And by the agencies of batteries ſufficiently ſtrong, and by the application of proper circumſtances, there is no ſmall reaſon to hope, that even theſe refractory bodies will yield their elements to the methods of analyſis by electrical attraction and repulſion.

"In the electrical circuit we have a regular ſeries of powers, of decompoſition, from intenſity of action ſo feeble as ſcarcely to deſtroy the weakeſt affinity exiſting between the parts of a ſaline neutral compound, to one ſufficiently energetic to ſeparate elements in the ſtrongeſt degree of union, in bodies undecompoſable under other circumſtances.

"When the powers are feeble, acids and alkalies, and acids and metallic oxides, merely ſeparate from each other; when they are increaſed to a certain degree, the common metallic oxides, and the compound acids are decompoſed; and by means ſtill more exalted, the alkalies yield their elements. And as far as our knowledge of the compoſition of bodies extends, all ſubſtances attracted by poſitive electricity, are oxygene, or ſuch as containe oxygene in exceſs; and all that are attracted by negative electricity, are pure combuſtibles, or ſuch as conſiſt chiefly of combuſtible matter.

"The

"The idea of muriatic acid, fluoric acid, and boracic acid containing oxygene, is highly strengthened by these facts. And the general principle confirms the conjecture just stated concerning the nature of the earths.

"In the electrization of boracic acid moistened with water, I find that a dark-coloured combustible matter is evolved at the negative surface; but the researches upon the alkalies have prevented me from pursuing this fact, which seems, however to indicate a decomposition.

"Muriatic acid and fluoric acid in their gaseous states are non-conductors: and as there is every reason to believe that their bases have a stronger attraction for oxygene than water, there can be little hope of decomposing them in their aqueous solutions, even by the highest powers. In the electrization of some of their combinations there is, however, a probability of success.

"An immense variety of objects of research is presented in the powers and affinities of the new metals produced from the alkalies.

"In themselves they will undoubtedly prove powerful agents for analysis; and having an affinity for oxygene stronger than any other known substances, they may possibly supersede the application of electricity to some of the undecompounded bodies.

"The basis of potash I find oxidates in carbonic acid and decomposes it, and produces charcoal when heated in contact with carbonate of lime. It likewise oxidates in muriatic acids; but I have had no opportunity of making the experiment with sufficient precision to ascertain the results.

"In sciences kindred to chemistry, the knowledge of the nature of the alkalies, and the analogies arising in consequence, will open many new views; they may lead to the solution of many problems in geology, and shew that agents may have operated in the formation of rocks and earths which have not hitherto been suspected to exist.

"It would be easy to pursue the speculative part of this inquiry to a great extent, but I shall refrain from so occupying the time of the Society, as the tenour of my object in this lecture has not been to state hypothesis, but to bring forward a new series of facts."

On the Formation of the Bark of Trees. In a Letter from T. A. Knight, Esq. F. R. S. to the Right Honourable Sir Joseph Banks, K. B. P. R. S. &c.

(From the Philosophical Transactions for 1807.*)*

"My dear Sir,

"An extraordinary diversity of opinion appears to have prevailed among naturalists, respecting the production and subsequent state of the bark of trees.

"According to the theory of Malpighi, the cortical substance, which is annually generated, derives its origin from the older bark; and the interior part of this new substance is annually transmuted into alburnum or sap wood; whilst the exterior part, becoming dry and lifeless, forms the exterior covering or cortex.

"The opinions of Grew do not

appear to differ much from thoſe of Malpighi; but he conceives the interior bark to conſiſt of two diſtinct ſubſtances, one of which becomes alburnum, whilſt the other remains in the ſtate of bark: he, however, ſuppoſes the inſertments in the wood, the "utriculi" of Malpighi, and the "tiſſu cellulaire" of Duhamel, to have originally exiſted in the bark.

"Hales, on the contrary, contends that the bark derives its exiſtence from the alburnum, and that it does not undergo any ſubſequent transformation.

"The diſcoveries of Duhamel have thrown much light on the ſubject; but his experiments do not afford any concluſive reſult, and ſome of them may be adduced in ſupport of either of the preceding hypotheſes: and a modern writer (Mirbel *) has endeavoured to combine and reconcile, in ſome degree, the apparently diſcordant theories of Malpighi and Hales. He contends with Hales, that the alburnum gives exiſtence to the new layer of bark; but that this bark ſubſequently changes into alburnum, though not preciſely in the manner deſcribed by Malpighi.

"So much difference of opinion, amongſt men ſo capable of obſerving, ſufficiently evinces the difficulty of the ſubject they endeavoured to inveſtigate: and in a courſe of experiments, which has occupied more than twenty years, I have ſcarcely felt myſelf prepared, till the preſent time, even to give an opinion reſpecting the manner in which the cortical ſubſtance is generated in the ordinary courſe of its growth; or reproduced, when that, which previouſly exiſted, has been taken off.

"Duhamel has ſhown, that the bark of ſome ſpecies of trees is readily reproduced, when the decorticated ſurface of the alburnum is ſecluded from the air; and I have repeated ſimilar experiments on the apple, the ſycamore, and other trees, with the ſame reſult; I have alſo often obſerved a ſimilar reproduction of bark on the ſurface of the alburnum of the *wych elm* (ulmus montana) *in ſhady ſituations*, when no covering whatever was applied. A glareous fluid, as Duhamel has ſtated, exudes from the ſurface of the alburnum: this fluid appears to change into a pulpous unorganized maſs, which ſubſequently becomes organized and cellular; and the matter, which enters into the compoſition of this cellular ſubſtance, is evidently derived from the alburnum.

"Theſe facts are therefore extremely favourable to the theory of Hales; but other facts may be adduced, which are ſcarcely conſiſtent with that theory.

"The internal ſurface of pieces of bark, when detached from contact with the alburnum, provided they remain united to the tree at their upper ends, much more readily generate a new bark, than the alburnum does under ſimilar circumſtances: a ſimilar fluid exudes from the ſurfaces of both, and the ſame phenomena are obſervable in both caſes. The cellular ſubſtance, however, which is thus generated, though it preſents every external appearance of a perfect bark, is internally very imperfectly organized; and the veſſels which

"* Traité d'Anatomie et de Phyſiologie végétale."

contain

contain the true ſap in the bark are ſtill wanting; and I have found that theſe may be made, by appropriate management, to traverſe the new cellular ſubſtance in almoſt any direction. When I cut off all communication above, and on one ſide, between the old bark and that ſubſtance, I obſerved, that the veſſels proceeded acroſs it, from the old bark on the other ſide, taking always in a greater or leſs degree an inclination downwards; and when the cellular ſubſtance remained united to the bark at its upper end only, the veſſels deſcended nearly perpendicularly down it; but they did not readily *aſcend* into it, *when it was connected with the bark at its lower extremity only*; the reſult of ſimilar experiments, when made on different ſpecies of trees, was however ſubject to ſome variations.

"Pieces of bark of the walnut-tree, which were two inches broad and four long, having been detached from contact with the alburnum, except at their upper ends, and covered with a plaſter compoſed of bees-wax and turpentine, in ſome inſtances, and with clay only in others, readily generated the cellular ſubſtance of a new bark; and between that and the old detached bark, very nearly as much alburnum was depoſited as in other parts of the tree, where the bark retained its natural poſition; which, I think, affords very deciſive evidence of the deſcent of the ſap through the bark. Similar pieces of bark, under the ſame mode of treatment, but united to the tree at their lower ends only, did not long remain alive, except at their lower extremities; and there a very little alburnum only was generated. Other pieces of bark of the ſame dimenſions, which were laterally united to the tree, continued alive almoſt to their extremities: and a conſiderable portion of alburnum was generated, particularly near their lower edges; the ſap appearing in its paſſage acroſs the bark to have been given a conſiderable inclination downwards: probably owing to an arrangement in the organization of the bark, that I have noticed in a former memoir*, which renders it better calculated to tranſmit the ſap towards the roots than in any other direction.

"I have in very few inſtances been able to make the walnut-tree reproduce its bark from the alburnum, though under the ſame management I rarely failed to ſucceed with the ſycamore and apple-tree. Pieces of the bark of the apple-tree will alſo live, and generate a ſmall portion of alburnum, though only attached to the tree at their lower extremities; probably owing to a ſmall part of the true ſap being carried upwards by capillary attraction, when the proper action of the cortical veſſels is neceſſarily ſuſpended.

"The preceding experiments, and the authority of Duhamel, having perfectly ſatisfied me, that both the alburnum and the bark of trees are capable of generating a new bark, or at leaſt of tranſmitting a fluid capable of generating a cellular ſubſtance, to which the bark in its more perfectly organized ſtate owes its exiſtence, my attention was directed to diſ-

"* Philoſophical Tranſactions of 1804."

cover

cover the ſources from which this fluid is derived. Both the bark and the alburnum of trees are compoſed principally of two ſubſtances; one of which conſiſts of long tubes, and the other is cellular; and the cellular ſubſtance of the bark is in contact with the ſimilar ſubſtance in the alburnum, and through theſe I have long ſuſpected the true ſap to paſs from the veſſels of the bark to thoſe of the alburnum *. The intricate mixture of the cellular and vaſcular ſubſtances long baffled my endeavours to diſcover from which of them, in the preceding caſes, the ſap, and conſequently the new bark, proceeded; but I was ultimately ſucceſsful.

"The cellular ſubſtance, both in the alburnum and bark of old pollard oaks, often exiſts in maſſes of near a line in width, and this organization was peculiarly favourable to my purpoſe. I therefore repeated on the trunks of trees of this kind experiments ſimilar to thoſe above-mentioned, which were made on the walnut-tree.

"Apparently owing to the ſmall quantity of ſap, which the old pollard trees contained, their bark was very imperfectly reproduced; but I obſerved a fluid to ooze from the cellular ſubſtance, both of the bark and alburnum; and on the ſurface of theſe ſubſtances alone, in many inſtances, the new bark was reproduced in ſmall detached pieces.

"I have endeavoured to prove, in former communications †, that the true ſap of trees acquires thoſe properties which diſtinguiſh it from the fluid recently abſorbed, by circulating through the leaf; and that it deſcends down the bark, where part of it is employed in generating the new ſubſtances annually added to the tree; and that the remainder, not thus expended, paſſes into the alburnum, and there joins the aſcending current of ſap. The cellular ſubſtance, both of the bark and alburnum, has been proved, in the preceding experiments, to be capable of affording the ſap a paſſage through it; and therefore it appears not very improbable, that it executes an office ſimilar to that of the anaſtomoſing veſſels of the animal economy, when the cellular ſurfaces of the bark and alburnum are in contact with each other; and, when detached, it may be inferred, that the paſſing fluid will exude from both ſurfaces: becauſe almoſt all the veſſels of trees appear to be capable of an inverted action in giving motion to the fluids which they carry.

"As the power of generating a new bark appeared in the preceding caſes to exiſt alike in the ſap of the bark and of the alburnum, I was anxious to diſcover how far the fluid, which aſcends through the central veſſels of the ſucculent annual ſhoot, is endued with ſimilar powers. Having therefore made two circular inciſions through the bark, round the ſtems of ſeveral annual ſhoots of the vine, as early in the ſummer as the alburnum within them had acquired ſufficient maturity to perform its office of carrying up the ſap, I took off the bark between theſe inciſions; and I abraded the ſurface of the alburnum to prevent a reproduction of it. The alburnum

"* Phil. Tranſ. 1805, p. 14."

"† Phil. Trans. 1801, 1805, and 1806."

in

in the decorticated ſpaces ſoon became externally dry and lifeleſs; and ſeveral inciſions were then made longitudinally through it. The inciſions commenced a little above, and extended below the decorticated ſpaces, ſo that if the ſap of the central veſſels generated a cellular ſubſtance (as I concluded it would), that ſubſtance might come into contact and form a union with the ſubſtance of the ſame kind emitted by the bark above and below.

"The experiment ſucceeded perfectly, and the cellular ſubſtances generated by the central veſſels, and the bark, ſoon united, and a perfect vaſcular bark was ſubſequently formed beneath the alburnum, and appeared perfectly to execute the office of that which had been taken off; the medulla appeared to be wholly inactive.

"I have already obſerved, that the veſſels, which were generated in the cellular ſubſtance on the ſurface of the alburnum of the ſycamore and the apple-tree, traverſed that ſubſtance in almoſt every direction; and the ſame thing appears to occur beneath the old bark, when united to the alburnum. For having attentively examined, through every part of the ſpring and ſummer, the formation of the internal bark, and alburnous layer beneath it, round the baſes of regenerated buds, which I had made to ſpring from ſmooth ſpaces on the roots and ſtems of trees, I found every appearance perfectly conſiſtent with the preceding obſervations. A ſingle ſhoot only was ſuffered to ſpring from each root and ſtem, and from the baſe of this, in every inſtance, the cortical veſſels diſperſed themſelves in different directions. Some deſcended perpendicularly downwards, whilſt others diverged on each ſide, round the alburnum, with more or leſs inclination downwards, and met on the oppoſite ſide of it. The ſame pulpous and cellular ſubſtance appeared to cover the ſurfaces of the bark and alburnum, when in contact with each other, as when detached; and through this ſubſtance the ramifications of the veſſels of the new bark extended themſelves, appearing to receive their direction from the fluid ſap, which deſcended from the bark of the young ſhoots, and not to be, in any degree, influenced in their courſe by the direction taken by the cortical and alburnous veſſels of the preceding year.

"Whenever the veſſels of the bark, which proceeded from different points, met each other, an interwoven texture was produced, and the alburnum beneath acquired a ſimilar organization; and the ſame thing occurs, and is productive of very important effects, in the ordinary courſe of the growth of trees. The bark of the principal ſtem, and of every lateral branch, contains very numerous veſſels, which are charged with the deſcending true ſap; and at the juncture of the lateral branch with the ſtem, theſe veſſels meet each other. A kind of pedeſtal of alburnum, the texture of which is much interwoven, is in conſequence formed round the baſe of the lateral branch; which thus becomes firmly united to the tree. This pedeſtal, though apparently a part of the branch, derives a large portion of the matter, annually added to it, from the cortical veſſels of the principal ſtem; and thence, in the event

event of the death of the lateral branch, it always continues to live. But it not unfrequently happens, that a lateral branch forms a very acute angle with the principal ſtem, and, in this caſe, the bark between them becomes compreſſed and inactive; no pedeſtal is in conſequence formed, and the attachment of ſuch a branch to the ſtem becomes extremely feeble and inſecure *. Inſtead of the reproduced buds of the preceding experiment, buds were inſerted in the foregoing ſummer, or attached by grafting in the ſpring; and, when theſe ſucceeded, though they were in many inſtances taken from trees of different ſpecies, and even of different genera, no ſenſible difference exiſted in the veſſels, which appeared to diverge into the bark of the ſtock, from theſe buds and from thoſe reproduced in the preceding experiments.

"It appears, therefore, probable, that a pulpous organizable maſs firſt derives its matter either from the bark, or the alburnum; and that this matter ſubſequently forms the new layer of bark; for, if the veſſels had proceeded, as radicles †, from the inſerted buds or grafts, ſuch veſſels would have been in ſome degree different from the natural veſſels of the bark of the ſtocks; and it does not appear probable, even without referring to the preceding facts, that veſſels ſhould be extended, in a few days, by parts ſucceſſively added to their extremities, from the leaves to the extremities of the roots; which are, in many inſtances, more than two hundred feet diſtant from each other. I am, therefore, inclined to believe, that, as the preceding facts ſeem to indicate, the matter, which compoſes the new bark, acquires an organization calculated to tranſmit the true ſap towards the roots, as that fluid progreſſively deſcends from the leaves in the ſpring; but whether the matter, which enters into the compoſition of the new bark, be derived from the bark or the alburnum, in the ordinary courſe of the growth of the tree, it will be extremely difficult to aſcertain.

"It is, however, no difficult taſk to prove, that the bark does not, in all caſes, ſpring from the alburnum; for many caſes may be adduced, in which it is always generated previouſly to the exiſtence of the alburnum beneath it; but none, I believe, in which the external ſurface of the alburnum exiſts previouſly to the bark in contact with it, except when the cortical ſubſtance has been taken off, as in the preceding experiments. In the radicle of germinating ſeeds, the cortical veſſels elongate, and new portions of bark are ſucceſ-

* "The advantages which may be obtained by pruning timber-trees judiciouſly, appear to be very little known. I have endeavoured to aſcertain the practicability of giving to trees ſuch forms as will render their timber more advantageouſly convertible to naval or other purpoſes. The ſucceſs of the experiments, on ſmall trees, has been complete, and the reſults perfectly conſiſtent, in every caſe, with the theory I have endeavoured to ſupport in former memoirs; and I am confident, that, by appropriate management, the trunks and branches of growing trees may be moulded into the various forms beſt adapted to the uſe of the ſhip-builder; and that the growth of the trees may at the ſame time be rendered conſiderably more rapid, without any expenſe or temporary loſs to the proprietor."

"† Darwin's Phytologia."

ſively

ſively added to their points, many days before any alburnous ſubſtance is generated in them; and in the ſucculent annual ſhoot the formation of the bark long precedes that of the alburnum. In the radicle the ſap appears alſo evidently to deſcend * through the cortical veſſels †, and in the ſucculent annual ſhoot it as evidently paſſes up through the central veſſels ‡, which ſurround the medulla. In both caſes a cellular ſubſtance, ſimilar to that which was generated in the preceding experiments, is firſt formed, and this cellular ſubſtance in the ſame manner ſubſequently becomes vaſcular; whence it appears, that the true ſap, or blood of the plant, produces ſimilar effects, and paſſes through ſimilar ſtages of organization, when it flows from different ſources, and that the power of generating a new bark, properly ſpeaking, belongs neither to the bark nor alburnum, but to a fluid, which pervades alike the veſſels of both. I ſhall, therefore, not attempt to decide on the merits of the theory of Malpighi, or of Hales, reſpecting the reproduction of the interior bark; but I cannot by any means admit the hypotheſis of Malpighi and other naturaliſts, relative to the transmutation of bark into alburnum; and I propoſe to ſtate my reaſons for rejecting that hypotheſis, in the next communication I have the honour to addreſs to you.

I am, my dear Sir,

Your moſt obliged obedient Servant,

T. A. KNIGHT."

Elton, Dec. 1806.

On the Inconvertibility of Bark into Alburnum. By Thomas Andrew Knight, Eſq. F. R. S. In a Letter to Sir Joſeph Banks, K.B. P.R.S.

From the Philoſophical Tranſactions (for 1808, *Part I.)*

" My dear Sir,

" In a letter which I had the honour to addreſs to you in the end of laſt year §, I endeavoured to prove, that the matter which compoſes the bark of trees, previouſly exiſts in the cells both of their bark and alburnum in a fluid ſtate; and that this fluid, even when extravaſated, is capable of changing into a pulpous and cellular, and ultimately a vaſcular ſubſtance; the direction taken by the veſſels being apparently dependant on the courſe, which the deſcending fluid ſap is made to take ‖. The object of the preſent Memoir is to prove, that

" * Phil. Tranſ. 1805 and 1806."

" † I wiſh it to be underſtood, that I exclude, in theſe remarks, and in thoſe contained in my former Memoirs, all trees of the palm kind, with the organization of which I am almoſt wholly unacquainted."

" ‡ Phil. Tranſ. 1805. Mirbel has called the tubes, which I call the central veſſels, the " tiſſu tubulaire" of the medulla."

" § Phil. Tranſ. 1807."

" ‖ I had obſerved this circumſtance in many ſucceſſive ſeaſons; but I was not by any means prepared to believe, that ſuch an arrangement could take place in the coagulum

that the bark thus formed always remains in the ſtate of bark, and that no part of it is ever tranſmuted into alburnum, as many very eminent naturaliſts have believed.

"Having procured, by graſting, ſeveral trees of a variety of the apple and crab-tree, the woods of which were diſtinguiſhable from each other by their colour, I took off, early in the ſpring, portions of bark of equal length, from branches of equal ſize, and I tranſpoſed theſe pieces of bark, encloſing a part of the ſtem of the apple-tree with a covering of the bark of the crab-tree, which extended quite round it, and applying the bark of the apple-tree to the ſtem of the crab-tree in the ſame manner. Bandages were then applied to keep the tranſpoſed bark and the alburnum in contact with each other; and the air was excluded by a plaſter compoſed of bees-wax and turpentine, and with a covering of tempered clay.

"The interior ſurface of the bark of the crab-tree preſented numerous ſinuoſities, which correſponded with ſimilar inequalities on the ſurface of the alburnum, occaſioned by the former exiſtence of many lateral branches. The interior ſurface of the bark of the apple-tree, as well as the external ſurface of the alburnum, was, on the contrary, perfectly ſmooth and even. A vital union ſoon took place between the tranſpoſed pieces of bark, and the alburnum and bark of the trees to which they were applied; and in the autumn it appeared evident, that a layer of alburnum had been, in every inſtance, formed beneath the tranſpoſed pieces of bark, which were then taken off.

"Examining the organization of the alburnum, which had been generated beneath the tranſpoſed pieces of bark of the crab-tree, and which had formed a perfect union with the alburnum of the apple-tree, I could not diſcover any traces of the ſinuoſities I had noticed; nor was the uneven ſurface of the alburnum of the crab-tree more changed by the ſmooth tranſpoſed bark of the apple-tree. The newly generated alburnum, beneath the tranſpoſed bark, appeared perfectly ſimilar to that of other parts of the ſtock, and the direction of the fibres and veſſels did not in any degree correſpond with thoſe of the tranſpoſed bark*.

"Repeating this experiment, I ſcraped off the external ſurface of the alburnum in ſeveral ſpaces, about three lines in diameter, and in theſe ſpaces no union took place between the tranſpoſed bark and the alburnum of the ſtock, nor was there any alburnum depoſited in the abraded ſpaces; but the

coagulum afforded by an extravaſated fluid; and I am indebted to Mr. Carliſle for having pointed out to me many circumſtances in the motion and powers of the blood of animals, which induced me to give credit to the accuracy of my obſervations; and to that gentleman and to Mr. Home I have alſo ſubſequently to acknowledge many obligations."

"* Duhamel having taken off, and immediately replaced, ſimilar pieces of the bark of young elms, ſubſequently found, that the alburnum, which was generated beneath ſuch pieces of bark, had not formed any union with the alburnum of the tree beneath it. But this great naturaliſt did not employ ligatures of ſufficient power, to bring the bark and alburnum into cloſe contact, or the reſult would have been different."

newly

newly generated cortical and alburnous layers took a circular, and rather elliptical, courſe round thoſe ſpaces, and appeared to have been generated by a deſcending fluid, which had divided into two currents when it came into contact with the ſpaces from which the ſurface had been ſcraped off, and to have united again immediately beneath them.

"In each of theſe experiments, a new cortical and alburnous layer was evidently generated; and apparently by the ſame means that ſimilar ſubſtances were generated beneath a plaſter compoſed of bees-wax and turpentine, in former experiments*; and the only obvious difference in the reſult appears to be, that the tranſpoſed and newly generated bark formed a vital union with each other: and it is ſufficiently evident, that if bark of any kind was converted into alburnum, it muſt have been that newly generated. For it can ſcarcely be ſuppoſed, that the bark of a crab-tree was tranſmuted into the alburnum of an apple-tree, or that the ſinuoſities of the bark of the crab-tree could have been obliterated, had ſuch tranſmutation taken place. There is not, however, any thing in the preceding caſes calculated to prove that the newly generated bark was not converted into alburnum; and the elaborate experiments of Duhamel ſufficiently evince the difficulty of producing any deciſive evidence in this place; nevertheleſs I truſt, that I ſhall be able to adduce ſuch facts as, in the aggregate, will be found nearly concluſive.

"Examining almoſt every day, during the ſpring and ſummer, the progreſſive formation of alburnum in the young ſhoots of an oak coppice, which had been felled two years preceding, I was wholly unable to diſcover any thing like the tranſmutation of bark into alburnum. The commencement of the alburnous layers in the oak *(quercus robur)* is diſtinguiſhed by a circular row of very large tubes. Theſe tubes are of courſe generated in the ſpring; and during their formation, I found the ſubſtance through which they paſſed to be ſoft and apparently gelatinous, and much leſs tenacious and conſiſtent than the ſubſtance of the bark itſelf; and, therefore, if the matter which gave exiſtence to the alburnum previouſly compoſed the bark, it muſt have been, during its change of character, nearly in a ſtate of ſolution. But it is the tranſmutation of one organized ſubſtance into the other, and not the identity only of the matter of both, for which the diſciples of Malpighi contend; and if the fibres and veſſels of the bark really became thoſe of the alburnum, a very great degree of ſimilarity ought to be found in the organization of thoſe ſubſtances. No ſuch ſimilarity, however, exiſts; and not any thing at all correſponding with the circular row of large tubes in the alburnum of the oak is diſcoverable in the bark of that tree. Theſe tubes are alſo generated within the interior ſurface of the bark, which is well defined; and during their formation the veſſels of the bark are diſtinctly viſible, as different organs; and had the one been tranſmuted into the other, their

"* Phil. Tranſ. for 1807."

progreſſive

progreſſive changes could not, I think, probably have eſcaped my obſervation. Nor does the organization of the bark in other inſtances in any degree indicate the character of the wood, that is generated beneath it: the bark of the wych elm *(ulmus montana)* is extremely tough and fibrous; and it is often taken from branches of ſix or eight years old, to be uſed inſtead of cords; that of the aſh *(fraxinus excelſior)* on the contrary, when taken from branches of the ſame age, breaks almoſt as readily in any one direction as in another, and ſcarcely preſents a fibrous texture; yet the alburnum of theſe trees is not very diſſimilar, and the one is often ſubſtituted for the other in the conſtruction of agricultural inſtruments.

"Mirbel has endeavoured to account for the diſſimilar organization of the bark, and of the wood into which he conceives it to be converted, by ſuppoſing that the cellular ſubſtance of the bark is always ſpringing from the alburnum, while the tree is growing; and that it carries with it part of the tubular ſubſtance *(tiſſu tubulaire)* of the liber, or interior bark. Theſe parts of the interior bark, which are thus removed from contact with the alburnum, he conceives to conſtitute the external bark or cortex, while the interior part of the liber progreſſively changes into alburnum.

"But if this theory (which I believe I have accurately ſtated, though I am not quite certain that I fully comprehend its author*) were well founded, the texture of the alburnum muſt ſurely be much more intricate and interwoven than it is, and its tubes would lie leſs accurately parallel with each other than they do: and were the fibrous ſubſtance of the bark progreſſively changing into alburnum, the bark muſt of neceſſity be firmly attached to the alburnum during the ſpring and ſummer by the continuity, and indeed identity of the veſſels and fibres of both theſe ſubſtances. This, however, is not in any degree the caſe, and the bark is in thoſe ſeaſons very eaſily ſeparated from the alburnum; to which it appears to be attached by a ſubſtance that is apparently rather gelatinous than fibrous or vaſcular: and the obvious fact, that the adheſion of the cortical veſſels and fibres to each other is much more ſtrong than the adheſion of the bark to the alburnum, affords another circumſtance almoſt as inconſiſtent with the theory of Malpighi, as with that of Mirbel.

"Many of the experiments of Duhamel are, however, apparently favourable to the theory of Malpighi, reſpecting the converſion of bark into alburnum; and Mirbel has cited two, which he appears to think concluſive†. In the firſt of theſe Duhamel ſhows, that pieces of ſilver wire, inſerted in the bark of trees, were ſubſequently found in their alburnum. But Duhamel himſelf has ſhown, with his uſual acuteneſs and candour, that the evidence afforded by this experiment is extremely defective; and he declares himſelf to be uncertain, that the pieces of wire did not, at their firſt inſertion, paſs between

"* Chap. III. Article 5. *Traité d'Anatomie et de Phyſiologie Végétale.*"

"† Chap. III. Article 5."

the bark and the alburnum; in which caſe they would neceſſarily have been covered by every ſucceſſive layer of alburnum, without any tranſmutation of bark into that ſubſtance *.

"In the ſecond experiment cited by Mirbel, Duhamel has ſhown, that when a bud of the peach-tree, with a piece of bark attached to it, is inſerted in a plum ſtock, a layer of wood perfectly ſimilar to that of the peach-tree will be found, in the ſucceeding winter, beneath the inſerted bark. The ſtatement of Duhamel is perfectly correct: but the experiment does not by any means prove the converſion of bark into wood; for if it be difficult to conceive (as he remarks) that an inſerted piece of bark can depoſit a layer of alburnum, it is at leaſt as difficult to conceive, how the ſame piece of bark can be converted into a layer of alburnum of more than twice its own thickneſs (and the thickneſs of the alburnum depoſited frequently exceeds that of the bark in this proportion), without any perceptible diminution of its own proper ſubſtance. The probable operation of the inſerted bud, which is a well-organized plant, at the period when it becomes capable of being tranſpoſed with ſucceſs, appears alſo, in this caſe, to have been overlooked; for I found, that when I deſtroyed the buds in the ſucceeding winter, and left the bark which belonged to them uninjured, this bark no longer poſſeſſed any power to generate alburnum. It nevertheleſs continued to live, though perfectly inactive, till it became covered by the ſucceſſive alburnous layers of the ſtock; and it was found many years afterwards encloſed in the wood. It was, however, ſtill bark, though dry and lifeleſs, and did not appear to have made any progreſs towards the converſion into wood.

"In the courſe of very numerous experiments, which were made to aſcertain the manner in which veſſels are formed in the reproduced bark †, many circumſtances came under my obſervation, which I could adduce in ſupport of my opinion, that bark is never tranſmuted into alburnum; but I do not think it neceſſary to trouble you with an account of them; for though much deference is certainly due to the opinions of thoſe naturaliſts who have adopted the oppoſite theory, and to the doubts of Duhamel, I am not acquainted with a ſingle experiment which warrants the concluſions they have drawn; and I think, that if bark were really tranſmuted into alburnum, its progreſſive changes could only have eſcaped the eyes of prejudiced or inattentive obſervers. In the courſe of the enſuing ſpring, I hope to addreſs to you ſome obſervations reſpecting the manner in which the alburnum is generated.

I am, my dear Sir,

Your moſt obliged obedient ſervant,

THOMAS AND. KNIGHT."

Elton, Dec. 29, 1807.

"* *Phyſique des Arbres.* Lib. IV. Ch. III."

"† Phil. Tranſ. for 1807."

A Com-

A Comparative View of the Theories relative to the Origin of Rock Salt.

(From Holland's Survey of Cheshire.)

"Few queſtions in geological ſcience are ſo embarraſſing and difficult of ſolution as that which regards the origin of the beds of foſſil or rock ſalt. All the different theories of the earth which have been propoſed are eminently deficient in their explanation of theſe natural phenomena; either contradicting the actual appearances of things, or aſſigning cauſes and modes of action totally inconſiſtent with the eſtabliſhed laws of nature. It may not be unintereſting in this place to purſue the inquiry a little further than could with propriety have been done in the body of the Report; not ſo much, however, with a view of bringing forward any new hypotheſis, as of ſtating and comparing the merits of the moſt prominent opinions which have already been advanced on the ſubject.

"Of the ſeveral geological ſyſtems which have engaged the diſcuſſion of the ſcientific world, there are two which have derived a peculiar importance and celebrity, as well from their ſuperior conſiſtency with the appearances of nature, as from the eminence and ability of their reſpective advocates. Theſe are the Huttonian and Neptunian theories, differing moſt eſſentially in their general principles, and in the connexion of theſe principles with the reſults of mineralogical obſervation. The Huttonian theory, ſuppoſing the conſtant operation of a ſyſtem of decay and renovation on the ſurface of the globe, attributes the firſt of theſe changes, viz. the *detritus*, *tranſportation*, and depoſition of materials, to the agency of water; while it regards the conſolidation and elevation of the ſtrata as proceeding from the action of ſubterraneous heat, modified by the vaſt preſſure upon the ſubſtances on which it operates *. The Neptunian theory, on the other hand, refers the formation of the ſtrata which conſtitute the cruſt of the globe, to ſucceſſive depoſitions of the different compoſing materials from ſome menſtruum, ſuppoſed to be water, originally holding the whole in a ſtate of ſolution. This opinion has been ſupported by Sauſſure, De Luc, Kirwan, and other philoſophers: it has likewiſe been adopted, under certain modifications, by Werner, the celebrated profeſſor of Freyberg, who has connected with it a ſyſtem of mineralogical arrangement, unequalled in the comprehenſiveneſs, accuracy, and preciſion of its details.

"A ſlight attention to the natural hiſtory of rock ſalt will render it evident that neither of theſe theories explains ſatisfactorily, from its general principles, the origin of this foſſil. So ſenſible indeed have the ſupporters of each ſyſtem been to the difficulty of the ſubject, that in none of their writings has its expoſition been attempted in a preciſe or definite manner: it has been found eaſier to detect the fallacy of one hypo-

"* To this condition the very ingenious and intereſting experiments of Sir James Hall appear to annex the utmoſt importance."

theſis

theſis than to ſubſtitute another in its ſtead. The two theories coincide in attributing the formation of the beds of rock ſalt to precipitation from the waters of the ſea; but with reſpect to the cauſes which effected this precipitation, and the exiſting arrangement and diſpoſition of the beds, they appear totally at variance.

"The Huttonian theory aſcribes the depoſition of the muriate of ſoda from the water of the ſea to the action of ſubterraneous heat. "If," ſays profeſſor Playfair, in his admirable illuſtrations of that theory, "they will admit the operation of ſubterraneous heat, it appears poſſible that the local application of ſuch heat may have driven the water, in vapour, from one place to another; and by ſuch action, often repeated in the ſame ſpot, may have produced thoſe great accumulations of ſaline matter which are actually found in the bowels of the earth." As it is conceived, however, that a compact and highly indurated body, like rock ſalt, could not be produced by any mode of ſimple precipitation, the theory aſſigns a continued action of heat as the cauſe of its fuſion, and ſubſequent conſolidation. This opinion profeſſor Playfair defends with much ingenuity. Having deſcribed minutely the connection of the beds of rock ſalt in Cheſhire with ſtrata of argillaceous ſtone, and the remarkable arrangement of the ſalt in maſſes having ſomewhat the ſhape of irregular polyhedra, he continues to obſerve: "The circumſtances which gave riſe to this ſingular ſtructure we ſhould in vain endeavour to define; yet ſome general concluſions concerning them ſeem to be within our reach. It is clear that the whole maſs of ſalt was fluid at once, and that the forces, whatever they were, which gave ſolidity to it, and produced the new arrangement of its particles, were all in action at the ſame time. The uniformity of the coated ſtructure is a proof of this, and, above all, the compreſſion of the polyhedra, which is always mutual, the flat ſide of one being turned to the flat ſide of another, and never an angle to an angle, nor an angle to a ſide. The coats formed as it were round ſo many different centres of attraction, is alſo an appearance quite inconſiſtent with the notion of depoſition; both theſe, however, are compatible with the notion of ſolidity acquired by the refrigeration of a fluid, where the whole maſs is acted on at the ſame time, and where no ſolvent remains to be diſpoſed of after the induration of the reſt."

"The general idea conveyed by the Huttonian theory appears then to be, that the local application of ſubterraneous heat effected a precipitation of ſalt from the waters of the ſea; that an increaſed action of heat, directed to the ſame ſpot, reduced the ſaline maſs to a ſtate of fuſion; that, while fluid, it derived, from the operation of certain unknown forces, its peculiar arrangement and combinations; and that, in the proceſs of cooling, it acquired its preſent ſtate of induration and ſolidity. To preſerve a conſiſtency with the appearances of nature, it is ſuppoſed alſo, that during the precipitation of the ſalt, as well as in the intervals between ſucceſſive precipitations, a depoſition of an argillaceous ſubſtance was taking place; which, during the ſubſequent fuſion, aſſumed

aſſumed its preſent ſtate of admixture with the rock ſalt.

"To this hypotheſis, ingenious and plauſible as it may appear, ſeveral objections may be oppoſed, affecting at once the validity of its general principles, and their application to the exiſting appearances of nature. The following are the moſt important and ſtriking of theſe objections:

"1ſt. The exiſtence of a central or ſubterraneous heat has been denied by many philoſophers, who reſt their argument on two principal grounds; the impoſſibility of its production or maintenance in conformity with the known laws of caloric; and the certainty that, did it exiſt, it muſt diffuſe itſelf over the whole globe, ſo as to produce every where an equilibrium of temperature. Admitting, however, the exiſtence and occaſional operation of ſuch a central heat, there are ſtill ſeveral difficulties connected with the ſuppoſition of its agency in the formation of the beds of rock ſalt. It is ſcarcely conceivable that a degree of heat, capable of throwing off in vapour the whole ſuperincumbent maſs of waters, ſhould have been directed to one particular ſpot on the ſurface of the globe. It might too with propriety be inquired, what phyſical cauſe could ſo ſuddenly produce this local determination of the central heat; or, being thus determined, what circumſtance could effect ſo immediate a ceſſation in its action? The difficulty here is increaſed by the conſideration, that the effect to be accounted for neceſſarily ſuppoſes a repetition of this agency at ſucceſſive periods, directed to the ſame ſpot, and with the ſame degree of intenſity; coincidences too ſurpriſing not to be regarded as improbabilities in any ſyſtem.

"2d. Another powerful objection to this hypotheſis, is the circumſtance that the earthy ſalts bear a ſmaller proportion to the muriate of ſoda in rock ſalt, than in ſea-water. It may be argued, indeed, that the muriate of magneſia is more eaſily ſoluble than the muriate of ſoda; but this does not obviate the objection, as it is evident that the ſea-water, previouſly to its converſion into vapour, muſt have depoſited all the ſalts it held diſſolved. It may be remarked at the ſame time, that the ſulphate of lime is a ſalt very difficult of ſolution.

"3d. Had the rock ſalt been formed in the way which this theory ſuppoſed, it is not likely that it would contain its preſent portion of water of cryſtallization. A heat, ſufficiently intenſe to drive off the incumbent waters of the ſea in a ſtate of vapour, muſt, in all probability, have carried away at the ſame time any water which the ſalt might be diſpoſed to retain in its ſubſtance.

"4. If the hypotheſis in queſtion were accurate, we might expect to find numerous impreſſions of marine animals in the beds of rock ſalt. Should it be ſaid that theſe remains were deſtroyed in the ſubſequent fuſion of the ſaline maſs, it may be aſked why a ſimilar deſtruction has not occurred in beds of limeſtone, which, according to the theory of Dr. Hutton, are alſo ſuppoſed to have been in a ſtate of fuſion*.

"5. The

* On this ſubject Mr. Playfair has remarked to me, that the conditions neceſſary to

"5. The idea which this hypotheſis conveys of the conſolidation of the beds of rock ſalt is not without its difficulties. Referring more particularly to thoſe now worked in Cheſhire, it may be remarked, that as the lower ſtratum, and the lower parts of that ſtratum, muſt have been expoſed to a heat of much greater intenſity and longer duration, than the upper ſtratum or ſuperior parts of the lower ſtratum, we ought to find the ſalt rock in the former poſſeſſing a greater degree of induration and conſiſtence than that in the latter. This obſervation, however, does not prove to be the caſe. It might have been expected too, as the heat was ſufficient to reduce the portion of the upper ſtratum neareſt the ſurface to a fluid ſtate, that the bed of clay, interpoſed between the two ſtrata, would have been much more completely and perfectly indurated than it is actually found to be. Theſe circumſtances it is difficult to reconcile with the idea of conſolidation produced by the agency of heat.

"Such are the moſt important objections to the Huttonian theory of the formation of rock ſalt. It is evident that ſeveral of them are not peculiar to this hypotheſis, but common to every one which conſiders this foſſil as a depoſition from the waters of the ſea. It is poſſible too, that the opinion with regard to the mode of depoſition may be ſo modified as to remove partially, or entirely, ſome of the other difficulties which have been ſtated; as there are certainly ſeveral circumſtances connected with the natural hiſtory of rock ſalt which render it ſufficiently probable that heat has been an important agent in the formation of this mineral. Great ſcope for ingenuity and obſervation is ſtill left in the proſecution of the inquiry.

"The Neptunian hypotheſis on this ſubject differs in many eſſential particulars from the one juſt ſtated; rejecting altogether the operation of heat, and referring the preſent ſtate and arrangement of the beds of rock ſalt, as well as their original formation, to the effects of aqueous depoſition alone. In none of the writings, however, of thoſe who have eſpouſed this doctrine do we find a preciſe or detailed account of the particular mode of formation aſſigned to the foſſil in queſtion. Without any reference to the diſintegration of more ancient rocks, they ſeem to conſider it ſimply as one of the lateſt precipitations from the fluid menſtruum which originally held all the materials of the ſtrata in ſolution. No ſuppoſition is offered as to the immediate cauſe of this depoſition of ſalt; but it is ſtated, in general terms, as depending upon ſome mode of chemical agency; or, as conſtituting one in that ſeries of changes which may be ſuppoſed to have taken place, where ſo many powerful chemical agents were brought together in a ſtate fitted for their mutual operation. In illuſtration of ſome of the modifications which the idea of the aqueous formation of rock ſalt may receive, I have made the following extract from a very ingenious work, publiſhed in Edinburgh ſome years

to the preſervation of organic remains are involved in an obſcurity which renders all arguments, derived from theſe appearances, extremely uncertain and indeciſive."

ago, in reply to profeſſor Playfair's Illuſtrations of the Huttonian theory.

"It may be difficult, even on the Neptunian theory, to give a ſatisfactory explanation of the origin of rock ſalt; but there are no appearances in this foſſil inconſiſtent with the ſuppoſition of its aqueous origin. The Neptuniſts have ſuppoſed that it may have been formed by collections of the original ſea-water in hollows, among the ſtrata, having ſuffered evaporation during the temporary retreat of the ocean, and that theſe, having been ſucceſſively filled, have furniſhed the ſtrata of rock ſalt. But it is a ſtrong objection to this, and all other theories which derive it from the evaporation of ſea-water, that it does not contain the ſaline ſubſtances which are diſſolved in that water; or at leaſt does not contain them in the due proportion; and that it contains fewer remains of marine animals than we ſhould expect, had it had ſuch an origin. Perhaps we may ſuppoſe, that the ſaline ſubſtances, in common with others, had exiſted in the original fluid in which all the ſtrata were diſſolved; that part of theſe being locally accumulated, in the ſame manner as the materials of every other ſtratum have more or leſs been, from circumſtances which we cannot determine, had been confuſedly cryſtallized; and that any remaining portion had been retained in ſolution by the water, thoſe ſalts of courſe remaining in it, in increaſed proportion, which were leaſt diſpoſed to cryſtallize. Such is the muriate of magneſia; and it is not impoſſible but that even much of the muriate of ſoda now found in ſea-water, may have been re-diſſolved from ſtrata formed; or we may modify this explanation by the equally probable ſuppoſition, that at firſt the ſoda and muriatic acid of the ſalt had not been in combination; but that, in the courſe of the various alterations of attractions from the precipitation of the ſtrata, they had been brought together, had united, and, if locally accumulated, chryſtallized. Such a ſuppoſition receives confirmation from the fact, that in many of the ſtrata, in trap, for example, according to the excellent experiments of Dr. Kennedy, both ſoda and muriatic acid exiſt, and ſea-ſalt itſelf is ſometimes found among primary ſtrata. This general hypotheſis, modified in either of theſe ways, involves no improbable ſuppoſitions, and is perhaps adequate to the explanation of the production of this foſſil."

"The vague and indefinite manner in which theſe ſtatements are conveyed, indicates at once the extreme obſcurity of the ſubject, and the difficulty of explaining it conſiſtently with any general ſcheme of geology. It is obvious, indeed, that the theory which aſcribes the formation of rock ſalt to the agency of water alone, labours under many embarraſſments and inconſiſtencies; ſome of which it is ſcarcely poſſible that any modifications ſhould entirely remove. The moſt important of theſe objections to the hypotheſis it may be proper to ſtate.

"1ſt. It is difficult to conceive that any chemical agency ſhould induce ſo copious a precipitation of the muriate of ſoda in particular ſpots; while, in places directly contiguous, no traces are left of ſuch a precipitation.

"2d. This

"2d. This hypotheſis gives no ſatisfactory explanation of the indurated ſtate of the beds of rock ſalt. It has been argued, indeed, that inſtead of an aſſemblage of ſmall, looſe chryſtals, large and compact chryſtalline maſſes might poſſibly have been formed; or that, even if the ſalt firſt depoſited were not perfectly compact, its conſolidation might have been completed by the percolation of water, holding ſalt in ſolution, through it, and the depoſition of this ſalt in its pores. Here a queſtion naturally occurs: what becomes of the percolating fluid, after the depoſition of its ſalts in the pores of the ſaline maſs? Does it, by ſome inexplicable proceſs, return upwards into the ſuperincumbent body of waters? or does it penetrate through the beds of ſalt, and diſperſe itſelf among the ſubjacent ſtrata? Admitting, however, a ſatisfactory ſolution of this difficulty, and the operation of the different circumſtances adduced, ſtill the alleged cauſe appears decidedly inadequate to produce ſuch a degree of induration as is met with in the ſalt rock of Cheſhire.

"3d. The theory in queſtion aſſigns no circumſtance which could produce the peculiar diſpoſition and arrangement of the ſalt, and its ſingular mode of combination with argillaceous earth.

"4th. The non-exiſtence of organic impreſſions or remains in the ſtrata of rock ſalt, militates ſtill more ſtrongly againſt this hypotheſis than againſt that of Dr. Hutton; as here no agency is aſſigned which could poſſibly effect their deſtruction. The objection deduced from the ſmaller proportion of earthy ſalts combined with rock ſalt than with ſea-water, is likewiſe applicable, to a certain extent, to the idea of aqueous formation; though its force is diminiſhed by ſome of the remarks I have quoted from the Reply to the Illuſtrations of the Huttonian theory.

"In addition to theſe general arguments, it may be aſked, how, on this hypotheſis, we can account for the formation of the hill of rock ſalt at Cardona in Spain? It ſeems ſcarcely poſſible that any chemical agency could have been ſo powerful in its local operation, and at the ſame time ſo limited in its range of action. The Huttonian theory is ſomewhat more fortunate in its explanation of this natural phenomenon; ſuppoſing an agent by the occaſional exertion of which the natural arrangement of the ſtrata is broken and diſturbed; ſome being depreſſed, others elevated above the level they originally aſſumed. It is highly deſirable, with a reference to the general queſtion under conſideration, that we ſhould obtain ſome more preciſe and detailed accounts of this ſingular mountain than have yet been given.

"With reſpect to the ſuppoſition that the ſoda and muriatic acid of ſalt were not in the firſt inſtance combined; but that, in conſequence of the operation of different chemical affinities, they came into combination, chryſtallized, and accumulated in large maſſes; it muſt, in the preſent ſtate of ſcience, be regarded as a mere gratuitous hypotheſis, to which the curious facts, obſerved by Dr. Kennedy, by no means afford an adequate countenance.

"From the want of a regular and connected account of the Wer-

nerian hypotheſis, it is difficult to aſcertain preciſely the modifications which have been made by Werner in the general principles of the Neptunian theory. In the geognoſy of the German ſchool, rock ſalt is conſidered as appertaining to the third or floetz formation; a claſs of rocks which comprehends varieties of ſand-ſtone, lime-ſtone, gypſum, trap, &c.; and, from the abundance and variety of the petrifactions which it contains, is ſuppoſed to have been formed at a time when organized beings were numerous upon the ſurface of the globe. The immediate poſition of the rock ſalt, according to this arrangement, is with the firſt floetz gypſum; a formation which is placed directly above the firſt floetz limeſtone, and is remarkable, as well as the ſecond floetz gypſum, for being totally deſtitute of petrifactions or organic remains *. This circumſtance it is difficult to reconcile with the ſuppoſition of aqueous origin; nor does it appear probable that any modifications of the Neptunian theory would entirely reſcue this idea of the formation of rock ſalt from the difficulties which have been ſtated above.

"Such is a very general ſketch of the two moſt important opinions which have hitherto been advanced relative to the formation of rock ſalt. It will be ſeen that each of them is liable to a variety of objections, ariſing partly from the uncertainty of the general principles which they aſſume; partly from a defect in the application of theſe principles to the exiſting appearances of nature. Some of the difficulties connected with the ſubject, as they are common to theſe, and to every other hypotheſis of a ſimilar nature, may perhaps be diſmiſſed entirely from the calculation. There ſtill remain numerous points of compariſon between the two theories, in which the probabilities of the explanations they reſpectively give of the phenomena in queſtion, may be weighed and aſcertained. It is by no means the chief object of this paper, either to pronounce a decided opinion upon

"* The fibrous and lamellated ſpecies of rock ſalt are conſidered as having the ſame geognoſtic relations. In the Cheſhire mines, the fibrous rock ſalt is uſually found in the veins which perforate the ſtrata of indurated clay."

"M. Brochant, a diſciple of the Wernerian ſchool, in his "Traité Elémentaire de Mineralogie," gives the following general account of the mineralogical relations of rock ſalt, which may be regarded upon the whole as extremely accurate. "Le ſel gemme forme quelquefois une eſpèce particulière de montagnes ſtratiformes, dans leſquelles ſes couches alternent le plus ordinairement avec des couches d'argile, toujours plus ou moins pénétrées le ſel; très ſouvent auſſi il eſt mêlangé avec du gypſe, de la pierre puante, de la poix minérale, du grès, &c. Le gypſe ſurtout a des rapports géologiques tres-marqués avec de ſel gemme; et il eſt très rare qu'il ne ſe trouve pas dans ſon voiſinage. Le plus ſouvent neanmoins il ne ſe trouve qu'en petites couches ſubordonnées ou en maſſes iſolées, dans les montagnes dont la maſſe principale eſt le gypſe, la pierre calcaire, ou l'argile. On en a trouvé auſſi en filons, mais on en cite peu d'examples."

"I am not aware that I can plead a more ſatisfactory apology for the detailed account I have given of the natural hiſtory of the Cheſhire ſalt-mines, than the circumſtance that M. Brochant, in his ſtatement of the principal mines of this deſcription with which we are acquainted, makes not the ſlighteſt alluſion to them; though in extent and commercial importance they undoubtedly exceed any other in the world"

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their comparative merits, or to propoſe any new hypotheſis which may elude the ſeveral difficulties already ſtated. Although, however, at preſent, it appears impoſſible to afford an explanation which ſhall preſerve a perfect conſiſtency in all its parts, we are certainly entitled to expect that at ſome future period, the advanced ſtate of general ſcience will throw new lights upon the ſubject, and enable us to proſecute with renovated ſpirit and ſucceſs, an enquiry which muſt ever intereſt and gratify the ſtudent of nature. H. Holland."

Obſervations on the Cauſe of the Ruſt or Mildew in Wheat. By the Rev. Mr. Clack.

From Vancouver's Agricultural Survey of Devonſhire.

Milton Damarell, Holdſworthy.

"In purſuance of the requeſt you have been pleaſed to honour me with, I have ſent you ſome of my obſervations on the blight in wheat, &c.

"That this blight is a fungus, has been diſcovered by the aid of the magnifying glaſs; and that its conſequences are very pernicious to wheat, is acknowledged by all agriculturiſts, as it impedes the nutritive fluid in its progreſs from the root to the grain. This fungus I obſerve, is generated in many other vegetable ſubſtances beſides wheat, ſuch as trees, ſhrubs, herbs, graſſes, &c. varying in colour and ſize. Theſe receiving the infection at different ſeaſons of the year, form, as it were, conductors from one to the other, in which *fungi* germinate, efflorеſce, diſſeminate, and die, during the evolutions of the ſeaſons. In ſpring and autumn the fungus thrives ſimilar to all other vegetable ſubſtances in a more luxuriant degree than in winter, exhibiting itſelf more powerfully on the leaves of the *alnus nigra baccifera*, or black alder; pear tree, willow, box, barberry, raſpberry, roſe, gooſeberry, blackberry, treſoil, ſtrawberry, dock, coltsfoot, graſſes, the yellow corn, or melancholy thiſtle, and wheat. Its colour is firſt pale yellow, then orange, turning off to a brown or black. On ſome leaves it deſtroys the part affected, and entirely kills others. On the leaves of pears, barberries, the black alder, and gooſeberry trees, it exhibits itſelf at firſt in ſmall yellow puſtules, increaſing in ſize until they efflorеſce in cluſters of various ſhapes, occupying both ſides of the leaf, turning off to a vermillion, and then a dark ruſty brown colour. Sometimes the fungus affects alſo the bloſſom; as for inſtance, that of the black alder. Sometimes young ſhoots, as thoſe of the aforementioned tree, of which I have ſeen every ſhoot juſt as it ſprouts forth, infected all round, curled up, the fungus as large as a gooſequill, and the ſhoot finally deſtroyed. Sometimes it infects the fruit, as for inſtance, that of the gooſeberry trees, which, as ſoon as the fungus has arrived at maturity, withers and falls to the ground. On the black alder the fungus is larger than on any other ſhrub, and on the box the moſt minute.

"On bramble, roſes, and raſpberry leaves, its firſt appearance is generally of a pale yellow powder, turning off to an orange colour, and laſtly jet black mildew. So likewiſe

likewiſe in the coltsfoot, wheat, and graſſes. Its effects on barley and oats are ſo trifling as not to deſerve notice. When you perceive the upper part of leaves turned red or brown, and in ſpots, it is a ſure indication of their having been infected by the fungus, which you will generally find on turning up the leaf, growing beneath it, and in its laſt ſtage, unleſs it has been waſhed off by heavy rains.

"In 1805 I remarked that half a large field of wheat adjoining to a coppice, was very much ſmitten with the blight, or ruſt as it is generally called in this neighbourhood; but as the contagion occurred before the ear had ſhot, little or no damage was ſuſtained by the grain. The other half of the field was then tilled, and laſt year an infection took place ſimilar to the year before, but after the ear ſhot, unfortunately two ſucceſſive infections took place; the grain was conſequently much injured, as not only the leaf but the ſtalk and glumes were attacked, from their being expoſed, and had not the field been cut before it was ripe, it would have been deſtroyed. The ſeeds of *fungi* are ſo minute, and exceedingly light, that they are liable to be wafted by every breeze, when accompanied by moiſture or fogs: thence the falſe idea that the mildew is cauſed by the fog alone. The fungus having arrived at maturity in the ſpring on a few ſhrubs, buſhes, or plants, is taken up by the next humid atmoſphere, wafted into the adjoining fields, and the neareſt wheat is ſure to ſuffer moſt. The wheat near the weſtern hedge, where any plants congenial to the growth of *fungi* remain, is ſure to ſuffer more than any other part of the field. In damp weather alſo its ſeed is more immediately received into the leaves of the trees and ſhrubs, together with their barks and fruits, through the medium of thoſe valves or mouths which nature has ſupplied them with for the admiſſion of moiſture. Theſe valves poſſeſs a contractile force, which is operated on by the power of a dry or cold atmoſphere, whereby the regreſs of the moiſture is prevented, and of courſe it is taken up by the tree. Theſe valves are ſcarce perceptible to the naked eye, but are eaſily deſcried by the uſe of a highly magnifying glaſs. The farina of the fungus is, as in the caſe of other vegetable ſubſtances, carried from flower to flower, by means of inſects, but theſe inſects generally aſſimilate their colour to the colour of the fungus, except in one inſtance: the fungus on the black alder, barberry, and gooſeberry tree, is attended by an inſect about the ſize of a cheeſe mite; it is of a ſhining jet black, and ſomewhat the ſhape of a beetle. It is the exact ſize of the aperture in the fungus bloſſom, and when the fungus is decaying, inhabits it, and feeds on its interior. Theſe curious little inſects are ſometimes found in the interior of dead oak apples, where, as in other *fungi*. they probably remain during winter.

"Having troubled you with ſome hiſtory of the fungus, its progreſs and conſequences, I will proceed next to give you my reaſons to prove how its extent may be materially leſſened; for though we may as well ſay that weeds ſhall not infeſt our gardens, as expect to give a total check to the growth of

of fungus in wheat, nevertheleſs, by cutting out or eradicating whatever we find on our farms that is congenial to the growth of fungus, I doubt not but we may render a moſt beneficial ſervice to wheat, by preventing that exceſs of injury which ſometimes threatens the whole nation with famine, and is often the cauſe of lamentable ſcarcities.

"Though the progreſs of fungus is much checked by the falling of leaves in autumn and winter, with which it moſt probably periſhes, yet it is remarkable to obſerve, that ſome evergreens, particularly the box and bramble buſh, retain the *fungi* in all their various ſtages, even during the ſevereſt froſts of winter; and which, on the return of a little mild and humid weather in ſpring, contribute to infect with an aſtoniſhing rapidity the earlieſt leaves and ſhoots of ſpring in thoſe vegetables congenial to its propagation. Theſe *fungi* then flouriſh with an extraordinary luxuriance, and in the courſe of a week or two, arriving at maturity, diſſeminate their baneful effects throughout thouſands of acres of thoſe golden ſheaves which are the huſbandman's hope and the ſtaff of life.

There are alſo ſome trees which retain old fungus during winter on their barks, ſuch as the common willow, hazel, birch, and ſometimes oak coppice, but principally the former, and from their ſmutty appearance, even at ſome diſtance being diſtinguiſhed, ſhould either be cut down, or at leaſt loſe their limbs, which will in the enſuing ſpring ſend forth abundance of clean young wood. The barberry will alſo retain old *fungi* in any fiſſure or cleft in the bark, occaſioned by injury, exhibiting numerous black puſtules. Theſe ſhould be cut out. Winter is alſo the beſt period for getting rid of the black alder, at ſuch time particularly diſtinguiſhed by the blackneſs of her bark, though at this time free from infection. The bramble abounds in all countries, and is therefore more injurious than the box, being ſimilar to her in bearing the fungus, as I ſaid before, at all ſeaſons, even in the ſevereſt froſts of winter; ſhe ought therefore, to be cut as cloſe as poſſible in our hedges and coppices, at leaſt once or twice a year.

"Boxes are ſeldom much affected by the fungus when ſituated in an elevated and open ſituation, but in ſhady and damp ones their growth muſt be attended with very deleterious conſequences; even in winter, the coarſe graſſes that grow near them, if in a hedge, will be ſtrongly infected, of which I have at preſent a ſpecimen in my garden.

"The common practice of new making the hedges round the wheat, is certainly attended with many benefits, particularly in leſſening the quantum of *fungi* that would otherwiſe injure the corn.

"The glebe of my living had been notorious from time immemorial for being given to ruſty wheat, when I was preſented to it: Its glebe is eighty acres, and on my reſidence, not liking to entangle myſelf at once with the whole, I let two-thirds of it to two of my pariſhioners, for the term of ſeven years. No rector having reſided for upwards of twenty years, the fences were extremely dilapidated. During the two firſt years I made nearly three-fourths of the hedges,

and

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and ſuch was the immediate effect of cutting, ſteeping, and plaſhing them, that the nature of the glebe ſeemed altered, and the corn was very near as clean as that of the reſt of my neighbours. Wherever I have heard of a field or farm reputed for bad corn, I have invariably found thoſe trees congenial to the fungus abundant in the hedges, or adjoining woodlands. Nor do I conceive, that any field in which the coltsfoot or yellow corn thiſtle grows, can poſſibly be free from ruſt, in conſequence of the multiplicity of *fungi* that grow under their leaves; and every exertion ought to be made uſe of to get rid of them. I hope you will pardon my preſumption in begging to differ from that able naturaliſt, ſir Joſeph Banks, who (in his Treatiſe on the Cauſe of the Diſeaſe of the Blight in Corn) ſays, "It cannot however be an expenſive precaution to ſearch diligently in the ſpring for young plants of wheat infected with the diſeaſe, and carefully to extirpate them." By due examination it will be found, that when one blade of wheat exhibits fungus, the whole field is infected in every blade, though to various extents. The opinion too of Fontaine is erroneous, who ſuppoſes, "that the yellow and dark-coloured fungus is not the ſame ſpecies;" and is eaſily exploded by every one who will obſerve its progreſs minutely."

On the deſtructive Effects of the Barberry Tree on Corn.

From Holland's General View of the Agriculture of Cheſhire.

An opinion has long been entertained that the barberry (*berberis vulgaris*) produced ſome noxious effects upon corn, and particularly upon wheat and oats. Withering, ſpeaking of it, ſays, "This ſhrub ſhould never be permitted to grow in corn land, for the ears of wheat that grow near it never fill; and its influence in this reſpect has been known to extend as far as three or four hundred yards acroſs a field *." Since no reaſon could be aſſigned for ſo extraordinary an effect, nor any analagous fact produced, this has generally been regarded as a popular error, and little credit attached to it. Such a ſtrong confirmation of it has however lately come to my knowledge, that I think it proper to ſtate it. About twenty years ago a young plantation on the lands of ſir T. F. Leiceſter,, Bart. was fenced out with a barberry hedge, about a hundred yards in length. On the oppoſite ſide, to the north-weſt of the plantation was a ſmall incloſure about ninety yards acroſs, held by one of his tenants. Three years ago this was ſown with wheat; the crop produced, although the land appeared in good condition, ſcarcely paid the expence of threſhing; the grain being extremely ſmall, and the quantity of it very inconſiderable. On the following year the field was ſown with oats, and the return of the crop was little more than equal to the ſeed. Laſt year the field was well limed, and was partly in fallow, and the remainder ſet with potatoes. In the autumn the whole was ſown with wheat, which came up well, looked healthy, and ſhot into ear

* Botanical Arrangement, Vol. II. p. 267.

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at the uſual time; promiſing a crop at leaſt equal to any in the neighbourhood. Soon after, the plant became brown and completely decayed, and when cut, it was thought not worth while even to carry it from the field. I had an opportunity of examining it as it lay there, a few days after it had been cut, and found all the ſtraw was completely rotten, and that every ear of the plant within twenty yards of the hedge had been unproductive, not yielding a ſingle grain of corn. At the diſtance of twenty, or twenty-five yards, a few very ſmall grains of wheat might be diſcovered in ſome of the ears. Still further from the hedge the grains were larger and more numerous; but in no part of the field was the produce ſufficiently abundant to induce the farmer to carry it off the ground. The inclоſure beyond the wheat field was ſown with oats; and this crop alſo ſeemed materially to have ſuffered from the influence of the ſame cauſe. All the crops of corn in the ſame neighbourhood were at leaſt as productive as uſual.

To what cauſes ſuch a ſingular effect is to be attributed, I confeſs my incompetency to ſay. The prevailing opinion is, that the pollen of the barberry in ſome meaſure operates in producing it; but it has been ſuggeſted to me that the deſtruction of the ſeed of the wheat is more probably produced by an inſect (of what genus I could not learn) generated on the barberry, and afterwards feeding on the ſcarcely-formed grains of wheat. A larger collection, and more minute obſervation of facts, ſeem however neceſſary completely to aſcertain this point *.

On the Croſſing Spider. By R. Teed, Eſq.

From the Philoſophical Magazine.

Sir,

Your ingenious correſpondent, ſigned Lehmann, (Phil. Mag. Vol. II. p. 320.) having given an intereſting, and in my opinion the beſt account of the croſſing ſpider (Aranea Diadema), induced me

* At the time of drawing up the above account, I had not ſeen the very ingenious remarks of the right honourable ſir Joſeph Banks, in his publication on the cauſes of the blight, &c. in corn. He there notices the effects, produced by the barberry on wheat; and ſuggeſts the probability of theſe being derived from a different cauſe to any which had been before conceived. "It has," he ſays, "been long admitted by farmers, though ſcarcely credited by botaniſts, that wheat in the neighbourhood of a barberry buſh ſeldom eſcapes the blight. The village of Rolleſby in Norfolk, where barberries abound and wheat ſeldom ſucceeds, is called by the opprobious appellation of Mildew Rolleſby. Some obſerving men have of late attributed this very perplexing effect to the farina of the flowers of the barberry, which is in truth yellow, and reſembles in ſome degree the appearance of the ruſt, or what is preſumed to be the blight in its early ſtate."

"It is, however, notorious to all botanical obſervers, that the leaves of the barberry are very ſubject to the attack of the yellow paraſitic fungus, larger, but otherwiſe much reſembling the ruſt in corn.

"Is it not more than poſſible that the paraſitic fungus of the barberry, and that of wheat are one and the ſame ſpecies, and that the ſeed is transferred from the barberry to the corn? If this conjecture is well-founded, another year will not paſs without its being confirmed by the obſervations of inquiſitive and ſagacious farmers."

not

not long ago to examine more minutely the wonderful ſagacity and contrivance of that curious inſect: and as the experiment I made is ſimple, and can be repeated by any perſon inclined to aſcertain the fact, (to whom I will promiſe much pleaſure from the reſult,) I ſhall deſcribe as briefly as poſſible the method I purſued to obtain the moſt ample ſatisfaction. In the month of September laſt, as I was one evening amuſing myſelf in my garden at Kentiſh Town, juſt as the ſun was ſetting, I obſerved a large croſſing ſpider in the centre of his web, watching for the unwary fly who ſhould chance to be intangled in it. I took him from his poſt on a ſmall ſtick, and ſuſpending the inſect between myſelf and that bright luminary, I obſerved that he let himſelf down to the diſtance of about one yard; which was no ſooner done, than I ſaw the thread by which he was ſuſpended, in a moment divide or ſplit into five or ſix lengths of a ſmaller ſize, and nearly half a yard long. A gentle breeze at that inſtant blowing towards the ſetting ſun, and conſequently from me, I was enabled to ſee more diſtinctly the very wonderful and ſurpriſing operation; for the end of one of the threads neareſt the ſtick, being at liberty, was blown by the wind until they were all unfolded to ſome diſtance; and being ſtopped by a tree, the ſpider, who appeared perfectly acquainted with the buſineſs, felt with one of his hinder legs that it had laid hold of ſomething. I ſoon perceived his object; I extended the ſtick, and thereby tightened the thread; this being known to the ſpider, he croſſed from the ſtick to the tree with the greateſt alacrity. I was then convinced how eaſy it is for theſe inſects to ſupport themſelves from one ſide of the garden to the other, or to croſs lanes, rivers, &c. But it may be aſked, how the ſpider, who has any inclination to croſs a garden, knows when the line or thread is long enough to anſwer his purpoſe?—A ſecond experiment with another of theſe curious creatures moſt fully ſatisfied me. Repeating what I have already ſtated, I ſo managed the floating web that it ſhould not preſently fix on the tree; but as the air wafted it to a diſtance, I was much gratified by obſerving the line to lengthen, not from any more folds, but from the ſpider's body, the wind drawing it out, and no doubt aided by ſome internal force which he had the power to exert, thereby lengthening it at leaſt ten yards:—It was then ſuffered to light on a wall, when the ſpider in a moment ran along the thread with the greateſt eaſe. Now, Sir, theſe experiments I have many times made, and adviſe others who are fond of exploring nature in all her wonderful works to do the ſame; but it is beſt to have a ſtrong light, in order to obſerve the curious foldings of the web, which appears (when viewed with a glaſs of one inch focus) to be faſtened with ſomething like a ſlip knot *.

The obſervations which I ſhall make are as follows:—Firſt, it appears to me that nature has furniſhed theſe little creatures (which we from habits of education too much

* I am perſuaded that each folding is faſtened by a knot leaving one end looſe.

much deſpiſe) with a moſt curious method of ejecting at pleaſure a glutinous thread many times double; and although moiſt, the ſpider can contrive to ſeparate or ſpin ſingly, by which means they not only leave their beautiful nets, but make a thread which has excited the wonder of thouſands, to know by what means they have croſſed roads, &c. And ſecondly, that by the power they have of lengthening thoſe threads they can croſs to any diſtance. It is indeed probable that inſtinct informs them when the wind is fair for their purpoſe; and it is remarkable that theſe powers are confined to the croſſing ſpider, as no other which I have ever met with poſſeſſes them. The largeſt ſpiders have the ſtrongeſt webs, and are beſt for the experiment; but the ſmalleſt have the ſame properties, and the thread may be ſeen to unfold with a good glaſs. By what means theſe threads are ſeparated at the inſtant they are drawn from the ſpider's body, I am at a loſs to determine, and by what kind of conſtruction the aperture from whence they are drawn is contrived to ſpin a thread of a gummy conſiſtence, either ſingle or double, at the pleaſure of the ſpider, is equally myſterious.

The ſpider, for ſome reaſon or other, is generally looked upon with abhorrence, and ſome have declared them to be poiſonous, but the fact is otherwiſe; they are perfectly innocent, which could be eaſily proved, and they are a very ingenious and wonderful little inſect, highly deſerving the attention of the curious. When I ſay they are not venomous, I ſpeak only of our Engliſh ſpiders; for notwithſtanding their dexterity in killing a fly, there is, I believe, no doubt as to the means they uſe for that purpoſe, being commonly done by inciſions made with their formidable forceps, and then ſucking their blood.

There are many other curious obſervations which might be made peculiar to the ſpider, and which I may at a future period trouble you to inſert in your valuable magazine.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.
R. Teed.

On Albinoes. By Dr. Trail.

From Nicholſon's Journal of Natural Hiſtory, &c.

The following account of a poor family in this town is tranſmitted for inſertion in your Journal, if deemed ſingular enough to entitle it to a place in that valuable miſcellany. The hiſtory was noted down a few days ago in my houſe from the words of the mother, who brought with her two of her children, who in all reſpects reſemble the Albinoes of Chamouni, ſo well deſcribed by de Sauſſure in his Voyage dans les Alpes.

Robert Edmond and his wife Anne are both natives of Angleſey in North Wales. He has blue eyes and hair almoſt black; her eyes are blue, and her hair of a light brown. Neither of them have remarkably fair ſkins. They have been married fourteen years. Their firſt child, a girl, had blue eyes and brown hair. The ſecond, a boy, (now before me) has the characteriſtics of an albino: viz. very

very fair ſkin, flaxen hair, and roſe-coloured eyes. The third and fourth children were twins, and both boys; one of them has blue eyes and dark brown hair; the other was an albino. The former is ſtill alive: the albino lived nine months, though a very puny child. The fifth child, a girl, had blue eyes and brown hair. The ſixth, and laſt now here, is a perfect albino.

The oldeſt of theſe albinoes is now nine years of age, of a delicate conſtitution, ſlender, but well formed both in perſon and in features; his appetite has always been bad; he frequently complains of a dull pain in his forehead, his ſkin is exceedingly fair, his hair flaxen and ſoft; his cheeks have very little of the roſe in them. The iris and pupil of his eyes are of a bright roſe-red colour, reflecting in ſome ſituations an opaline tinge. He cannot endure the ſtrong light of the ſun. When deſired to look up, his eyelids are in conſtant motion, and he is incapable of fixing the eye ſteadily on any object, as is obſerved in thoſe labouring under ſome kinds of ſlight ophthalmia, but in him it is unaccompanied by tears. His mother ſays, that his tears never flow in the coldeſt weather, but when vexed they are ſhed abundantly. The white of the eye is generally bloodſhot. He ſays he ſees better by candle than by day-light; eſpecially at preſent, when the reflection from the ſnow on the ground is extremely offenſive to him. He goes to ſchool, but generally retires to the darkeſt part of it to read his leſſon, becauſe this is moſt agreeable to his eyes. In my room, which has a northern aſpect, he can only diſtinguiſh ſome of the letters in the pages of the Edinburgh Review; but, if the light is not permitted to fall full on the book, he is able to read moſt of them. He holds the book very near his eye. His diſpoſition is very gentle; he is not deficient in intellect. His whole appearance is ſo remarkable, that ſome years ago a perſon attempted to ſteal him, and would have ſucceeded in dragging him away, had not his cries brought a perſon to his aſſiſtance.

The youngeſt child is now nine months old; is a very ſtout, lively, noiſy, and healthy boy. In other reſpects he perfectly reſembles his brother.

The mother ſays, that one of her *couſins* has a very fair ſkin, flaxen hair, and very weak light blue eyes. Profeſſor Blumenbach of Gottingen, in a curious memoir read before the royal ſociety of that city, endeavoured to prove, that the red colour of the eyes of the albinoes of Chamouni was owing to the want of *pigmentum* nigrum within the eye. About the ſame time, Buzzi of Milan had an opportunity of diſſecting an albino, and proved, that the *pigmentum nigrum* of the choroid coat, and alſo that portion of it which lies behind the iris, and is called uvea by anatomiſts, were wanting; thus demonſtrating what Blumenbach had ſuppoſed. This deficiency was obſerved before by Blumenbach in ſome white dogs, owls, and in white rabbits. Buzzi diſcovered, that the layer of the ſkin called *rete mucoſum* was alſo wanting, and to this he with great probability attributes the peculiar

peculiar fairneſs of the ſkin; the colouring matter of the negro, and of the hair of animals, being lodged in this membrane. It is well known, that from the tawny natives of Aſia, Africa, and America, albinoes ſometimes ſpring, who are ſaid to be capable of propagating a race like themſelves, when they intermarry. Whether this be the caſe with the albinoes of Europe is unknown; for, as far as I have been able to learn, not one of them was a female. There are on record eight inſtances of European albinoes, beſide the three now noticed. Two of theſe are deſcribed by Sauſſure, four by Buzzi, one by Helvetius, and one by Maupertius, all of whom were males. The parents of the two young men of Chamouni had female children of the uſual appearance. The woman of Milan had ſeven ſons, three of whom were albinoes. Mrs. Edmond's girls were all of the uſual appearance, but all her boys were albinoes. Among the eleven caſes not one albino girl has been found. This at leaſt proves, that males are more ſubject than females to this ſingular ſtructure.

From the perpetuation of this variety of the human ſpecies in Java, Guinea, and other places, as well as from the account Mrs. Edmond gives of her couſin, it would ſeem to be hereditary.

The cauſes which produce it are like thoſe which produce defect of limbs, or of various viſcera, wholly concealed from our curioſity. Buzzi relates, that the woman of Milan, when pregnant with the albinoes, always had an immoderate longing for milk, which ſhe uſed to exceſs; but never felt that deſire while pregnant with her other children; and he ſeems to aſcribe this longing to ſome *internal heat or diſeaſe*. Mrs. Edmond never experienced any ſenſation, which could lead her to diſtinguiſh between each kind of fœtus; nor was her general health ſenſibly affected in one caſe more than in the other. The ſtory of the milk, ſo much reſembles thoſe invented by our own good ladies to explain nœvi materni, or thoſe ſingular marks which are ſometimes obſervable on the bodies of children, that, I am not diſpoſed to pay much attention to it. With regard to the ſuppoſed internal diſeaſe, which Buzzi imagines deſtroyed the *rete mucoſum* of the albino fœtus, it is difficult to conceive any diſeaſe of the mother capable of producing ſo extenſive an effect on one of Mrs. Edmond's children, while its twin brother was altogether free from any mark of the exiſtence of ſuch malady. Beſide this, the regular alternation of the albinoes with her other children does not favour the notion of their peculiarities ariſing from diſeaſe in the ſyſtem of the mother. De Sauſſure very properly rejects the idea of this conformation being produced by the air of mountainous regions. The three albinoes I have juſt deſcribed were born near the ſea, on the extenſive plains of Lancaſhire, and the birth place of the parents is the flat iſland of Angleſey. Where facts are ſo few, and the cauſes ſeemingly ſo remote from human inveſtigation, it is better to reſt ſatisfied with having obſerved them, than to waſte time on uſeleſs hypotheſis.

Account

Account of the Diſcovery of a complete Mammoth.

From the ſame.

The bones that have been diſcovered in different parts of the northern hemiſphere ſufficiently prove the exiſtence of ſome large animal, or animals, now unknown; and ſome writers have even given a particular deſcription of the quadruped generally called a mammoth, though it would ſeem merely from the report of tradition among the uncultivated nations of the north. Lately, however, one has been found, not alive indeed, but complete, and in a ſtate of perfect preſervation, on the borders of the frozen ocean. The following is the account, that has been received of it from Peterſburg.

Schoumachoff, a Tungooſe chief, about the end of Auguſt 1799, when the fiſhing in the river Lena was over, repaired according to his annual cuſtom to the ſeaſide. Leaving his family in their huts, he coaſted along the ſhore in queſt of mammoth's tuſks, and one day perceived in the midſt of a rock of ice a large ſhapeleſs block, not at all reſembling the logs of drift wood commonly found there. He climbed the rock, and examined it all round, but could not make out what it was. The next year, viſiting the ſame ſpot, he found there the carcaſe of a ſeacow (*trichecus roſmarus*); and obſerved, not only that the maſs he had ſeen the year before was freer from ice, but that there were two ſimilar pieces by the ſide of it. Theſe afterward turned out to be the feet of the mammoth. In 1801, the ſide of the animal and one of its tuſks appearing very diſtinctly, he acquainted his wife and ſome of his friends with what he had found. This, however, gave them great alarm, for the old men ſaid, that they had been told by their forefathers a ſimilar monſter was once before ſeen in thoſe parts, and the whole family of the perſon who diſcovered it ſoon became extinct. At this Schoumachoff was ſo alarmed, that he fell ſick. On his recovery, however, he could not relinquiſh the expectation of the profit he might make of the tuſks; and directed his ſervants to conceal the circumſtance carefully, and endeavour to keep away all ſtrangers by ſome pretext or other. It was not till the fifth year, that the ice had melted ſufficiently to diſengage the mammoth, when it fell over on its ſide upon a bank of ſand. Schoumachoff then cut off the tuſks, which he bartered for goods to the value of 50 rubles [11l. 5s.] with a Ruſſian merchant. Being ſatisfied with this, the carcaſe was left to be devoured by the bears, wolves, and foxes, except what the Yakouts in the neighbourhood cut off to feed their dogs. Previous to this indeed he had a rude drawing made of it, which repreſents it with pointed ears, very ſmall eyes, horſe's hoofs, and a briſtly mane extending along the whole of its back. On this it has the appearance of ſomething between a pig and an elephant.

In 1806, Mr. Mich. Adams, of Peterſburg, being at Yakoutſk, fortunately heard of this circumſtance, and repaired to the ſpot. When he arrived there, the ſkeleton, nearly ſtripped of its fleſh, was entire, one of the forefeet excepted. The vertebræ,

vertebræ, from the head to the os coccygis, one of the ſhoulder blades, the pelvis, and the remaining three extremities, were ſtill held firmly together by the ligaments of the joints, and by ſtrips of ſkin and fleſh. The head was covered with a dry ſkin. One of the ears, well preſerved, was furniſhed with a tuft of briſtles. Theſe parts could not avoid receiving ſome injury during their removal to Peterſburgh, a diſtance of 11,000 werſts [6875 miles]: the eyes however are preſerved, and the pupil of the left eye is ſtill diſtinguiſhable. The tip of the under lip was eaten away; and the upper being deſtroyed, the teeth were expoſed. The brain, which was ſtill within the cranium, appeared dry. The parts leaſt damaged were one of the fore feet and one of the hind: theſe were ſtill covered with ſkin, and had the ſole attached to them.

According to the Tungooſe chief the animal was ſo corpulent and well fed, that its belly hung down below the knee joints. It was a male, with a long mane, but had neither tail nor trunk. From the ſtructure of the os coccygis, however, Mr. Adams is perſuaded, that it had a ſhort thick tail: and from the ſmallneſs of the ſnout and the ſize of its tuſks, he conceives it could not have been able to feed without the aſſiſtance of a proboſcis; but Schoumachoff perſiſted in the aſſertion, that he never ſaw any appearance of a trunk, and it does not appear probable, that even his rude draughtſman would have omitted ſuch a ſtriking feature. The ſkin, three-fourths of which are in poſſeſſion of Mr. Adams, the part that lay on the ground having been preſerved, was of a deep gray colour, and covered with reddiſh hair and black briſtles. Theſe, from the dampneſs of the ground, had loſt ſome part of their elaſticity. More than a poud (40lbs) weight of them, that had been trodden into the ground, by the bears, was collected, many of them an archine (2 feet 4 inches) long. What remained of the ſkin was ſo heavy, that ten perſons found great difficulty in carrying it to the ſeaſide, in order to ſtretch it on logs of wood. The head weighs $11\frac{1}{2}$ pouds (460lbs); the two horns, each of which is $1\frac{1}{2}$ toiſe ($9\frac{1}{2}$ feet) long, weigh 10 pouds (400lbs); and the entire animal meaſured $4\frac{1}{2}$ archines ($10\frac{1}{2}$ feet) high, by 7 ($16\frac{1}{2}$ feet) long. Mr. Adams has ſeen the tuſks of the mammoth ſo curved as to form three-fourths of a circle; and one at Yakoutſk $2\frac{1}{2}$ toiſes (15 feet 9 inches) long, an archine (2 feet 4 inches) thick near the root, and weighing 7 pouds (280lbs.) They are curved in the direction oppoſite to thoſe of the elephant, bending toward the body of the animal; and the point is always more or leſs worn on the outſide, ſo that the right tuſk is eaſily diſtinguiſhable from the left. He adds, that he found a great quantity of amber on the ſhores.

We underſtand he wiſhes to diſpoſe of the ſkeleton, and means to employ the money in a journey toward the north pole, and particularly in viſiting what is called the iſland of Ljachow, or Sichow, which, from the information he has received, he believes to be part of the continent of North America.

Account

Account of an extinct Volcano in Britain. Communicated by Mr. Donovan. From the Same.

Mr. Donovan announces ſome particulars of an extraordinary nature to the ſcientific world, reſpecting one of the Cambrian mountains, which, from the reſult of attentive obſervation, and indubitable evidence, he endeavours to demonſtrate muſt have been at ſome remote period a volcano of immenſe magnitude. The mountain alluded to is Cader Idris, ſituate in the county of Merioneth, which in point of ſize is eſteemed the moſt conſiderable in the principality of Wales, Snowdon alone excepted.

The remarkable appearance of this ſtupendous mountain attracted the attention of Mr. Donovan about ſeven years ago. He was then led to conſider, from a variety of circumſtances, that the original form of the mountain muſt have undergone very material alteration, occaſioned as he conceived by the powerful effects of the volcanic exploſion; but his remarks were not ſufficiently preciſe to authoriſe the aſſertion. Since that period he has examined the mountain in a leſs curſory manner, more eſpecially in the ſummer of 1807, when he was at full leiſure to devote ſome time to this intereſting ſubject of enquiry, and his obſervations in the latter inſtance tend entirely to confirm the idea firſt ſuggeſted. In ſupport of this opinion Mr. Donovan has now added to his muſeum abundant examples of different kinds of lava, pumice, and other volcanic matters of the moſt unequivocal characters, collected by himſelf from the ſides and baſe of the mountain; and alſo a ſuite of the remarkable and ſingularly formed columnar cryſtals of baſalt, that are ſcattered in profuſion about the loftieſt ſummit and cliffs ſurrounding the crater.

The general aſpect of this crater is exactly that of mount Veſuvius, except that one of its ſides is broken down, by which means the abyſs of this funnel-ſhaped excavation is more completely diſcloſed than in the Veſuvian mountain; and it is this ſide of Cader Idris which affords the moſt illuſtrative examples of porous ſtones, theſe forming immenſe beds on the declivities a few inches only in many inſtances below the ſurface of the earth. A number of theſe porous ſtones lately found in this ſpot by Mr. Donovan, exhibit evident marks of ſtrong ignition and vitrification; ſome are reduced to the ſtate of ſlags, while others have all the cellular appearance and lightneſs of pumice.

Without entering upon any diſcuſſion as to the relative merits of the Neptunian and Vulcanian theories, it muſt be admitted, that the agency of water might have contributed materially to affect thoſe changes in the primitive form of the Cader Idris mountain which have evidently taken place. But with reſpect to the crater itſelf, this appears very clearly to have derived its origin from the violence of an exploſion upwards, in which a very conſiderable portion of the higheſt eminence was torn from its native bed of rocks, and thrown to a conſiderable height over the other parts of the mountain. In confirmation of

this ſuggeſtion it ſhould be mentioned, that the ſummit of the mountain is covered with an immenſe wreck of the ſtones, ejected as it is preſumed from the crater at the time of this exploſion; it would be difficult otherwiſe to account for the vaſt profuſion of thoſe ſtones ſcattered in all directions about the loftieſt elevations, and which, from the confuſed manner in which they are diſperſed, muſt have been thrown into their preſent ſituation by no ſmall violence. Myriads of theſe ſtones have borne a regular cryſtallized form, though from their great bulk and weight they have for the moſt part ſuffered material injury in the general convulſion. The uſual length of theſe cryſtals is from three to ſix or ten feet in length: ſome meaſure even fifteen or twenty, and one in particular, which Mr. Donovan has ſeen, was twenty-two feet three inches long. They are, however, ſlender in proportion to the length.

The ſubſtance of theſe chryſtals is of the baſalt kind, and correſponds very nearly with ſome varieties of the "*lave porphyre*" of Etna deſcribed by Dolomieu, and Faujas de St. Fond; and in the form of its cryſtals agrees with others of the *baſaltes priſmatique* of the laſt author. In the neptunian theory it is not indeed admitted as a baſalt, but as a porphyry argil. It is the *porphir Schiefer* of Werner, and porphyry ſlate, or clinkſtone porphyry of Jamieſon.

The ſuite of theſe ſtupendous chryſtals, which Mr. Donovan collected from the ſummit of Cader Idris laſt ſummer, and has lately added to his muſeum, conſiſts of a ſmall trihedral column about eighteen inches in length; a tetrahedral column of much ſuperior ſize; an intereſting portion of a pentagonal column, and another of the ſame figure about four feet in length, and having the termination of the cryſtal complete. The latter is eſtimated at about five hundred weight, but this is ſtill exceeded by another of ſomewhat compreſſed hexagonal figure with an oblique termination. The whole of theſe are very perfect, and extremely well defined.

USEFUL PROJECTS.

List of Patents for New Inventions, &c. granted in 1808.

WILLIS Earle, of Liverpool; for certain improvements in the tillage and dreſſing of land, and the cultivation of plants. Dated January 13.

James Lee, of Plaiſtow, in the county of Eſſex, merchant; and John Perrin, of the ſame place, eſq.; for their new mode of preparing certain kinds of hemp, by which the value and utility of the articles is much increaſed. Dated January 13.

John Wilkinſon, of Bradley iron works, in the liberty of Bilſton, in the county of Stafford, eſq.; for his new method of making pig or caſt metal from the ore; which, when manufactured into bar iron, will be found equal in quality to any that is imported from Ruſſia or Sweden. Dated January 23.

Andrew Johanſen, of Homerton, in the county of Middleſex, gent.; for his improved methods of manufacturing a kind of tablet or artificial whetſtone, for whetting or ſharpening razors, pen knives, ſurgeon's inſtruments, and other cutlery, which he uſually denominates "Potific Tablets." Dated January 23.

Edward Moore Noble, of Birmingham, ſurgeon; for his new method of making carbonate of lead, commonly called white lead. Dated January 23.

Samuel Phelps, of Cuper's-bridge, Lambeth, in the county of Surry, eſq.; for certain improvements in manufacturing ſoap. Dated January 23.

Thomas Preſton, jun. of Tooley-ſtreet, in the county of Surry, lead merchant; for his new method of ſetting boilers for ſteam-engines, pans for melting lead, tin, pewter, and other metals, of eaſy fuſion; and new mode of diſcharging the pans for melting lead, tin, pewter, &c. as before-named when full, and ſetting coppers and boilers of every deſcription. Dated January 26.

George Savage, of Huddersfield, in the county of York, watch-maker; for his new method of regulating or equalizing the force or power of the main ſpring in watches, or other machines for meaſuring time. Dated January 26.

William Stewart, of Limehouſe, in the county of Middleſex, builder; for certain improvements in making bricks

bricks and tiles. Dated January 26.

Joſeph Johnſon, and John Wilmot, of Birmingham, in the county of Warwick, manufacturers; for their new kind of warming pans, which are not only applicable to the purpoſe of airing and warming beds, but alſo for airing and warming rooms or carriages, or for other purpoſes requiring a long and protracted heat. Dated January 28.

William Newberry, of St. John's-ſtreet, in the county of Middleſex, gent.; for certain machinery for the purpoſe of ſawing wood, ſplitting or paring ſkins. Dated January 30.

John Dumbell, of Merſey-mills, in the pariſh of Warrington, and county palatine of Lancaſter, miller; for his method or methods of obtaining, producing, uſing, and cultivating a moving power or force, and of communicating motion to engines, pumps, and machinery, and to mechanical operations in general, and of forming and uſing a rotary or circular motion, or a motion to and fro, ad libitum; and a method or methods of working and applying the ſame to mills, machinery, ploughs, tools and equipage in general, and almoſt to an endleſs variety of valuable purpoſes, and in particular to carriages; and alſo a method or methods of making leſs diſaſtrous and leſs frequent the overturning of carriages, and of improving their ſtructure, and of guiding and governing the ſame, which carriages or mechaniſm, when embracing his appendages and conceits, he diſtinguiſhes by the name of Oſs or George's Wain. Dated February 4.

Samuel Brown, a lieutenant in the royal navy, and now reſiding in Caſtle-court, Budge-row, Watling-ſtreet, in the city of London; for certain inventions and improvements in the rigging of ſhips or veſſels. Dated February 4.

William Francis Snowden, of Oxford-ſtreet, in the county of Middleſex, engine maker; for certain improvements in an engine for cutting hay and ſtraw into chaff, and for cutting other articles. Dated February 4.

John Shorter Morris, of Pancras-place, in the county of Middleſex, gent. for a certain machine for mangling. Dated February 4.

Ralph Wedgwood, of Oxford-ſtreet, in the county of Middleſex, gent.; for his apparatus for producing ſeveral original writings or drawings at one and the ſame time, which he calls a pennapolygraph, or pen and ſtylographic manifold writer. Dated February 22.

Samuel Thomſon, of Addle-ſtreet, in the city of London, calenderer; for a machine, engine, or frame, for the purpoſe of widening or ſtretching to the width, leather, cloth of linen, cloth of cotton, cloth of woollen, or of a mixture of either brown, bleached, printed, ſtained, or dyed, and all deſcriptions of piece goods. Dated March 3.

Richard Willcox, of the pariſh of St. Mary Lambeth, in the county of Surry, mechaniſt; for certain machinery or apparatus, whereby all objects in the ſea or clear water can be diſcovered from the ſurface thereof with accuracy; and for raiſing, ſuſpending, and towing into harbour, ſhips of war and every other deſcription of veſſels that are or may be ſunk at ſea, or near the

ſea-coaſt, channels, harbours, road-ſteads, or other places; and removing ſunken rocks, or other obſtructions in rivers, harbours, and channels. Dated March 3.

Frederic Albert Winſor, of Pall Mall, in the county of Middleſex, eſq.; for certain improvements upon his former patent oven, ſtove, or apparatus, for carbonizing all ſorts of new fuel and combuſtibles, and reducing them into ſuperior fuel of coke and charcoal, as well as for extracting and ſaving during the ſame proceſs the oil, tar, pyroligneous vegetable acid, and ammoniacal coal liquors; and for extracting and refining all the inflammable air or gas ſo as to deprive it of all diſagreeable odour during combuſtion, and rendering the gas itſelf ſalutary for human reſpiration when properly diluted with atmoſpheric air; and various methods of applying the above products to uſeful purpoſes. Dated March 3.

John Cowden, and John Partridge, of Francis-ſtreet, Tottenham-court-road, in the county of Middleſex, ſtove-grate-manufacturers; for certain improvements in regiſter and other ſtoves. Dated March 3.

Thomas Jefferſon, of the pariſh of St. Saviour's, Southwark, in the county of Surry, tanner and leather dreſſer; Joſeph Ellis, of the pariſh of St. Saviour, aforeſaid, tanner and leather dreſſer; and Alexander Galloway, of Holborn, in the county of Middleſex, mechaniſt and engineer; for a machine or machines for the purpoſe of finiſhing, glazing, and gloſſing of leather. Dated March 7.

Marc Iſambard Brunel, of Chelſea, in the county of Middleſex; for certain improvements on circular ſaws for ſawing wood in an eaſy and expeditious manner. Dated March 14.

Henry Maudſley, of Margaret-ſtreet, Cavendiſh-ſquare, in the county of Middleſex, mechaniſt; for a machine or machines for printing calicoes and other articles. Dated March 14.

Bryan Donkin, of Fort-place, Bermondſey, in the county of Surry, gent.; for a pen upon a new conſtruction. Dated March 14.

George Nathaniel Pollard, of Queen-ſtreet, in the county of Surry, lapidary; for certain improvements in machinery for grinding, ſmoothing, and poliſhing, plate and other glaſs for looking-glaſſes, mirrors, and various other articles. Dated March 14.

Edward Weeks, of Llavenyhall, in the pariſh of Hanlan, and county of Denbigh, in North Wales, gardener; for a forcing frame, on a new and improved conſtruction, for raiſing and forcing cucumbers, melons, and ſtrawberries, and various other fruits and plants which require the application of artificial heat to rear or ripen the ſame. Dated March 17.

Anthony Thomas, of Duke-ſtreet, St. James's, in the county of Middleſex; for a method of manufacturing hats, bonnets, and other articles of the like deſcription. Dated March 26.

Benjamin Cook, of Birmingham, in the county of Warwick, manufacturer; for a method of making barrels for fowling-pieces, muſkets, piſtols, and other ſimilar fire arms, and ram-rods for the ſame. Dated March 28.

John Dickſon, of Edward-ſtreet, in the county of Surry, engineer; for

for a method of conſtructing cocks for ſtopping fluids; and which cocks, by one motion or operation, will permit ſuch fluids to paſs in different directions. Dated March 29.

Charles Dibdin, of Cranford, in the county of Middleſex, gent.; for a method of facilitating the learning of muſic. Dated April 9.

Daniel Dering Matthew, of Upper Marybone-ſtreet, in the county of Middleſex, Eſq.; for certain improvements in the conſtruction of watches and chronometers. Dated April 27.

William Chapman, of the town and county of Newcaſtle-upon-Tyne, civil engineer; for his method or methods of conveying coals and other minerals in the working of mines or below ground, and of returning the empty veſſels and carriages, ſo as to ſave much labour and expenſe. Dated April 27.

William Bell, of Birmingham, in the county of Warwick, engineer; for an improvement in making pipes or pumps for conducting water and other liquids. Dated April 30.

Edward Coleman, Profeſſor of the Veterinary College, in the pariſh of St. Pancras, in the county of Middleſex; for certain improvements in the conſtruction and application of a horſe ſhoe, which will completely prevent ſeveral diſeaſes to which the feet of horſes are ſubject, more eſpecially that very general diſeaſe called *contraction of the hoof*, and is alſo particularly adapted for convex feet, for horſes of cavalry, and for hunting, and for all other purpoſes where the loſs of a ſhoe is productive of great inconvenience. Dated April 30.

Rebecca Ching, of Ruſh Common, in the pariſh of St. Mary Lambeth, in the county of Surry, widow of John Ching, late of Cheapſide, in the city of London, apothecary; for certain improvements in a medicine now called Ching's worm-deſtroying lozenges, for which her ſaid late huſband obtained letters patent, bearing date June 28, 1796. Dated May 7.

John Harriott, of Wapping, in the county of Middleſex, Eſq.; for a new fire-eſcape, or machinery to be uſed in caſe of fire. Dated May 10.

William Hunt, of Brades, in the pariſh of Rowley Regis, in the county of Stafford, iron maſter; for a method of rolling moulds, or plates of trowels from pieces of either bliſter, ſheer, or caſt ſteel, of a ſquare or nearly ſquare, or oblong form. Dated May 10.

John Watſon, late of Bury-place, Bloomſbury, in the county of Middleſex, gent., but now a priſoner in the King's Bench priſon; for certain improvements in the art of ſoap making, by which the article is in ſeveral reſpects ameliorated. Dated May 10.

Cheſter Gould, of the pariſh of St. Luke, Old-ſtreet, in the county of Middleſex, gent.; for certain improvements in the conſtruction of a machine for waſhing or cleanſing linen and various other articles. Dated May 17.

William Congreve, of Garden-court, Temple, in the county of Middleſex, Eſq.; for a gun-carriage of the ſimpleſt conſtruction, either for land or ſea ſervice, calculated to reduce very conſiderably the labour of working the guns, to produce a ſmooth and even recoil, and to prevent the violent action

action that takes place in common carriages when the gun is fired; at the same time the carriage is of much lighter, less expensive construction, and less liable to be struck and splintered by the enemy's shot, as presenting much less surface; when applied to the sea service, it allows, moreover, of a very considerable reduction in the size of the port. Dated May 24.

John Stedman, of Horton Kirby, in the county of Kent, farmer; for a patten and clog of infinite utility and use to such persons who may wear them. Dated May 24.

William Henry Potter, of No. 5, Pemberton-row, Gough-square, in the City of London, flute-maker; for certain new improvements in German flutes and other wind musical instruments. Dated May 28.

Joseph Willmore, of Birmingham, in the county of Warwick, silversmith, and John Tonks, of the same place, plater; for a new method and processes in the manufacturing of nails. Dated May 28.

Robert Ransome, of Ipswich, in the county of Suffolk, iron-founder; for his improvements on the wheel and swing plough. Dated May 30.

David Thomas, of Featherstone-buildings, in the county of Middlesex, gent.; for a perforated vessel, percolater and frame, for making and preparing portable coffee. Dated May 30.

Thomas Smith, the younger, of Capon Field Iron Works, near Bilston, in the county of Stafford, iron-master; for certain improvements in steam-engines. Dated June 3.

Ralph Dodd, of Change-alley, in the City of London, engineer; for improved bridge-floorings or platforms, and fire-proof roofings for extensive dwelling-houses, warehouses, and mills. Dated June 3.

William Shotwell, of the city of New York, in North America, now residing in the parish of St. Mary, Lambeth, in the county of Surrey, gent.; for certain improvements in the manufacturing of mustard. Communicated to him by a foreigner abroad. Dated June 14.

George Tennant, of Great Ormond-street, in the county of Middlesex, gent. and Alexander Galloway, of Holborn, in the same county, mechanist; for a machine or machines for cutting all sorts of fustians, usually denominated constitution cord, tabby cord, shaft cord, thickset, tabby velveteen, genoa velveteen, velveret, and every other species of fustian, velveret, and velveteen; also velvet, plush, and other cloths or goods made of cotton, silk, woollen, or any mixture thereof, usually cut in the manufacture of such articles. Dated June 14.

George Lowe, of Cheapside, in the City of London, cotton-spinner; for an improvement in the manufacture of a fabric, composed of flax and cotton, which is applicable to many useful purposes. Dated June 23.

Samuel Gadd, of Shadwell, in the county of Middlesex, rope-maker; for an improvement in the art of rope-making, upon the principle of composing each strand of rope with two distinct threads twisted together, and of the arrangement of the apparatus by which the principle is carried into effect. Dated June 25.

John Hall, of the town and county

county of the town of Kingſton-upon-Hull, rope-maker; for certain improvements in making and manufacturing ropes and other cordage, and coiling of lines in whale-boats. Dated June 28.

George Pocock, of the city of Briſtol, ſchool-maſter; for geographical ſlates for the conſtruction of maps. Dated June 28.

Richard Trevithick, of Rotherhithe, in the county of Surrey, engineer, and Robert Dickenſon, of Great Queen-ſtreet, in the county of Middleſex, Eſq.; for certain machinery for towing, driving, or forcing and diſcharging ſhips and other veſſels of their cargoes. Dated July 5.

William Proctor, of Sheffield, in the county of York, optician; for improved methods of melting and uſing malleable wrought iron or ſteel. Dated July 6.

James Browell, of Cornhill, in the City of London, tailor and draper, James Jacks, of Cornhill aforeſaid, tailor and draper, and Thomas Lennitte, of Aldgate, in the ſaid City of London, man's mercer; for a new chemical preparation for the purpoſe of preſerving from deſtruction by mildew, rot, or fermentation, all kinds of woollen and vegetable ſubſtances from which woollen, cotton, and linen clothes, canvas, paper, and other manufactures, are made; and alſo for rendering all ſorts of woollen, cotton and linen cloths, canvas, ſilk, leather, hats, and paper, impervious to rain, by an improved method. Dated July 11.

John Heathcoat, of Loughborough, in the county of Leiceſter, manufacturer; for a machine for the making or manufacturing of bobbin-lace, or lace nearly reſembling French lace. Dated July 14.

Benjamin Croſby, of the pariſh of St. Martin, Ludgate, in the City of London, bookſeller; for a ſtand for books, which may be made either circular, ſquare, or any other convenient ſhape, and may be turned or moved at pleaſure, with caſes to receive books, as well as various other articles and things. Dated July 25.

William Hawkes, of Newport, in the county of Salop, Eſq.; for improvements on muſical keyed inſtruments of twelve fixed tones. Dated July 25.

George Richards, of Truro, in the county of Cornwall, architect; for ſingle and double cannon, carronades, or ordnance, muſquets, and all other kind of fire arms, on a new principle, and a new method of charging or loading the ſame, and of fixing or placing bayonets on fire arms. Dated July 30.

Joſeph Maſon Gueſt, of Birmingham, in the county of Warwick, thread-manufacturer; for an improved mill for twiſting thread for various purpoſes. Dated July 30.

John Carr, of Bell Vue Houſe, in the pariſh of Sheffield, in the county of York, gent.; for a method of applying flat ropes, flat bands or belts of every kind, to capſtans and windlaſſes of ſhips and veſſels in, out of, or about ports, harbours, rivers, ſeas, or creeks, and alſo a method of applying flat or round ropes, lines, bands, or belts, for the purpoſe of catching and detaining whales. Dated July 30.

Luke Herbert, of the pariſh of St. Stephen, Walbrook, in the City of London, gent.; for a machine

on an improved conſtruction, for poliſhing, emboſſing, and graining leather, and extending and flattening the ſame. Dated July 30.

Charles Goſtling Townley, of Ramſgate, in the county of Kent, Eſq.; for a key which regulates the tone of the flute, or other muſical inſtrument, capable of improvement, by cauſing the box of it to lengthen or contract at pleaſure, which key may be called the tone-regulating key. Dated Auguſt 9.

James Gale, of Shadwell, in the county of Middleſex, rope-maker; for certain improvements in rope-making. Dated Auguſt 18.

Alexander Tilloch, of Barnſbury-ſtreet, Iſlington, in the county of Middleſex, gent.; for a new phyſico-mechanical power, or, in other words, improved machinery or apparatus capable of being employed as a moving power to work or drive machinery and mill work, and applicable to other uſeful purpoſes. Dated Auguſt 20.

Thomas Price, of Bilſton, in the county of Stafford, coal-maſter; for improvements in the application of ſteam for uſeful purpoſes, and in the apparatus required to effect the ſame. Dated Auguſt 24.

Thomas Mead, of Scott-ſtreet, in the pariſh of Sculcoates, in the county of York, engineer; for a method or methods of making and conſtructing circular or rotative ſteam engines upon an entire new principle, and employing the elaſtic or expanſive force of ſteam in a much more efficacious and advantageous manner than has hitherto been done. Dated Auguſt 24.

William Congreve, of Garden-court, in the Temple, in the county of Middleſex, Eſq.; for a new principle of meaſuring time, and conſtructing clocks and chronometers. Dated Auguſt 24.

Joſeph Cuff, the younger, of Whitechapel, in the county of Middleſex, cheeſemonger and bacon merchant; for certain machinery for the more eaſy, expeditious, and better method of ſlaughtering hogs, bullocks, and other cattle, whereby much labour will be ſaved, and the fleſh of ſuch cattle greatly improved in quality, and will be more eaſily and better cured and preſerved. Dated Auguſt 25.

John Dumbell of Merſey mills, in the pariſh of Warrington, and county palatine of Lancaſter, miller; for a method or methods of flax-ſpinning, and of preparing or making a ſpecial twiſt thread, furniture, cloth, frills or attire, which he calls *Telary Teguments*, from ſilk, wool, cotton, flax, hemp or tow, as well as from a great variety of other articles (in a combined or uncombined ſtate;) and for a method or methods of refabricating or renovating the ſame, and of producing or reproducing from tatters in general a new body. Dated Auguſt 25.

John Warren, of the town and county of the town of Poole, ſtone-maſon; for an apparatus to prevent chimneys from ſmoking, and to extinguiſh fires in grates and ſtoves without making any duſt or ſmoke injurious to the room or furniture. Dated September 15.

Edward Moſſey, of Newcaſtle, in the county of Stafford, clock and watch-maker; for an improved cock for drawing off liquors. Dated September 24.

Thomas Paton, of the pariſh of Chriſt Church, in the county of Surrey,

Surrey, engineer; for an improved wheel for various uſeful purpoſes. Dated Sept. 24.

Sebaſtian Erard, of Great Marlborough-ſtreet, in the county of Middleſex; for certain improvements upon piano-fortes, large and ſmall, and upon harps, for which harps he has already obtained letters patent. Dated September 24.

Edward Thomaſon, of Birmingham, in the county of Warwick, manufacturer; for various improvements in the conſtruction of umbrellas and paraſols. Dated October 8.

Richard Trevithick, of Rotherhithe, in the county of Surrey, engineer, and Robert Dickinſon, of Great Queen-ſtreet, in the county of Middleſex, Eſq.; for a new method or way of ſtowing cargoes of ſhips and other veſſels by means of packages, for containing goods and products of certain deſcriptions deſtined for conveyances by ſea, not hitherto employed, by which means, expences of ſtowage-room will be ſaved, and the contents be rendered more ſecure from damage. Dated October 31.

Henry Van Wart, of Liverpool, in the county palatine of Lancaſter, merchant; for a method of making a machine for manufacturing thimbles for the ſails of ſhips and veſſels, and for all ſorts of rigging, and other purpoſes, communicated to him by Iſaiah Jennings, a citizen of the United States of America. Dated October 31.

Joſeph Anthony Berrolas, of Denmark-ſtreet, in the pariſh of St. Giles in the Fields, in the county of Middleſex, watch-maker; for a method of making infallible repeating watches. Dated October 31.

Zachariah Barrat, of Croydon, in the county of Surrey, gent.; for a machine for waſhing linen and cotton clothes, and other ſimilar things, to which may be affixed or omitted at pleaſure, a contrivance for preſſing the water from them, now commonly done by wringing. Dated October 31.

Phineas Andrews, of Haverſtock-hill, in the pariſh of Hampſtead, in the county of Middleſex, gent.; for certain improvements in the conſtruction of a machine for threſhing of corn, grain, and pulſe, and all kinds of ſeed. Dated October 31.

Samuel Crackles, of the town and county of the town of Kingſton-upon-Hull, bruſh-manufacturer; for a method of making and manufacturing of bruſhes from whale-bone, which have heretofore been uſually made and manufactured from briſtles. Dated November 3.

Samuel Brookes, of Bermondſey, in the county of Surrey, tanner; for ſplitting raw bull, ox, and cow hides, ſo that each ſide of the hide ſo ſplit may be manufactured for the purpoſes for which an entire hide has been before uſed, as follows: the grain ſide for coach and chaiſe hides, and other purpoſes; and the fleſh ſide for loſh hides, for white leather, for vellum, for tanning, and for other purpoſes. Dated November 3.

John Heartley, John Muſgrave, and William Farmery, of Leeds, in the county of York, machine-makers; for a machine for the purpoſe of preparing, roving, ſlubbing, ſpinning, twiſting, and doubling of cotton, flax, hemp, tow, worſted, wool,

wool, ſilk, or any other ſubſtance, into threads, preparatory to their being manufactured, or otherwiſe uſed. Dated November 8.

Nicholas Fairleſs, of South Shields, in the county of Durham, Eſq.; for a windlaſs, windlaſs-bitts, and metallic horſe hold chamber, whereby great manual labour is ſaved, and a conſiderable leſs time is neceſſary in heaving to, and getting on board ſhips anchors, either in moderate weather or in gales of wind. Dated November 15.

Jonathan Dickſon, of the pariſh of Chriſt Church, and county of Surrey, ſteam engine-maker; for improvements in the conſtructions of tuns, coolers, vatts, and backs uſed by brewers, diſtillers, and others. Dated November 15.

Charles Goſling Townley, of Ramſgate, in the county of Kent, Eſq.; for an improvement applicable to muſical inſtruments of different deſcriptions. Dated November 26.

Frederic Nolan, of Stratford, near Colcheſter, in the county of Eſſex, clerk; for certain improvements in the conſtruction of flutes, flageolets, hautbois, and other wind inſtruments now in uſe. Dated November 26.

Charles Seward, of Lancaſter, in the county of Lancaſter, block tin manufacturer; for ſome improvements in the conſtruction of lamps. Dated November 26.

John Schmidt, of St. Mary Axe, London, watch-maker; for a phantaſmagoria chronometer, or nocturnal dial, repreſenting, or making viſible at night, to an enlarged ſize, the dial of a watch againſt the wall of a room; the reflection obtained by a light and optical apparatus being at the ſame time ſufficient to give the room a pleaſing illumination: the nocturnal dial may, with little alteration, be conſtructed of any watch or time-piece; but to render the whole as ſimple and uſeful as poſſible, he has alſo invented a mechaniſm or inſtrument which is applicable to, or ſeparately uſeful from, the above, on account of its peculiar action, which he calls *The Myſterious Circulator*, or *Chronological Equilibrium:* this equilibrium requiring only one hand or nonius to ſhew ſeconds, minutes, and hours, and is particularly uſeful, and may (if required) with little alteration, repreſent an orrery. Dated December 20.

John Frederic Archbold, of Great Charlotte-ſtreet, Blackfriars-road, in the county of Surrey; for improvements in making brandy; compriſing, firſt, a new method in making wine, as the worts or muſt for making the brandy, and a ſtill applicable to the working off the ſame; and a new method of rectifying the ſpirit when worked off. Dated December 20.

William Thompſon, of Deritend, in the pariſh of Aſton, near Birmingham, in the county of Warwick, lockſmith; for a new invented lock, which acts in a perpendicular, and then in a horizontal direction, with ſprings and tumblers, one part being at liberty whilſt the other is in motion, the bolts of which lock return into the body thereof when it is unlocked. Dated December 29.

Malcolm M'George, of Bell-yard, Carey-ſtreet, in the county of Middleſex, muſical inſtrument-maker, and William M'Farland, of the Strand, in the county of Middleſex, umbrella-manufacturer; for

for certain improvements in the conſtruction of umbrellas and paraſols. Dated December 29.

William Steel, of Liverpool, in the county of Lancaſter, glaſs-dealer; for an entire new machine, engine, or inſtrument for making white ſalt, which will be much more uſeful and advantageous to the public than any machine, engine, or inſtrument hitherto invented for the purpoſe. Dated December 29.

Method of making Embankments. By P. Howard, Eſq.

(From Communications to the Board of Agriculture, Vol. VI. Part 3.)

Sir,

As a good method of embankment againſt the depredations of rivers and torrents, or againſt the ſea, or for the purpoſe of gaining land from it, is in many places of great conſequence, I beg leave to offer to you, Sir, and the Board, the information I have obtained on that head abroad. At this time, when ſo many banks have been waſhed down, it may be particularly uſeful.

That great and impetuous river the Rhine, makes frequent encroachments on its banks, carrying away whole acres in a ſingle flood, and ſometimes leaving pools of twenty feet deep in their place. Near the citadel of Straſbourg it has long menaced to carry off conſiderable portions of its banks, and had in many parts effected it; of courſe the attention of the French engineers has been long excited to find means of diverting thoſe depredations. After many experiments, they have found that the only effectual method was by faſcines, in the following manner.

They make faſcines of long bruſh-wood of any kind, but with a conſiderable mixture of willow, of which they have formed for the purpoſe, large plantations in a ſwampy iſland between the Rhine and the ſea. Theſe faſcines are a foot thick, and eight or nine feet long, bound with three bands of willow: rows of theſe, conſiſting of two faſcines in breadth, or of more if the embankment requires it, with their heads oppoſite, and the bruſh part inward, are firſt laid, and on them a foot of gravel; two or three ſtrong willow ſtakes are drove through each faſcine into the ground. Succeſſive rows of faſcines and gravel are laid on theſe in the ſame manner. As ſoon as this maſs has been raiſed ſomewhat above the uſual level of the water, the embankment is narrowed, by drawing in the ſucceeding rows of faſcines about eight inches or a foot from the perpendicular, thereby offering a gentle ſlope to the current: to prevent the gravel from being waſhed out before it has time to conſolidate, it is preſerved by a little willow fence. When brought to a ſufficient height the whole is covered with gravel, and a ſufficient quantity of ſtrong willow ſtakes drove into it. By theſe means they have not only recovered and ſecured the broken banks of the Rhine, but have been able, notwithſtanding the impetuoſity of that river, to run out very extenſive jetties to break and divert the currents which threatened them. After many expenſive experiments, the engineers have found this method the only ſure way of preventing

venting the devaſtations of that great river, rendered impetuous by the melting of the ſnows in Switzerland.

As an improvement in the method, I ſhould ſuggeſt that the faſcines under water ſhould be made of ſtrong furze inſtead of bruſh-wood; its wood is not only hard and laſting, but the nature of its prickly leaves is very proper to arreſt, and retain the ſlime and ſludge, brought down by the waters in great floods; whenever it can be had, it will alſo be cheaper. After having been at very great, and always uſeleſs, expences in forming banks by frames of wood and ſtone, to defend ſome very fine meadows in my eſtate in the county of Durham, from the inroads of the river Tees, I ordered, when at Straſbourg, ſome to be made by my ſteward in this manner, which, though not well executed, from a ſcarcity of proper bruſh-wood, are the only ones which have now for eight years reſiſted all the violence of that torrent-like river: my ſon has ſince ſucceſsfully tried the ſame method in the river Eden in Cumberland.

I ſhall be very happy if this method ſhould be approved by the board, and afford a ſimple means of repairing the numerous devaſtations made by this laſt winter's floods.

PHILIP HOWARD.

On the deſtroying of Inſects. By Captain Schank.

(From the ſame.)

"Sir,

"When I had the honour to receive yours of the 16th inſt. I thought it my duty to get you ſuch obſervations as I had made in writing, but I am ſorry to ſay all my endeavours are ineffectual, thoſe papers being loſt.

"And in general terms I can only ſay, in the ſpring and ſummer of 1793, the vermin of all ſorts were in great numbers, and exceedingly deſtructive. Having all kinds of coal tar, I put one gallon into a ten gallon keg, and then put nine gallons of freſh water in with the gallon of tar, and mixed or ſtirred them up for about one hour. I poured the water off into watering pans, and in all places where I ſaw the vermin, I poured the water over them, and in a few minutes all the ſmaller kinds died, but the black-ſhelled ſnail threw off a kind of ſkin, and appeared as not much hurt; ſoon after a ſecond and ſometimes a third. Many of them died and ſome did not; theſe laſt I put under a garden pot, and found they recovered perfectly well. I then dug a hole eighteen inches deep, and put into the hole about two gallons of all ſorts of inſects I could find in the garden, and covered them over with earth, with which I filled the hole up to the top, and poured upon it one gallon of water, to try if the filtering it through the earth would leſſen the effect of the impregnated water. In about an hour after, I took up the earth and found the whole of the inſects dead, except one black-ſhelled ſnail. I do not remember whether it died or recovered; but I think it recovered. I then tried the experiment with ſalt water, and alſo with freſh water, mixing lime with both the impregnated waters. In both trials the vermin died much ſooner. Had I not

I not been called on ſervice, it was my intention to have carried on my experiments, and made obſervations on them; but I can only now ſay that my garden was about a quarter of an acre, and I uſed about two or three gallons of coal tar.

"Should this account occaſion your wiſh for my anſwering any queſtion, I ſhould be glad to do myſelf the honour to attend to your appointment.

JOHN SCHANK."

Application of Coal Gas to Economical Purpoſes.

(From a Paper, by Mr. Murdoch, in the Philoſophical Tranſactions for 1808.)

"The facts and reſults intended to be communicated in this paper, are founded upon obſervations made, during the preſent winter, at the cotton manufactory of Meſſrs. Philips and Lee at Mancheſter, where the light obtained by the combuſtion of the gas from coal is uſed upon a very large ſcale; the apparatus for its production and application having been prepared by me at the works of Meſſrs. Boulton, Watt, and Co. at Soho.

"The whole of the rooms at this cotton mill, which is, I believe, the moſt extenſive in the united kingdom, as well as its counting-houſes and ſtore-rooms, and the adjacent dwelling-houſe of Mr. Lee, are lighted with the gas from coal. The total quantity of light uſed during the hours of burning, has been aſcertained, by a compariſon of ſhadows, to be about equal to the light which 2500 mould candles of ſix in the pound would give; each of the candles, with which the compariſon was made, conſuming at the rate of 4-10ths of an ounce (175 grains) of tallow per hour.

"The quantity of light is neceſſarily liable to ſome variation, from the difficulty of adjuſting all the flames, ſo as to be perfectly equal at all times: but the admirable preciſion and exactneſs with which the buſineſs of this mill is conducted, afforded as excellent an opportunity of making the comparative trials I had in view, as is perhaps likely to be ever obtained in general practice; and the experiments being made upon ſo large a ſcale, and for a conſiderable period of time, may, I think, be aſſumed as a ſufficiently accurate ſtandard for determining the advantages to be expected from the uſe of gas lights under favourable circumſtances.

"It is not my intention, in the preſent paper, to enter into a particular deſcription of the apparatus employed for producing the gas; but I may obſerve generally, that the coal is diſtilled in large iron retorts, which, during the winter ſeaſon, are kept conſtantly at work, except during the intervals of charging; and that the gas, as it riſes from them, is conveyed by iron pipes into large reſervoirs, or gazometers, where it is waſhed and purified, previous to its being conveyed through other pipes, called mains, to the mill. Theſe mains branch off into a variety of ramifications (forming a total length of ſeveral miles,) and diminiſh in ſize, as the quantity of gas required to be paſſed through them becomes leſs. The burners, where the

the gas is conſumed, are connected with the above mains, by ſhort tubes, each of which is furniſhed with a cock to regulate the admiſſion of the gas to each burner, and to ſhut it totally off when requiſite. This latter operation may likewiſe be inſtantaneouſly performed, throughout the whole of the burners in each room, by turning a cock, with which each main is provided, near its entrance into the room.

"The burners are of two kinds: the one is upon the principle of the Argand lamp, and reſembles it in appearance; the other is a ſmall curved tube with a conical end, having three circular apertures or perforations, of about a thirtieth of an inch in diameter, one at the point of the cone, and two lateral ones, through which the gas iſſues, forming three divergent jets of flame, ſomewhat like a fleur-de-lis. The ſhape and general appearance of this tube, has procured it, among the workmen, the name of the cockſpur burner.

"The number of burners employed in all the buildings, amounts to 271 Argands, and 633 cockſpurs; each of the former giving a light equal to that of four candles of the deſcription abovementioned; and each of the latter, a light equal to two and a quarter of the ſame candles; making, therefore, the total of gas light a little more than equal to that of 2500 candles. When thus regulated, the whole of the above burners require an *hourly* ſupply of 1250 cubic feet of the gas produced from cannel coal; the ſuperior quality and quantity of the gas produced from that material having given it a decided preference in this ſituation, over every other coal, notwithſtanding its higher price.

"The time during which the gas light is uſed, may, upon an average of the whole year, be ſtated at leaſt at two hours per day of twenty four-hours. In ſome mills, where there is over work, it will be three hours: and in the few where night-work is ſtill continued, nearly twelve hours. But taking two hours per day as the common average throughout the year, the conſumption in Meſſrs. Phillips' and Lee's mill, will be $1250 \times 2 = 2500$ cubic feet of gas per day; to produce which, ſeven hundred weight of cannel coal is required in the retort. The price of the beſt Wigan cannel (the ſort uſed) is $13\frac{1}{2}d.$ per cwt. (22*s.* 6*d.* per ton), delivered at the mill, or ſay about eight ſhillings for the ſeven hundred weight. Multiplying by the number of working days in the year (313, the annual conſumption of cannel will be 110 tons, and its coſt 125*l.*

"About one-third of the above quantity, or ſay forty tons of good common coal, value ten ſhillings per ton, is required for fuel to heat the retorts; the annual amount of which is 20*l.*

"The 110 tons of cannel coal, when diſtilled, produce about 70 tons of good coke, which is ſold upon the ſpot at 1*s.* 4*d.* per cwt. and will therefore amount annually to the ſum of 93*l.*

"The quantity of tar produced from each ton of cannel coal, is from eleven to twelve gallons, making a total annual produce of about 1250 ale gallons, which not having been yet ſold, I cannot determine its value; but whenever it comes to be manufactured

in

in large quantities, it cannot be ſuch as materially to influence the economical ſtatement, unleſs indeed new applications of it ſhould be diſcovered.

"The quantity of aqueous fluid which came over in the courſe of the obſervations which I am now giving an account of, was not exactly aſcertained, from ſome ſprings having got into the reſervoir; and as it has not been yet applied to any uſeful purpoſe, I may omit further notice of it in this ſtatement.

"The intereſt of the capital expended in the neceſſary apparatus and buildings, together with what is conſidered as an ample allowance for wear and tear, is ſtated by Mr. Lee at about 550*l.* per annum: in which ſome allowance is made for this apparatus being made upon a ſcale adequate to the ſupply of a ſtill greater quantity of light, than he has occaſion to make uſe of.

"He is of opinion, that the coſt of attendance upon candles would be as much, if not more, than upon the gas apparatus; ſo that in forming the compariſon, nothing need be ſtated upon that ſcore, on either ſide.

"The economical ſtatement for one year then ſtands thus:

Coſt of 110 tons of cannel coal - - - -	£125
Ditto of 40 tons of common ditto - - -	20
	145
Deduct the value of 70 tons of coke - - - -	93
The annual expenditure in coal, after deducting the value of the coke, and without allowing any thing for the tar, is therefore - - - - -	52
And the intereſt of capital, and wear and tear of apparatus - - - -	550

making the total expence of the gas apparatus about 600*l.* per annum.

"That of candles, to give the ſame light, would be about 2000*l.* For each candle conſuming at the rate of 4-10ths of an ounce of tallow per hour, the 2500 candles burning upon an average of the year two hours per day, would, at one ſhilling per pound, the preſent price, amount to nearly the ſum of money above mentioned.

"If the compariſon were made upon an average of three hours per day, the advantage would be ſtill more in favour of the gas light; the intereſt of the capital, and wear and tear of the apparatus, continuing nearly the ſame as in the former caſe; thus,

"1250 × 3 = 3750 cubic feet of gas per day, which would be produced by $10\frac{3}{4}$ cwt. of cannel coals; this multiplied by the number of working days, gives 168 tons per annum, which, valued as before amounts to - - - - £188

And 60 tons common coal for burning under the retorts will amount to	30
	218
Deduct 105 tons of coke 26*s.* 8*d.* - - - - - -	140
Leaving the expenditure in coal, after deduction of the coke, and without allowance for tar, at - - - - - - -	78

Adding to which the intereſt and wear and tear of apparatus, as before,

fore, the total annual coſt will not be more than 620*l.* whilſt that of tallow, rated as before, will be 3000*l.*

"It will readily occur, that the greater number of hours the gas is burnt, the greater will be its comparative economy; although in extending it beyond three hours, an increaſe of ſome parts of the apparatus would be neceſſary.

"If the economical compariſon were made with oils, the advantages would be leſs than with tallow.

"The introduction of this ſpecies of light into the eſtabliſhment of Meſſrs. Phillips and Lee, has been gradual; beginning in the year 1805, with two rooms of the mill, the counting-houſes, and Mr. Lee's dwelling-houſe. After which, it was extended through the whole manufactory, as expeditiouſly as the apparatus could be prepared.

"At firſt, ſome inconvenience was experienced from the ſmell of the unconſumed, or imperfectly purified gas, which may, in a great meaſure, be attributed to the introduction of ſucceſſive improvements in the conſtruction of the apparatus, as the work proceeded. But ſince its completion, and ſince the perſons to whoſe care it is confided, have become familiar with its management, this inconvenience has been obviated, not only in the mill, but alſo in Mr. Lee's houſe, which is moſt brilliantly illuminated with it, to the excluſion of every other ſpecies of artificial light.

"The peculiar ſoftneſs and clearneſs of this light, with its almoſt unvarying intenſity, have brought it into great favour with the work people. And its being free from the inconvenience and danger reſulting from the ſparks and frequent ſnuffing of candles, is a circumſtance of material importance, as tending to diminiſh the hazard of fire, to which cotton mills are known to be much expoſed.

"The above particulars, it is conceived, contain ſuch information, as may tend to illuſtrate the general advantages attending the uſe of the gas light; but nevertheleſs the Royal Society may, perhaps, not deem it unintereſting, to be appriſed of the circumſtances which originally gave riſe in my mind to its application, as an economical ſubſtitute for oils and tallow.

"It is now nearly ſixteen years ſince, in the courſe of experiments I was making at Redruth in Cornwall, upon the quantities and qualities of the gaſſes produced by diſtillation from different mineral and vegetable ſubſtances, I was induced, by ſome obſervations I had previouſly made upon the burning of coal, to try the combuſtible property of the gaſſes produced from it, as well as from peat, wood, and other inflammable ſubſtances. And being ſtruck with the great quantities of gas which they afforded, as well as with the brilliancy of the light, and the facility of its production, I inſtituted ſeveral experiments with a view of aſcertaining the coſt at which it might be obtained, compared with that of equal quantities of light yielded by oils and tallow.

"My apparatus conſiſted of an iron retort, with tinned copper and iron tubes through which the gas was conducted to a conſiderable diſtance;

diſtance; and there, as well as at intermediate points, was burned through apertures of varied forms and dimenſions. The experiments were made upon coal of different qualities, which I procured from diſtant parts of the kingdom, for the purpoſe of aſcertaining which would give the moſt economical reſults. The gas was alſo waſhed with water, and other means were employed to purify it.

"In the year 1798, I removed from Cornwall to Meſſrs. Boulton, Watt, and Co's. works for the manufactory of ſteam-engines at the Soho Foundery, and there I conſtructed an apparatus upon a larger ſcale, which, during many ſucceſſive nights, was applied to the lighting of their principal building, and various new methods were practiſed, of waſhing and purifying the gas.

"Theſe experiments were continued with ſome interruptions, until the peace of 1802, when a public diſplay of this light was made by me in the illumination of Mr. Boulton's manufactory at Soho, upon that occaſion.

"Since that period, I have, under the ſanction of Meſſrs. Boulton, Watt, and Co. extended the apparatus at Soho Foundery, ſo as to give light to all the principal ſhops, where it is in regular uſe, to the excluſion of other artificial light: but I have preferred giving the reſults from Meſſrs. Philips' and Lee's apparatus, both on account of its greater extent, and the greater uniformity of the lights, which rendered the compariſon with candles leſs difficult.

"At the time I commenced my experiments, I was certainly unacquainted with the circumſtance of the gas from coal having been obſerved by others to be capable of combuſtion; but I am ſince informed, that the current of gas eſcaping from Lord Dundonald's tar ovens had been frequently fired; and I find that Dr. Clayton, in a paper in Volume XLI. of the Tranſactions of the Royal Society, ſo long ago as the year 1739, gave an account of ſome obſervations and experiments made by him, which clearly manifeſt his knowledge of the inflammable property of the gas, which he denominates 'the ſpirit of coals;' but the idea of applying it is an economical ſubſtitute for oils and tallow, does not appear to have occurred to this gentleman; and I believe I may, without preſuming too much, claim both the firſt idea of applying, and the firſt actual application of this gas to economical purpoſes."

Some Hints reſpecting the proper Mode of inuring Tender Plants to our Climate. By the Right Hon. Sir Joſeph Banks, Bart. K. B. P. R. S. &c.

(*From Tranſactions of the Horticultural Society of London, vol. I. part* 1.)

"Reſpectable and uſeful as every branch of the horticultural art certainly is, no one is more intereſting to the public, or more likely to prove advantageous to thoſe who may be ſo fortunate as to ſucceed in it, than that of inuring plants, natives of warmer climates, to bear, without covering, the ungenial ſprings, the chilly ſummers, and the rigorous winters, by which, eſpecially

eſpecially for ſome years paſt, we have been perpetually viſited.

"Many attempts have been made in this line, and ſeveral ſhrubs, that uſed to be kept in our ſtoves, are now to be ſeen in the open garden: there is, however, ſome reaſon to believe, that every one of theſe was originally the native of a cold climate, though introduced to us through the medium of a warm one; as the gold tree, aucuba japonica, the moutan, pæonia fruteſcens, and ſeveral others have been in our times.

"In the caſe of annuals, however, it is probable that much has been done by our anceſtors, and ſomething by the preſent generation; but it muſt be remembered, that all that is required in the caſe of an annual, is to enable it to ripen its fruit in a comparatively cold ſummer, after which, we know that the hardeſt froſt has no power to injure the ſeed, though expoſed in the open air to its ſevereſt influence; but a perennial has to encounter froſts with its buds and annual ſhoots, that have ſometimes been ſo ſevere with us as to rend aſunder the trunks of our indigenous foreſt-trees *.

"It is probable that wheat, our principal food at preſent, did not bring its ſeed to perfection in this climate, till hardened to it by repeated ſowings: a few years ago ſome ſpring wheat from Guzerat was ſown with barley, in a well cultivated field: it roſe, eared, and bloſſomed, with a healthy appearance; but many ears were when ripe wholly without corn, and few brought more than three or four grains to perfecton.

"In the year 1791, ſome ſeeds of zizania aquatica were procured from Canada, and ſown in a pond at Spring Grove, near Hounſlow: it grew, and produced ſtrong plants, which ripened their ſeeds: thoſe ſeeds vegetated in the ſucceeding ſpring; but the plants they produced were weak, ſlender, not half ſo tall as thoſe of the firſt generation, and grew in the ſhalloweſt water only; the ſeeds of theſe plants produced others the next year ſenſibly ſtronger than their parents of the ſecond year.

"In this manner the plants proceeded, ſpringing up every year from the ſeeds of the preceding one, every year becoming viſibly ſtronger and larger, and riſing from deeper parts of the pond, till the laſt year, 1804, when ſeveral of the plants were ſix feet in height, and the whole pond was in every part covered with them as thick as wheat grows on a well managed field.

"Here we have an experiment which proves, that an annual plant, ſcarce able to endure the ungenial ſummer of England, has become, in fourteen generations, as ſtrong and as vigorous as our indigenous plants are, and as perfect in all its parts as in its native climate.

"Some of our moſt common flowering ſhrubs have been long introduced into the gardens; the bay-tree has been cultivated more than two centuries; it is mentioned by Tuſſer, in the liſt of garden plants inſerted in his book, called 500 Points of good Huſbandry, printed in 1573.

"The laurel was introduced by maſter Cole, a merchant, living at

* See Miller's Dictionary, article Froſt.

Hampſtead,

Hampſtead, ſome years before 1629, when Parkinſon publiſhed his Paradiſus Terreſtris, and at that time we had in our gardens, oranges, myrtles of three ſorts, lauriſtinus, cypreſs, phillyrea, alaternus, arbutus; a cactus brought from Bermudas, and the paſſion-flower, which laſt had flowered here, and ſhowed a remarkable particularity, by riſing from the ground near a month ſooner if a ſeedling plant, than if it grew from roots brought from Virginia.

"All theſe were at that time rather tender plants; maſter Cole caſt a blanket over the top of his laurel, in froſty weather, to protect it; but though nearly two centuries have ſince elapſed, not one of them will yet bear with certainty our winter froſts.

"Though ſome of theſe ſhrubs ripen their ſeeds in this climate, it never has been, I believe, the cuſtom of gardeners to ſow them; ſome are propagated by ſuckers and cuttings, and others by imported ſeeds; conſequently the very identical laurel introduced by maſter Cole, and ſome others of the plants enumerated by Parkinſon, are now actually growing in our gardens; no wonder then, that theſe original ſhrubs have not become hardier, though probably they would have done ſo, had they paſſed through ſeveral generations by being raiſed from Britiſh ſeeds.

"Is it not then worthy a trial, as we find that plants raiſed from ſuckers or cuttings do not grow hardier by time, and as the experiment on zizania points out the road, to ſow the ſeeds of theſe and ſuch like tender ſhrubs as occaſionally ripen them in this climate? Fourteen generations, in the caſe of the zizania, produced a complete habit of ſucceeding in this climate, but a conſiderable improvement in hardineſs was evident much earlier.

"In plants that require ſome years to arrive at puberty, fourteen generations is more than any man can hope to ſurvive; but a much leſs number will in many caſes be ſufficient, and in all, though a complete habit of hardihood is not attained, a great progreſs may be made towards it in a much leſs time; even one generation may work a change of no ſmall importance: if we could make the myrtle bear the climate of Middleſex, as well as it does that of Devonſhire, or exempt our laurel hedges from the danger of being cut down by ſevere froſts, it would be an acquiſition of no ſmall conſequence to the pleaſure of the gentleman, as well as to the profit of the gardener.

"Old as I am, I certainly intend this year to commence experiments on the myrtle and the laurel: I truſt, therefore, it will not be thought preſumptuous in me to invite thoſe of my brethren of this moſt uſeful Society, who are younger than I am, and who of courſe will ſee the effect of more generations than I ſhall do, to take meaſures for bringing to the teſt of experiment the theory I have ventured to bring forward, I hope not without ſome proſpect of ſucceſs.

"The ſettlement lately made at New Holland gives a large ſcope to theſe experiments: many plants have been brought from thence which endure our climate with very little protection; and ſome of theſe arrive at puberty at

an early period; we have already three from the ſouth point of Van Diemen's Iſland, where the climate cannot be wholly without froſt; mimoſa verticillata, eucalyptus hirſuta, and obliqua. The firſt of theſe appears to have produced flowers within eight years of its firſt introduction; but as a ſettlement is now made very near the ſpot where the ſeeds of theſe ſhrubs were collected, we may reaſonably hope to receive further ſupplies, and, among them, the Winterana aromatica, an inhabitant of the inhoſpitable ſhore of Terra del Fuego, which Mr. Brown has diſcovered on the ſouth part of Van Diemen's Iſland alſo.

On Family Wine making. By W. Matthews, Eſq. from Papers of the Bath and Weſt of England Society, Vol. XI.

To the Committee of Superintendance of the Bath and Weſt of England Society.

"Gentlemen,

"Having in the 10th volume of the Society's papers been indulged with the inſertion of a few remarks on the utility of making family wines from ſeveral of our garden fruits; I took the liberty of preſenting, at a ſubſequent general meeting, for its examination, a ſample of ſuch wine made under my own notice. It will be within the recollection of different gentlemen, who attended that meeting, that the wine they taſted was deemed a very good, pleaſant flavoured, and uſeful article. The price at which it was made * was conſidered as ſmall, when compared with the uſes to which the wine may be applied, even in genteel families, where economy is regarded. But the idea of making ſuch an article, in conſiderable quantities, (eſpecially in abundant fruit years) ſo as to have the power of furniſhing ſick and ſickly poor perſons with ſuch occaſional refreſhment, could not paſs unapproved. The oldeſt wine of this ſort which I now have by me, is yet too young to give proof of that excellence which three or four years more will give it; but it is now ſo rich and valuable, that I can have no heſitation about publiſhing the recipe, by which it is made, and encouraging any of our members fully to rely upon it for ſucceſs. The fruits uſed were of the different ſorts mentioned in the recipe, excepting gooſeberries, and I think nearly of equal quantities, taken out of a private garden, where they would otherwiſe have turned to very little account. My friends having fully convinced me, that if I gave them white wine equally good with that produced, they will not call on me for foreign white wine, of at leaſt *five* times the price; I have this year taken the advantage of a fine fruit ſeaſon, and made ſeveral hogſheads. If I live to preſent the ſociety with a taſte of it ſome years hence, I have no doubt of its being found worthy of their commendation.

"I cannot conclude without repeating my recommendation to the owners of gardens in general, to all farmers in eaſy circumſtances, and country gentlemen eſpecially, to regard this uſeful practice:—

* This will be from 2s. 6d. to 3s. per gallon, according to circumſtances.

and

and that they may do it to the greater advantage, the increaſed cultivation of the black-currant plant ſeems eſſential: it is eaſy to increaſe, greatly productive, and its fruit, in general, can ſcarcely form too large a proportion of the mixture."

A uſeful Recipe for making Family Wine.

"Take black currants, red ditto, white ditto, ripe cherries, (black hearts are the beſt) raſpberries, each an equal, or nearly an equal quantity: if the black currants be the moſt abundant ſo much the better.—To 4lbs. of the mixed fruit well bruiſed, put one gallon of clear ſoft water: ſteep three days and nights, in open veſſels, frequently ſtirring up the maſs: then ſtrain through a hair ſieve. The remaining pulp preſs to dryneſs. Put both liquids together, and to each gallon of the whole put three pounds of good, rich, moiſt ſugar, of a bright yellowiſh appearance. Let the whole ſtand again three days and nights, frequently ſtirring up as before, after ſkimming off the top. Then turn it into caſks, and let it remain full and purging at the bung-hole, about two weeks. Laſtly, to every nine gallons put one quart of good brandy, and bung it down. If it does not ſoon drop fine, a ſteeping of iſinglaſs may be introduced, and ſtirred into the liquid, in the proportion of about half an ounce to nine gallons.

"N. B. Gooſeberries, eſpecially the largeſt, rich flavoured, may be uſed in the mixture to great advantage; but it has been found the beſt way to prepare them ſeparately, by more powerful bruiſing, or pounding, ſo as to form the proper conſiſtence in pulp; and by putting ſix quarts of fruit to one gallon of water, pouring on the water at twice, the ſmaller quantity at night, and the larger the next morning. This proceſs, finiſhed as aforeſaid, will make excellent wine, unmixed; but this fluid, added to the former mixture, will ſometimes improve the compound."

On the Uſe of Sea Mud as a Manure.

(*From Holland's Survey of Cheſhire.*)

"Since the report was drawn up, ſome additional and very intereſting remarks, on the uſe of ſea mud as a manure, have been communicated to me. They are contained in a letter from Mr. Orred, of Higher Runcorn, who ſays, "After experiencing, for fifty years, the advantage of the uſe of ſea-ſludge as a manure, I can poſitively aſſert that no other is equal to it, either for corn or graſs. We have what we call the *green ſod ſludge*, and the *ſlob*. The former is the ſtrongeſt, and is conſequently always preferred when it is to be had. We generally get four rood to the (Cheſhire) acre. I have frequently carried it near a mile, when I had good marl on the ſpot; as it is got with ſo much leſs expence, and anſwers ſo much better. We take one graft off the lower part of the marſh, never going deeper. One man gets it with the ſhovel, whilſt another puts it into the cart with a pitch-fork. We always lay it upon graſs, and plough

plough it in the ſpring following. If the enſuing March is dry, and there has been much froſt in the winter, a heavy pair of harrows will prepare it for the plough; otherwiſe it muſt be chopped with ſpades; but this is ſeldom neceſſary. We always ſow the land with oats the firſt year, and have generally 140 buſhels to the acre, I mean the Cheſhire acre, eight yards to the perch. After oats, we either ſow barley, or plant potatoes. If barley, we have an average, 100 buſhels per acre: I have had 160. If planted with potatoes, we have ſeldom leſs than 400 buſhels per acre, 90 lb to the buſhel. The third year, we have always as much wheat as can grow upon the land. The fourth year, the land is laid down, either with oats and clover, or barley and clover. We always mow the clover once, and have as much as can poſſibly be cut out: it is then kept in paſturage four or five years, and though I have been in moſt counties in England, I never ſaw richer or better. If a field is over marled, it is ſpoiled for graſs; but this is never the caſe when the ſea mud is uſed, and the latter remains much longer in the land. I make no doubt but there are many ſituations in England, where the ſea mud might be made as profitable as it is here, where the proprietors of land apprized of its advantages."

Mode of ſecuring Corn.

(From Vancouver's Agricultural Survey of Devonſhire.)

A mode of ſecuring the corn prevails in ſome parts of the South Hams, and which, if admiſſible in this place, ſeems well entitled to ſome conſideration. It is ſaid to have been borrowed from the Dutch, as it is much uſed in Holland, and all the low countries upon the Rhine and Scheld rivers. It is alſo univerſally adopted through the eaſtern and middle ſtates of North America. It conſiſts of a light moveable roof, which is raiſed or let down at pleaſure, over the ſtraddle upon which the ſtack is built. At the diſtance of about four feet from the corners of the ſtraddle or ſtack-frame, are ſunk four ſtrong boxes, well crammed and ſecured, and of ſufficient capacity to receive about three feet of a large pole or ſpar, rounded from a ſquare of ſix inches, a little tapering towards the top, and 30 feet long: on the upper end of this ſpar is fixed a ſtout ring, or verrell, from which is projected a ſtrong iron hook; the four poles, thus fitted up, are placed in the boxes at the corners of the ſtraddle. A two-ſheaf tackle is hitched on the hooks at the top of the poles, and a one-ſheaf tackle to each corner of the roof, reſting upon the ſtraddle, and preſenting at each corner a portable hoop, or collar to encloſe the poles, and which it traverſes up and down, keeping all firm, ſteady, and compact together. Theſe four tackles are manned with as many perſons as may be neceſſary to raiſe or lower the roof, and thus every ſheaf brought home is more immediately ſecured from future damage, than were they otherwiſe placed under cover, and ſtowed away in a barn. This contrivance is called a hay-barrack, in Pennſylvania, where they are equally uſed for the protection of hay as well as of corn.

In

In a climate frequently ſubject to ſudden and violent thunder-ſhowers during hay-time and harveſt, they are found particularly uſeful. One ſet of poles and tackles will be amply ſufficient for any one eſtabliſhment. The dimenſions of the ſtraddles may be from 20 to 30 feet in length, and from 12 to 20 feet in breadth. In forming the roof upon any given dimenſions of baſe, care muſt be taken to allow for a projection of two and a half, or three feet, in the walls of the ſtack, from its bottom to the eaves, and which the moveable roof muſt be made ſufficiently large to encloſe and cover.

Method of procuring Yeaſt from Potatoes.

(From a General View of the Agriculture of the County of Suſſex. By the Rev. Arthur Young.)

Three pound of potatoes put into three pints of water, boiled till it becomes a maſh, then taken off the fire, and the liquor and potatoes ſtrained through a cullender: one pint, or rather more, of milk is then mixed with it, and left to ferment, and this quantity is ſufficient for a buſhel of flour.

Method of Preſerving Potatoes.

(From the ſame.)

In the ſevere winter of 1788-9, General Murray, who was one of the greateſt cultivators of potatoes in the county, preſerved all his crop during that winter in the utmoſt ſafety and ſecurity, notwithſtanding the intenſity of the weather; and hardly had a rotten potatoe in a hundred buſhels.

When this circumſtance is well conſidered, in the pinch of ſuch a ſeaſon as that was, every one will agree, that the vaſt experiment made by General Murray in the introduction of this root, as a winter and ſpring food for ſheep, was truly important.

His magazines for preſerving the potatoes, are holes cut in the ſide of a hill, five or ſix yards wide, ten feet deep, and of an indeterminate length. The carts from the field unload at the top, ſhooting them at once into the hole, and they are taken out at that end at bottom, which opens to the ſlope of the hill, where a wall is built to it, with a door, &c. When full, a ſtack of ſtubble or ſtraw is built over the whole, wide and large enough for ſecurity againſt all froſts. In this method, it ſeems, the largeſt quantities may be kept together; for no earth or other means of keeping the effluvia of the roots being uſed, it riſes through the ſtubble, and does not occaſion their rotting from heat; on the other hand, the ſtubble is thick enough to exclude froſt.

On raiſing Potatoes from Shoots.

(From the ſame.)

A variety of experiments reſpecting the culture and growth of this valuable plant, have been undertaken by the Earl of Egremont, but more eſpecially by raiſing them from ſhoots. The following are well worthy of attention:

May 12, 1795. A potatoe weighing

weighing 6¼ oz. was put into a pot full of earth, and plunged into a hot-bed.—May 22, 6 ſhoots were taken from it, and the potatoe was replaced in the hot-bed.—June 9, 14 ſhoots were taken from it, and planted. The potatoe was then weighed, and found to have increaſed in weight 2½ oz. weighing 9¼ oz. The potatoe was immediately replaced in the pot, but was not put into the hot-bed.—July 3, twenty-five ſhoots were taken from it, and it was placed in the pot, and removed to a hot-houſe.—July 13, fourteen ſhoots were taken, and the potatoe returned to the pot, and replaced in the hot-houſe.—July 23, it produced twenty-ſix ſhoots. The potatoe now weighed 9 oz. and was quite firm, and not in the leaſt degree ſhrivelled. Many more ſhoots might probably have been taken from it, but it was boiled, and found to be a very good eatable potatoe, although it required much time in boiling: in this proceſs it loſt an ounce. The ſhoots were planted, 95 in number, all from one potatoe, and were thriving and ſtrong plants, according to the different dates of planting. The experiment was begun much too late in the ſeaſon; but it was only ſuggeſted at that time, by ſome appearances which were obſerved in ſome potatoes from which the ſhoots had been taken. Three potatoe plants from theſe ſhoots were uncovered during their growth, and appeared full of young potatoes; at leaſt twenty were counted to each plant, and they were only partially uncovered, and the earth immediately returned.

Planting with ſhoots appears to be as productive, and more ſo, than is the caſe with eyes. In another experiment of his Lordſhip's, 140 yards were planted with ſhoots; theſe produced at the rate of 377 buſhels per acre: 180 yards were planted with cuttings; yet the former produced one buſhel more than the latter: the whole yielded 21 buſhels: they were planted in June, and taken up in October. The early kidney, if planted in June, comes to perfection in October. With reſpect to the method of breaking off the ſhoots from the potatoes, there is no reaſon to be apprehenſive how they are taken off; and if the ſhoots, after they are ſeparated from the potatoe, are put into a baſket, and have a little earth thrown over them, they will keep in this ſtate, if not immediately wanted, for months. The kidney, after its ſecond cropping, decreaſes in the number of its ſhoots. No ſort equals the red cluſter. The early kidney comes up before any other; the cluſter is next, and the ox-noble laſt. The cluſter throws out more ſhoots than any other; up to thirty at a time.

"Part of another field was planted with ſhoots, and without manure; yet theſe latter turned out a greater crop than any of the former, trenched, mucked, &c. Some of the ſhoots were planted early in March: a fortnight's ſevere froſt afterwards affected them: the conſequence was, that the froſt cut them off; yet they again recovered, and were equally good as the others. All the flowers of theſe potatoes, for experiment, were broken off; if the leaves and tops are taken off, the root is materially injured; for the ſtalks of ſeveral were cut cloſe to the ground: the earth was afterwards uncovered, and not a ſingle potatoe was to be found,

found, which appears to be a proof of the bad effect of cutting the tops, which ſome people ſo zealouſly contend for. The ſhoots are planted promiſcuouſly from one to ſix or ſeven inches long: till the third or fourth month after planting, the ſhoots have but a ſmall apple, not above the ſize of the end of a perſon's finger; but afterwards they wonderfully increaſe their ſize: hence it follows, that the eyes having a greater and more ſubſtantial root to ſupport the vegetative power of the plant, comes eaſier to perfection; and that the ſhoot, though ſtationary at firſt, will in the end more than equal the other in produce; and if we add the ſaving of ſeed, the advantages will be ſtill more conſiderable.

On Oiling Hay-ricks.

(From the ſame.)

The following ſingular and intereſting method of applying linſeed oil on hay-ricks intended for fattening beaſts, merits the attention of the curious. It was communicated by the Earl of Egremont:

"Sir,

"I received your letter in regard to oiling hay. I made a practice of it about three years; but always choſe to do it when the weather is fine, and can get it up without taking much rain. My method is, when ſtacking the hay, to take a water pot, and ſprinkle over every layer very lightly a quart of linſeed oil to a ton of hay. I find that the hay comes out of the rick very moiſt and very clammy: fatting beaſts and fatting ſheep are very fond of it, and thrive upon it very faſt. I think it not proper to give it to horſes, or milch cows, as I think it too hot. I wiſh it not to be reported in my name, as I did it for my own ſecurity.

Suggeſtions relative to making Butter. By Mr. Trayton.

(From the ſame.)

I am inclined to think this uſeful aliment of butter ſuffers greatly in its quality and its durability, in the ordinary proceſs of making up. The error I would point out is, the admiſſion of water (warm or cold) both into the churn, and in the beating and making up. Water is well known to be a great diſſolvent; at leaſt, if it be not eſſentially ſo, it ſerves *in veſiculi*, as a conductor to air, which is univerſally ſuch. Freſh butter then, in conſequence of imbibing water, and water being ſaturated with air, is always in a progreſſive ſtate of decay. Not ſo when water is excluded: its oleaginous parts are admirably calculated to ſecure it from putrefaction; and I am almoſt poſitive, that butter might be made with as little trouble as by the preſent method, to keep the whole year freſh and ſweet, without the leaſt particle of ſalt, ſolely by the excluſion of water. I was witneſs ſome years ago to a piece of butter being taken out of the churn in very warm weather: there might have been water put in previous to the churning, and I believe there was, but it had none afterwards:

a part

a part of this butter was uſed for making ointment, the remainder was ſet by and forgot; a fortnight afterwards, it was diſcovered to be as freſh and ſweet as ever, though it had never been ſalted. I have always heard it ſpoken of a notable old houſewife, famous for good butter, that ſhe always kept the floor of her dairy dry. The cuſtom is exactly the reverſe at preſent in thoſe parts, many pailfulls being thrown down in the hot weather, which will aſſuredly riſe again in ſteam, and affect the milk with its humidity. I propoſe the following obſervations in the treatment of the dairy concerns: A ſpacious room with a north aſpect; wide airy lattices, with trees planted before at a convenient diſtance, of a kind that yield no effluvia. Trees thus ſituated will draw a current, and ventilate the air; the floor, ſtone or brick, waſhed clean, on the removal of each ſucceſſive meſs of milk, and kept perfectly clean and ſanded, which will abſorb all humidity. The veſſels uſed for holding the milk, to be waſhed clean, and afterwards rinced a firſt and ſecond time with ſweet milk; the churn ſerved in the like manner, and all the dairy implements. A cruet waſhed ever ſo clean with water, will cauſe vinegar, if put into it, to become dreggy, but when rinced with a little of the ſame, will always appear limpid and clear. No water put in with the cream when it is churned. As the butter is taken out, put it into a tray full of holes, placed over any other veſſel; avoid ſqueezing it into lumps; it will drain the better for being looſe in its texture; remove it to a large tray without holes; recover all the crumbs that have run through the ſtrainer; knead it well with your hands, previouſly rinced with the whey, and form it into a flat cake, the thinner the better; ſprinkle ſalt over it, and leave it in that ſtate half an hour, by which time the ſalt will extract all the whey; make it up the uſual way, but uſe not one drop of water in the whole proceſs.

On deſtroying Inſects injurious to Cultivation.

From the Philoſophical Magazine.

To Mr. Tilloch.

Dear Sir,

Among all the caſualties to which vegetable life is expoſed, nothing ſeems ſo deſtructive or difficult to be obviated, as the effects of predatory inſects. There is probably an infinite variety of vermin, particularly in green-houſes, ſtoves, and ſimilar contrivances to force vegetation, which, in the ſhape of flies, caterpillars, worms or grubs, are conſtantly blaſting the hopes of the cultivator. I believe, however, it has been clearly aſcertained, that the moſt prevailing and obnoxious of all theſe enemies is the plant-louſe, the *aphis* of Linnæus; a genus perhaps the moſt numerous of the whole ſyſtem, for every kind of vegetable has, it is ſaid, a ſpecies of this inſect, to whoſe ravages it is peculiarly liable: and another circumſtance tends materially to confirm the miſchief, when it has once begun, for, according to the general opinion of naturaliſts, theſe pernicious animals multiply

multiply with aſtoniſhing rapidity and certainty, wherever they intrude; and from their ſtructure, and general œconomy, they are amply provided for ſpreading deſtruction.

It muſt give great ſatisfaction to thoſe who practice or patronize horticulture, to be informed of a very ſimple cure, which has proved invariably ſucceſsful, and is neither coſtly nor difficult to be obtained—it is the mere application of *ſulphur*, but not burned by way of fumigation or ſmoke. The preciſe method of uſing it has not yet been detailed to me; when it is, you may expect to receive all neceſſary inſtructions: in the mean time let it be obſerved, that the ſublimed ſulphur, the *flores ſulphuris*, not the crude brimſtone in powder, is what has been employed.

Having received my information from the moſt reſpectable ſource, it becomes me to diſclaim all pretenſion to the diſcovery, I ſhall, therefore, add, that it was in the extenſive and highly cultivated gardens of the Hon. Baron Hepburn, in Eaſt Lothian, where the firſt experiments were made; and, I underſtand, both there and in other gardens, the practice has been conſtantly attended with ſucceſs.

I remain, dear Sir,
Your obliged and obedient ſervant,
JAS. HUME.

Long Acre,
Jan. 22, 1808.

Sir,

Having been favoured with ſome additional information reſpecting the efficacy of *ſulphur*, and the proper way of applying it to vegetables, I now fulfil the conditional promiſe I made in my laſt letter. The method is truly ſimple; for nothing more is required than to ſprinkle ſublimed ſulphur, or, as it is commonly called, flower of brimſtone, over the leaves of the tree or plant, wherever the effects of worms or inſects prevail, or may be expected to come. This may be ſo eaſily accompliſhed, that it ſeems ſuperfluous to point out any particular plan or apparatus. The ſulphur may be tied up in a piece of muſlin or linen, and with this the leaves and young ſhoots ſhould be duſted; or it may be thrown on by means of a common ſwandown puff, or even a dredging-box. However, if this practice become general, no doubt ſome convenient inſtrument, probably a pair of bellows, conſtructed on purpoſe, will be contrived, ſo as to prevent unneceſſary loſs of the ſulphur.

By the ſame friendly communication I have received freſh aſſurances, not only of the powerful influence of ſulphur as a vermifuge againſt the whole tribe of worms and other inſects, which inſeſt, and prey upon, vegetables; but I alſo find, that in other reſpects this ſubſtance is even congenial to the health of thoſe trees and plants on which it is ſprinkled—that peach-trees in particular were remarkably improved by the ſulphur; they abſorbed it, and it may be ſaid, were even fond of it; for it was evidently abſorbed, and muſt have entered into the vegetable ſyſtem. It was likewiſe noticed, that the verdure and other healthful appearances were perceptibly increaſed; for the quantity of new ſhoots and leaves formed ſubſequently to the operation,

tion, and having no ſulphur on their ſurfaces, ſerved as a kind of comparative index, and pointed out diſtinctly the accumulation of health.

Upon the whole, it may be obſerved, that, independently of its deleterious effects on the vermin, the queſtion reſpecting the ſanative powers of ſuch an inſoluble ſubſtance as ſulphur, ſeems to be one of the utmoſt importance; and I ſhould think, muſt be highly intereſting to the phyſiologiſt, and, indeed, to all men of ſcience.

I remain, Sir,
Your obliged and obedient ſervant,
JAS. HUME.

Long Acre,
Feb. 24, 1808.

ANTIQUITIES.

Obſervations on Gothic Architecture.

(From Lyſon's Account of Cambridgeſhire, in the Magna Britannia. Vol. II. Part 1.*)*

"THE next examples of ancient church architecture, which we ſhall produce, are ſome of the earlieſt of that ſtyle generally known throughout Europe by the name of *Gothic*. A great variety of conjectures have been made by ingenious men, reſpecting the origin of this kind of architecture; the beſt opinion ſeems to be, that one of its moſt prominent features, the pointed arch, aroſe from the interſection of two circular ones, which ſo frequently occurs in churches, erected in the twelfth century, in different parts of Europe*; towards the cloſe of that century, the pointed arch appears to have been much uſed in Italy, but it was ſoon abandoned on the revival of the Grecian architecture. In England, France, Germany, and Spain, the Gothic architecture continued much longer, and was no where more generally uſed, nor perhaps exhibited ſo great a variety of ornaments or ſuch juſt proportions as in this country, though in point of magnitude and ſplendid decoration, our cathedrals muſt be allowed to be inferior to ſeveral of the ſame kind on the continent†.

"Since Cambridgeſhire affords ſuch a ſeries of the different ſtyles of this light and elegant kind of architecture, ſo peculiarly appropriate to religious edifices, we propoſe in the annexed plates to exhibit ſpecimens of them, taken chiefly from Ely cathedral and king's college chapel; and have claſſed them in centuries, conceiving that to be the moſt convenient, and beſt mode of arrangement; for though it may happen that the ſtyle of one century ſhould ſometimes run into the next, yet there has been always one mode ſufficiently prevalent in each, to be conſidered as appropriate to that century.

"One of the moſt ancient buildings in this county, in which the pointed arch makes its appearance, is the great tower at the weſt end of Ely cathedral, and the ſouth

* It is to be ſeen in the weſt front of two very ancient churches at Palermo and Placentia, erected in the early part of the twelfth century.

† As thoſe of Straſburg, Amiens, Rheims, Milan, Burgos, and Toledo.

tranſept

tranſept adjoining; which were erected by biſhop Ridel between 1174 and 1189 *. This part of the cathedral retains ſome traces of the Saxon architecture, eſpecially in a door way on the eaſt ſide of the tranſept, richly ornamented with chevron mouldings; yet, upon the whole, it may be conſidered as an early ſpecimen of the Gothic; it is covered with a profuſion of arches and ſmall pillars both within-ſide and without; ſome of the arches are round, ſome with trefoil heads, and many of them pointed; a great part of the inſide of the tower which was intended to be ſeen from below, is ſurrounded with ſeveral tiers of arches with detached pillars; producing a very rich effect.

XIIIth Century. In the beginning of the 13th century the Gothic architecture appears to have been completely eſtabliſhed. In this early ſtyle the arches differed very much, but were uſually ſharply pointed; the windows were long and narrow (lancet-ſhaped) and frequently decorated on the inſide, and ſometimes on the outſide alſo, with ſlender ſhafts, frequently with *faſciæ* round them, and the capitals enriched with foliage. There were often three, and ſometimes more windows under one arch, with trefoils or quatrefoils between their tops: ſome of the windows conſiſted of two lights, divided by a pillar or mullion, with a quatrefoil between them. The columns were frequently ſurrounded by ſlender marble pillars, detached from them in the ſhaft, and uniting with them in the baſes, and in the capitals, which were often very richly ornamented with foliage. The vaultings were uſually high pitched, the croſs ſpringers had plain mouldings, and were enriched at their interſection, with orbs, foliage, and other ſculptured devices †. The general characteriſtic of this ſtyle is ſimplicity, but when ornaments are introduced, they were uſually elegant, and well executed; eſpecially the foliated capitals of pillars, and the ſcrolls of foliage with which the ſpandrils of arches were ſometimes filled. Towards the latter end of this century, the pillars became more ſolid, the lights of the windows were enlarged, and the ſlender detached ſhafts in a great meaſure laid aſide.

The gallilee or veſtibule at the weſt end of Ely cathedral, begun by biſhop Euſtachius about the year 1200, and the preſbytery of the ſame building, now uſed as the choir, begun by biſhop Northwold in 1235, and finiſhed in 1252, afford very ſatisfactory examples of this ſtyle; ſince they exhibit ſpecimens of moſt of the varieties which occur in it. The chancels of Foxton, Kennet, and Charry-Hinton churches, and of Barnwell chapel, are in the ſtyle of this

* The upper ſtory of the tower, an octagonal building, was added about 1380. Bentham's Ely, p. 286. The tower was anciently flanked on the north ſide with a tranſept ſimilar to that of the ſouth; but the northern part falling, or being taken down, another building was begun on a more contracted plan, and a different deſign, and carried up only about 12 or 14 feet. Ibid. p. 283.

† For theſe and many other excellent obſervations reſpecting Gothic architecture, we are chiefly indebted to Mr. Bentham's excellent diſſertation, prefixed to his Hiſtory of Ely Cathedral.

century,

century, all with lancet-ſhaped windows, moſt of which have ſlender detached ſhafts between them. On one ſide of the chancel of Charry-Hinton, is a range of the kind of windows above mentioned. Some parts of Haddenham and Laverington churches, may alſo be claſſed with the buildings of this century. The tower at the weſt end of the former, has a door and three circular windows, enriched with ſeveral mouldings, one of them ornamented with roſe-buds. Laverington church has a handſome tower with a ſpire at the weſt end, which ſeems to be of this age. Jeſus College chapel at Cambridge, formerly the church of a convent of Benedictine nuns, is a fine example of the early Gothic ſtyle; it is built in the form of a croſs, with a tower in the middle, reſting on four pointed arches, one of the mouldings is enriched with flowers; on each ſide of the chancel are lancet-ſhaped windows with ſlender ſhafts. The inſide of the tower is ſurrounded with very elegant pointed arches enriched with various mouldings formerly ſeen from below, but now hid by a ceiling: in the north wall of the north tranſept is a gallery with Saxon arches.

XIVth Century. The Gothic architecture of the fourteenth century, differed conſiderably from that of the preceding one; particularly in the vaulting and the formation of the windows; the vaulting became more decorated and divided into various angular compartments, forming a ſort of tracery, ornamented at the interſections with foliated orbs, carved heads, and other emboſſed work. The columns were cluſtered, frequently with rich foliated capitals; the windows were greatly enlarged and divided into ſeveral lights by ſtone mullions, ramified into various forms, in the upper part; more particularly the great eaſtern and weſtern windows, which frequently occupied nearly the whole width of the nave or choir, and were carried up almoſt as high as the vaulting. The arches of door ways monuments, &c. were often very richly ornamented on the ſides with foliage, generally known by the name of crochets; and the pinnacles were uſually enriched in the ſame manner. In the early part of this century the arches were alſo frequently ornamented with rows of roſe buds, in the hollow mouldings. In this century alſo prevailed that ſingular arch, formed of four ſegments of circles contraſted, like an ogee moulding. Buttreſſes, terminating in pinnacles, and ſometimes ornamented with tracery, were much uſed in door ways, tombs, piſcinæ, &c. where ſlender pillars had been employed for the ſame purpoſe in the preceding century.

The three firſt arches eaſt of the lantern, in the cathedral church of Ely, begun in the latter part of Edward the Second's reign, A. D. 1322, exhibit elegant ſpecimens of the pillars, vaulting, and windows of this century. Of the ſame age is that elegant ſtructure, of an octagonal form, ſupported by eight pillars, covered with a dome, and crowned with a ſpacious lantern, forming the center of Ely cathedral, which was begun in the year 1322, when the old tower fell down, the ſtone work was completed in ſix years, and the wood work of the dome in fourteen more, *anno* 1342, at

at the expenſe of more than 2400*l.* under the care of Alan de Walſingham, ſub-prior of the convent, and ſacriſt of the church, a man ſkilful in architecture, and a good mechanic. St. Mary's chapel (now Trinity pariſh church) at Ely, adjoining the north tranſept, was built about the ſame time, and is another proof of the architectural abilities of Alan de Walſingham, by whom it was deſigned. The form of this chapel, generally deemed one of the moſt perfect ſtructures of that age, is an oblong ſquare; it has no pillars nor ſide aiſles, but is ſupported by ſtrong buttreſſes, and was decorated on the outſide with ſtatues over the eaſt and weſt windows. Round this chapel is a range of ſtone ſeats, with canopies highly enriched with pinnacles, crochets, &c.; the ſpandrils are covered with a profuſion of ornaments, admirably well executed; over the canopies were a great variety of ſubjects from ſcripture, carved for the moſt part in very bold relief: hardly a ſingle figure of theſe now remains entire, the whole having been mutilated either by the reformers or the puritans. There is alſo a very elegant little chapel, adjoining the deanery at Ely, now a dwelling houſe, which was the prior's chapel, and built in the time of John de Cranden, who was prior in 1321 *, under the direction, as it is ſuppoſed, of Alan de Walſingham before mentioned: the ſtyle of its decorations reſembles that of the buildings known to have been executed by him. The floor of this chapel is compoſed of tiles ornamented with a rich moſaic deſign. Specimens of the architecture of this century are very frequent † in the pariſh churches of Cambridgeſhire; thoſe of Grantcheſter, Trumpington, Balſham, and Sutton, are amongſt the moſt remarkable. The chancel of Grantcheſter is ſingularly light and elegant, the windows being large and uniform, with tabernacles between them. Trumpington church is a remarkably handſome uniform building of this ſtyle, with a lofty nave, ſide aiſles and tranſepts; the chancel, from the form of the windows, ſeems ſomewhat older than the church. Balſham church, a large and handſome ſtructure, was built by John de Sleford, who was maſter of the wardrobe to king Edward III. he died in 1400, and lies buried in the chancel. Sutton church is a large lofty building, having a nave and ſide aiſles with light cluſtered pillars, and very elegant windows: there is a ſquare tower at the weſt end, over which is an octagonal turret of two ſtories, the lower of which is enriched with quatrefoils. Haſlingfield church has a tower with four octangular embattled turrets at the weſt end, ſurrounded with quatrefoils at its baſe. The chancels of Horſheath, Bartlow, and Baſingbourn, may be claſſed with the buildings of this century; the latter is large and lofty. The chapel of our lady, on the north ſide of Fordham church, to which there is an aſcent by a winding ſtaircaſe is a very elegant building; it has an undercroft with a groined roof, part of which ſerves for the church porch, and part for a veſtry

* For a more particular account of this chapel, ſee Mr. Wilkin's deſcription of it. Archæol, Vol. XIV. p. 105.

† Ibid. Vol. X. p. 151.

and

and other purpoſes. The nave of Bottiſham church is lofty and elegant with cluſtered pillars and pointed arches; under all the windows on the ſouth ſide there are flat arches both within ſide and without. There is a remarkable chapel on the north ſide of Willingham church, now uſed for a veſtry, it has a very highly-pitched roof of ſtone, without any wood work or covering of lead. The ſpandrils of the arches, which reſt on brackets, are pierced with quatrefoils, &c.

XVth Century. In the fifteenth century, eſpecially in the reign of king Henry the 7th, the Gothic architecture underwent a conſiderable change, the angles of the arches became more and more obtuſe, till at laſt they were ſometimes almoſt flat: the ribs of the vaulting were divided into an infinite variety of parts, and enriched with a profuſion of ſculpture, and with cluſters of pendent ornaments; the ſide walls were alſo very frequently covered with abundance of rich tracery; the heads of the windows, inſtead of being divided into various forms, as in the preceding century, were filled with a great number of ſmall compartments, with trefoil heads, ſeparated by perpendicular mullions; the large windows were uſually divided by two large mullions into three compartments, which were ſubdivided into ſmaller ones. The fineſt and moſt perfect example of this highly embelliſhed ſtyle is to be found in the magnificent chapel of King's College in Cambridge, begun by king Henry the 6th, in the year 1441, carried on by king Henry the 7th, and completed by king Henry the 8th. Every part of the anti-chapel exhibits a rich diſplay of Gothic tracery, with roſes, portculliſes and the royal arms, with the dragon and greyhound for ſupporters, carved, in high relief: the vaulting of the roof is ſingularly rich and elegant, in the ſame ſtyle as the roofs of St. George's chapel at Windſor and Henry the 7th's chapel *.

On the Law of Succeſſion to Feudal Tenures.

From Baron Maſeres's Documents of Engliſh Hiſtory.

IT ſeems probable that the law of inheritance by primogeniture had at this time begun to prevail in France with reſpect to counties or earldoms, or lands holden by homage or military ſervice; though it does not ſeem to have been thoroughly eſtabliſhed till a good many years, perhaps a whole century after. At this time, that is, about the year of Chriſt 1060, it ſeems to have been only an inducement, or ground of preference, by which thoſe perſons, upon whoſe will and pleaſure the ſucceſſion to the vacant fief depended, were actuated in determining, or directing, the ſucceſſion to it.

* Mr. Lyſons alſo mentions the churches of Burwell, Iſelham, Landwade, March, Whittleſea, St. Mary's, Cambridge, biſhop Alcock's chapel in Ely cathedral, and biſhop Weſt's in the ſame cathedral, as ſpecimens of the architecture of this century. Biſhop Weſt's chapel he conſiders one of the lateſt ſpecimens of Gothic architecture; but as not being pure Gothic, it having a conſiderable mixture of the Italian ſtyle.

There were three wills which were concerned in this determination, to wit, 1ſt, the will of the laſt holder of the fief, who ſeems to have often directed the ſucceſſion to it by his laſt appointment, or nomination either by word of mouth or by writing, on his death-bed; and, 2dly, the will of the people, or holders of fiefs contained in and making part of the vacant fief; and, 3dly, the will of the next upper lord of the vacant fief, of whom the late poſſeſſor of it held it. When theſe three wills concurred in determining the ſucceſſion to a vacant fief in favour of the ſame perſon, his right to it ſeems to have been complete and inconteſtable. But when one of theſe wills pointed out a different perſon from the other two for the ſucceſſor to the vacant fief, there ſeems to have been occaſion to doubt of the validity of the claim of him who actually took poſſeſſion of the fief; and wars, or other conteſts, were often the conſequences of ſuch a poſſeſſion. And this was the caſe, in a ſtill higher degree, when each of the ſaid three wills pointed out a different ſucceſſor to the fief from either of the other two. Of the influence of the firſt of theſe wills, to wit, that of the laſt poſſeſſor of the fief, we have ſeen an inſtance above in the *Geſta Gulielmi*, &c. of William of Poictiers, page 70, in the nomination of William, duke of Normandy, by Herbert the Second, earl of Maine, on his death-bed, in the year 1063, to be his ſucceſſor in the poſſeſſion, or government, of the earldom of Maine. For, in conſequence of this nomination, (though it was not approved of and confirmed by the people of the country,) duke William invaded the country, and kept poſſeſſion of it for many years. It is true, indeed, that impartial people ſeem to have thought that his conduct in ſo doing was unjuſt, and that ſuch a nomination by earl Herbert ought only to have been conſidered as a recommendation to his feudal tenants, or the people, or rather, nobles of Maine, to chuſe him for their earl or governor, which they were at liberty either to follow or reject, as they thought beſt. Yet it ſerved at leaſt as a plauſible pretext to duke William to invade and take poſſeſſion of the country upon earl Herbert's death, which it is probable he would not have thought of doing without ſuch a nomination. And we have ſeen above that his invaſion of England was founded on an allegation, (though, probably a falſe one,) of a like nomination or appointment, by king Edward the confeſſor, to be his ſucceſſor on the throne of England. And king Harold's ſucceſſion to the crown of England was brought about by a real nomination of that kind, made of him by king Edward on his death-bed, and an election (ſomewhat haſty indeed and irregular,) made by the great nobles of England, or ſome of them, in conſequence of ſuch nomination. And even in the preſent inſtance of the ſucceſſion of this ſecond Geoffry Martel to the earldom of Anjou upon the death of his uncle, the famous warrior of the ſame name, there was, (according to the account given by William of Malmeſbury,) a nomination of him by the laſt poſſeſſor, that celebrated earl, which was the principal cauſe of his ſucceſſion. The words of Malmeſbury are as follows:

follows: *Is* [*Gaufridus Martellus ſenior*] *moriens Gaufrido, ſororis filio, hæreditatem contradidit, ſed induſtriam ſeculi transfundere non potuit. Nam ille, ſimplicium morum Juvenis, magis in eccleſiis orare quàm arma tractare conſuetus, homines regionis illius qui quietè victitare neſcirent, in contemptum ſui excitavit. Quarè, totâ terrâ prædonibus expoſitâ, Fulco, frater illius, ultrò ducatum corripuit. Fulco Rhetin dictus, quòd, germani ſimplicitati crebrò infrendens, ad ultimum, honore ſpoliatum, perpetuâ cuſtodiâ co-ercuerit.* Lib. III. page 98. And many other inſtances might be given of the influence of the will, or nomination of the laſt poſſeſſor of the fief, in theſe early times, in determining the ſucceſſion to it.

The influence of the ſecond of the three wills abovementioned, that is, of the will of the people, or holders of inferior fiefs contained within, and making part of, the vacant fief, in determining the ſucceſſion to it, appears from the hiſtories of theſe old times to have been ſtill greater than that of the firſt will, or the will of the laſt poſſeſſor of it. For, whenever they thought fit, they appear to have elected their own governors, without adhering to the law of primogeniture, or any other rule of ſucceſſion, by which they were directed on ordinary occaſions. And their free and unanimous election ſeems to have been conſidered as conferring the title, or right, to the government in the fulleſt and cleareſt manner. And this was more particularly the caſe in very large and powerful fiefs, which had but a ſlight degree of dependence on the upper lords, of whom they were holden by fealty and homage; ſuch as the dukedom of Normandy and Britany, and the earldoms of Anjou and Maine. Thus for example, in the dukedom of Normandy, Robert the Second, the father of William the Conqueror, prevailed upon the nobles of Normandy, in the year 1034, 1035, to declare that they would admit his young ſon William, (who was then only 7 or 8 years old) to be their earl, or duke, or governor, after his, duke Robert's death, notwithſtanding his being a baſtard. This was plainly an election of him to the dukedom, though made before his father's death; and it took place (though not without ſeveral ſtruggles from the great Normans of the ducal family during the minority of duke William), in oppoſition to the claims of the legitimate princes to whom without ſuch an extraordinary exertion of the will of the people, the dukedom would have devolved. And in the earldom of Anjou we find that, even after the nobles of Anjou had admitted, or elected, the ſecond, or pacific, Geoffry Martel to be their earl in the year 1060, in conſequence of the nomination, or recommendation, of his uncle, the great warrior of that name, they afterwards grew tired of his government on account of the weakneſs of it, and depoſed him, and elected his brother *Fulk Rechin* to be their earl, or governor, in his ſtead. For though it is not expreſsly ſaid that this was done by the people, or nobles, of Anjou, yet it is plain that it muſt have been ſo, ſince this *Fulk Rechin* could not have depoſed and confined his brother Geoffry without either their aſſiſtance, or that of a foreign army, which does not appear to

have been made uſe of. And in neither of theſe inſtances of Normandy and Anjou do the kings of France, (of whom thoſe countries were holden by fealty and homage) appear to have interfered at all to control thoſe elections as irregular, or to ſupport the more regular or legitimate claimants of theſe powerful territories. So great was at this time the influence of the people or nobles of the great fiefs, in determining who ſhould be their governors.

And if this was the caſe in great fiefs, which had but a ſmall degree of dependence on the upper lords of whom they were holden by fealty and homage, it is evident that it muſt have been ſtill more ſo in *ſovereign territories*, (whether called kingdoms or by any other name) which were not held of any upper lord at all; ſuch as the kingdoms of England and France, the crowns of which are therefore ſaid to be *imperial*, the ſovereigns of them having power, or *imperium*, or being commanders, or governors, over many ſubordinate lords, but not being themſelves ſubject, or ſubordinate in any degree, to any other whatſoever. In theſe territories the ſucceſſion could depend only on the two firſt of the three wills above mentioned, to wit the will of the laſt poſſeſſor of the crown, or government, and that of the nobles of it, or holders of the fiefs. the former ſeems only to have operated as a recommendation to the latter, which the latter might either adopt or reject, as it thought fit; or, in other words, the crown was at this time elective. Of this we have a number of inſtances in the Engliſh hiſtory about this time, that are indiſputable. Thus, for example, *Edward the Confeſſor*, (whoſe title to the crown of England has never been diſputed,) was elected by the great nobles of England to be king upon the death of *Harde Cnute*, though Edward, the ſon of the confeſſor's elder brother, the valiant king *Edmund Ironſide*, was then living and had ſeveral children, named *Edgar Atheling* and his two ſiſters *Matilda* and *Chriſtiana*. It is true that they were then in *Hungary*, under the protection of the king of that country. But, when king Edward ſent for them over to England in the year 1057, in order to provide for the ſucceſſion to the crown, no perſon ſeemed to think, that his title to the crown was at all weakened by their preſence, or that he was under any obligation in law or conſcience to reſign the crown to his nephew Edward as being the true heir of it in quality of eldeſt ſon of Edmund Ironſide. In like manner Harold was elected king of England after the death of Edward the confeſſor, in preference to the claim of blood of Edgar Atheling; and Edgar Atheling was elected king of England at London in November, 1066, after the death of Harold at the battle of Haſtings; and king William the conqueror himſelf was elected king of England on the Chriſtmas day following, A. D. 1066. And after the death of William the conqueror, his ſecond ſon William Rufus, was elected king of England by the nobles of England, under the direction of the good Archbiſhop Lanfrank, in preference to his eldeſt ſon, Robert, duke of Normandy, his eldeſt brother.

ther. And other inſtances might be brought to prove that in theſe times, the election, or will, of the nobles, or great land-holders of the kingdom, was the beſt title, or rather, the only valid title to the crown.

It remains that we ſay ſomething of the laſt of the three wills which we mentioned above as having an influence in determining the ſucceſſion to a vacant fief, to wit, the will of the upper lord, of whom it was holden. Now, though the will of the upper lord, of whom the fief is holden, had but little influence in determining the ſucceſſion to great fiefs, which had but a ſmall degree of dependence on the ſaid upper lords, yet in all other caſes it was of great importance. For, where the upper lord was very powerful in compariſon of the tenants who held the fiefs under him, (as was the caſe of king William the conqueror with reſpect to his Engliſh barons, or holders of lands by military ſervice,) that claimant only could get poſſeſſion of a vacant fief to whom he pleaſed to grant it; and the upper lords, eſpecially if they were ſovereigns, or had no ſuperior lords above them, (as was the caſe with the kings of France and England,) ſeem oftentimes in theſe caſes to have granted the vacant fiefs to ſuch of the ſeveral claimants of them as they thought fit, almoſt as freely as if they had been making original grants of them. Thus, for example, upon the death of the famous William Fitz-Oſborne, we have ſeen above in our author, that king William the conqueror granted the caſtle of *Breteuil* and all his other lands in Normandy, to his eldeſt ſon *William de Breteuil*, and all his great poſſeſſions in England to his ſecond ſon, *Roger*, earl of Hereford. *Hæreditas ejus à rege Gulielmo filiis ejus diſtributa eſt. Willelmus, major natu, Britolium et Paccium, et reliquam partem paterni Juris in Normaniâ obtinuit et omni vitâ ſuâ, ferè trigintà annis, tenuit. Rogerius autem, junior frater, comitatum Herefordenſem, totùmque fundum patris in Angliâ, obtinuit.* From the expreſſions uſed by our author in this paſſage, *hæreditas ejus à rege diſtributa eſt*, and *Willelmus Britolium, &c. obtinuit, and Rogerus utem comitatum Herefordenſem, &c obtinuit*, it ſeems probable that king William, in diſtributing the poſſeſſions of Fitz-Oſborne between his two ſons William and Roger, was not tied down by any fixed rule, or law, upon the ſubject, but was governed by his own judgment and diſcretion, though he ſeems to have followed the ſpirit of a law of inheritance which afterwards took place, and perhaps at that time was beginning to take place, in Normandy.

But in all theſe three ways of determining the ſucceſſion to a vacant fief, the circumſtance of primogeniture ſeems about this time, A. D. 1060, to have been conſidered as a juſt ground for preferring the claimant to whom it belonged to the other claimants of the fief. When there was no objection of criminality, or inſufficiency for the ſtation, (ariſing either from the weakneſs of infancy, or imbecility of character,) to be made to the claimant to whom this circumſtance of primogeniture belonged, it ſeems to have been an inducement to the dying poſſeſſor of the fief

to

to nominate, or appoint, ſuch claimant for his ſucceſſor in it, or to recommend him both to his upper lord for his tenant, and to his inferior feudal tenants for their lord; and it ſeems alſo to have been an inducement to the upper lord to admit ſuch claimant for his tenant, by receiving homage from him for the fief, and to the inferior feudal tenants to admit him, or elect him, for their upper lord, or governor, by performing homage to him for their fiefs. And thus, by degrees, this circumſtance of primogeniture, from being at firſt only a recommendation, or ground of preference, to induce the perſons upon whoſe will and pleaſure the ſucceſſion to vacant fiefs depended, to chuſe the eldeſt ſons, or eldeſt nephews, of the laſt poſſeſſors of them to ſucceed to them, grew up, by the frequent repetition of the inſtances of ſuch a preference, to be at laſt a ſettled legal right, by which the courſe of ſucceſſion to feudal poſſeſſions was afterwards uniformly regulated.

On the Origin of Manors.

From the ſame.

"Here we have the derivation and original meaning of the word manor, namely, the manſion-houſe of a country gentleman. The French uſe the word *manoir* in the ſame ſenſe at this day; but in England the word manor now denotes a parcel of land (with or without a houſe upon it), of which a part remains in the lord's or owner's hands, and is called his demeſne land, *terra dominica*, or *terra domini*; and another part has been granted away before the year of the reign king Edward I. or the year of Chriſt 1290, to two or more other perſons, to hold to them and their heirs for ever, of the grantor, or lord, and his heirs for ever, either by knight's ſervice or in free and common ſocage. In that year the ſtatute of *Quia emptores terrarum* was paſſed, which prohibited the making of theſe under grants of land to be holden of the grantor (which were founded to be attended with many inconveniences), and ordained that all lands that ſhould afterwards be granted away to be holden in inheritance by the grantee, ſhould be holden of the ſame upper lord of whom the grantor himſelf had held them before the new grant. In conſequence of this ſtatute, it has been impoſſible to create a new manor ever ſince the year 1290, which is now near 500 years ago. But before that time, any man that was poſſeſſed of freehold lands of inheritance might have converted them into a manor whenever he pleaſed, by granting two or more portions of them to two or more other perſons, to be holden to them and their heirs for ever, of him and his heirs for ever, either by the tenure of military ſervice (called in the law books knight ſervices), or in free or common ſocage. Thus, for example, if a man had had three hundred acres of land lying together in any county, holden to him and his heirs for ever, either of the crown or of ſome inferior lord, by ſome free ſervice, and had granted twenty-five acres a piece out of the ſaid three hundred acres to eight different perſons, to hold the

the ſame to them and their heirs for ever, of him and his heirs for ever, in free and common ſocage, doing fealty to him and his heirs for the ſame, and paying him a quit rent of a penny a year for each of the ſaid lots of 25 acres, the ſaid three hundred acres of land would thereby have been converted into a manor, of which the ſaid grantor would have been the *lord*, and the hundred acres which he would have reſerved to himſelf after he had thus granted away the other two hundred acres to the ſaid eight perſons in lots of twenty-five acres a-piece, would have been the demeſne land; and he would have a right of holding a court-baron in his ſaid manor to determine actions of debt and ſome other civil ſuits between his ſaid eight tenants, or grantees; and more eſpecially to hold plea of a writ of right brought againſt any one of them concerning his right to the land he held in ſuch manor: and his right of holding ſuch a court-baron would have belonged to the lord of ſuch a new manor of *common right*, as the law expreſſes it, or without any grant of the crown, and would have been the natural neceſſary conſequence of his having thus granted away a part of his three hundred acres to other perſons to be holden in inheritance of himſelf by a free tenure. In this court-baron, the ſuitors of the court, or thoſe who are bound to follow (from the French word *ſuivre*) or attend it, that is in the example juſt now given, the eight grantees above-mentioned, are the judges who are to determine the matters that are conteſted in it, and the lord, or his ſteward, is only the regiſter of the court, and is bound to adopt the deciſions of the ſaid ſuitors or grantees, and to cauſe them to be executed. Theſe ſuitors of the court, or freehold tenants of the ſame lord, are ſometimes called each other's peers, or equals, *or the peers* of the court, *pares curiæ*, and ſometimes, in very old records, the barons of the court, *barones curiæ*, or the barons of the lord, *barones domini*.

"There are alſo oftentimes, and indeed moſt uſually, ſome other tenants of lands in a manor, who do not hold their lands by any free tenure, but at *the will* of the lord. Theſe tenants are admitted to the poſſeſſion of their lands either by the lord of the manor, or his ſteward (called in old Latin records Seneſchallus), by the ceremony of the lord's or ſteward's preſenting a rod, or ſtaff, to the tenant, which the tenant takes hold of at one end, while the lord, or ſteward, hold it by the other, and in this poſition the lord, or his ſteward, pronounces the words of admiſſion of the tenant to his land; and then a *memorandum* is made in the court-rolls (or regiſter-book of the tranſactions of the lord's court) of ſuch admiſſion, and a copy of this *memorandum* is afterwards delivered by the lord, or his ſteward, to the tenant ſo admitted.

"And this copy of *the court-roll* (as it is called) is the tenant's title-deed to the land to which he has been ſo admitted, and anſwers to the deed of grant, or deed of feoffment, or other regular law-conveyance of land to a freehold tenant. And from this circumſtance, of holding their lands by virtue of theſe copies of the court-rolls, the ſaid tenants at will are uſually denominated *copyholders*, or *copyhold tenants*; and from the former

former circumſtance of their being admitted to their lands with the aforeſaid ceremony of the rod, or ſtaff, they are alſo ſometimes called *tenants by the verge*. Theſe tenants, it ſeems probable, might in former days have been turned out of their lands whenever the lord pleaſed, ſeeing that they held them at the lord's will. But for ſome centuries paſt the courts of juſtice have controuled the lords in the exerciſe of this power, inſomuch that they can now no more diſpoſſeſs a copyhold tenant, or moleſt him in the enjoyment of his copyhold land, than they can a freehold tenant, provided the copyhold tenant performs all the duties and obſerves all the reſtrictions belonging to his tenure, which are greater than thoſe belonging to freehold tenures. For a copyholder is not at liberty to pull down any building upon his copyhold land without his lord's leave, but is bound to keep them all in good repair; and, for the moſt part, he is not at liberty to cut down any of the trees upon his tenement. And when he aliens his land to another, it muſt be done in the lord's court by ſurrendering it up to the lord for the uſe of the purchaſer, or to the end that the lord may grant it to the purchaſer: and on theſe occaſions the lord is at liberty to take from the purchaſer, for his new grant to him of the copyhold tenement, a ſum of money not exceeding two years full rent of the land. This ſort of tenants is to be found in moſt manors of the kingdom, but not in all. In the royal manor of Eaſt Greenwich in Kent, there are none but freehold tenants.'"

Account of the Numbers and Rate of Pay of the Engliſh Army which beſieged Calais in 1347, *the Year after the Battle of Creſſy.*

From an Hiſtorical Account of the Charter Houſe.

		£.	s.	d.
	'My Lord the Prince - - - - - -	1	0	0
	Biſhop of Durham - - - - - -	0	6	8
13	Earls (each) - - - - - - -	0	6	8
44	Barons and Bannerets - - - - -	0	4	0
1046	Knights - - - - - - - -	0	2	0
4022	Eſquires, Conſtables, Centenaries, and Leaders -	0	1	0
5104	Vintenary and Archers on horſeback - -	0	0	6
335	Paunceners			
500	Hobblers.			
15,480	Foot Archers - - - - - - -	0	0	3
314	Maſons, &c. 12*d.* 10*d.* 6*d.* and 3*d. per diem.*			
	The reſt at - - - - - - -	0	0	2
700	Maſters, Conſtables, and Pages.			
100	Ships, Barges, and Victuallers.'			

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

Letters from Biſhop Warburton to Dr. Hurd.

From "Letters from a late eminent Prelate to one of his Friends."

LETTER VII.

Bedford Row, Oct. 28, 1749.

Dear ſir,

I DEFERRED making my acknowledgments for the favour of your laſt obliging letter till I came to town. I am now got hither to ſpend the month of November. The dreadful month of November! when the little wretches hang and drown themſelves, and the great ones ſell themſelves to the C— and the Devil. I ſhould be glad if any occaſion would bring you hither, that I might have the pleaſure of waiting on you.—I don't mean to the C— and the devil, but in Bedford Row. Not that I would fright you from that earthly Pandemonium, a C—, becauſe I never go thither. On the contrary I wiſh you could get into the *circle*. For (with regard to you) I ſhould be ſomething of the humour of honeſt Cornelius Agrippa, who, when he left off conjuring, and wrote of the *vanity* of the art, could not forbear to give receipts, and teach young novices the way to raiſe the devil. One method ſerves for both, and his political repreſentatives are rendered tractable by the very ſame method, namely *fumigations*. But theſe high myſteries you are unworthy to partake of. You are no true ſon of Agrippa, who chooſe to waſte your incenſe in raiſing the meagre ſpirit of friendſhip, when the wiſdom of the prince of this world would have inſpired you with more profitable ſentiments.

Let me hear, at leaſt, of your health; and believe that no abſence can leſſen what the expreſſions of your good will have made me, that is to ſay, very much your ſervant.

I have now put that volume of which the Epiſtle to Auguſtus is part, to the preſs; ſo ſhould be obliged to you to ſend it, by your letter carrier, directed to Mr. Knapton, bookſeller, in Ludgate-ſtreet. But you muſt be careful *not* to pay the carriage, becauſe that

that will endanger a miſcarriage, as I have often experienced. I intend to ſoften the concluſion of the note about Grotius and the Archbiſhop, according to your friendly hint.

LETTER XV.

Prior Park, Dec. 23, 1749.

I have the favour of two of yours to acknowledge. I make not the leaſt doubt of the biſhop keeping his promiſe to us.

I have juſt read the moſt ſilly and knaviſh book I ever ſaw; one Lauder on Milton's imitations. An obſervation at the bottom of 44 and the top of 45, proves him either the one or the other with a vengeance. If there are thoſe things in Maſenius, why did he not produce them? They are of more weight to prove his charge than all he ſays beſides. If they are not, he is a knave. I think he has produced about half a dozen particular thoughts that look like imitation.—But the matter of *imitation* is a thing very little underſtood. However, in one view the book does not diſpleaſe me. It is likely enough to mortify all the ſilly adorers of Milton, who deſerve to be laughed at!!

Poor Job! It was his eternal fate to be perſecuted by his friends. His three comforters paſſed ſentence of condemnation upon him, and he has been executing in *effigie* ever ſince. He was firſt bound to the ſtake by a long catena of Greek fathers; then tortured by Pineda; then ſtrangled by Caryl, and afterwards cut up by Weſley, and anatomized by Garnet. Pray dont reckon me among his hangmen. I only acted the tender part of his wife, and was for making ſhort work with him. But he was ordained, I think, by a fate like that of Prometheus, to lie ſtill upon his dunghill, and to have his brains ſucked out by owls. One Hodges, a head of Oxford, now threatens us with a new *auto de fè*. I have been reviſing my notes on the Eſſay on Criticiſm (I mean for the general edition, that little thing you ſee advertiſed I have never ſeen nor heard any thing of) and have corrected what I ſaid, in conformity to the notions of Mr. Addiſon and other critics, about the *Ars Poetica*. For which better notion of the work I and the public are indebted to the Engliſh Commentator upon it.

I am, &c.

LETTER XX.

The finiſhing ſtroke to Julian has kept me till now from diſcharging my debt for the favour of your laſt.

Your plan for the diſcourſe on imitation, I tell you without compliment, is admirable. And I long to ſee you fill up the canvaſs. Don't let me languiſh in expectation. In the Edition of Mr. Pope's works I have borrowed from you, and ſpoke my ſentiments of your comment. But of this piece (was it compoſed) I ſhould have much more uſe. But it will ſtand me in ſtead in his life, which I ſhall not publiſh with the firſt edition of his works.

Rejoice with me that I have done with Julian, and am returned to my old indolence, which ſtate I will keep in as long as I can. But now

now the third volume of the D. L. begins to look me in the face, and I have promiſed, you will find, a ſecond volume of Julian. But I make my promiſes like a young courtier; and keep my countenance when I break them, like an old one. The B. L. has ſent me his Paſtoral Charge. It is a very primitive diſcourſe, and what is more, a very good one. The ſecond earthquake has much frightened that colluvies of filth, the court and city. Pray God it may reform them. But we ſeem a people devoted to deſtruction.

Have you ſeen lord Halifax's book of Maxims? He was the ableſt man of buſineſs in his time. You will not find the depth of Rochefoucault's, nor his malignity. Licence enough, as to religion. They are many of them very ſolid; and I perſuade myſelf were made occaſionally, as the affairs of thoſe times occurred, while he was in buſineſs. And we loſe half their worth by not knowing the occaſions. Several of them are the commoneſt thoughts, or moſt obvious truths, prettily turned: ſome, ſtill lower, pay us with the jingling of ſound for ſenſe.

Biſhop Berkely, of Ireland, has publiſhed a thing of a very different ſort, but much in the ſame form, which he calls queries, very well worth attending to by the Iriſh nation. He is indeed a great man, and the only viſionary I ever knew that was.

I ſuppoſe this ſhallow dirty Brooke * you have been dabbling in may fancy me to be the author of a fooliſh pamphlet writ againſt him. I know ſome of Dr. M's friends ſuſpected me to be the author. I have heard it was the Lay-Dodwell's. If this be Brooke's ground of abuſe, he does me much leſs honour than Weſton did.

Pray once more let me know that you are in earneſt with your plan, and believe me to be, &c.

P. S. Pray did you feel either of theſe earthquakes? They have made Whiſton ten times madder than ever. He went to an alehouſe at Mile End to ſee one, who, it was ſaid, had predicted the earthquakes. The man told him it was true, and that he had it from an angel. Whiſton rejected this as apocryphal. For he was well aſſured that, if the favour of this ſecret was to be communicated to any one, it would be to himſelf. He is ſo enraged at Middleton, that he has juſt now quarrelled downright with the ſpeaker for having ſpoke a good word for him many years ago in the affair of the maſterſhip of the Charter Houſe. The ſpeaker the other day ſent for him to dinner; he ſaid he would not come. His lady ſent; he would not come. She went to him, and clambered up into his garret to aſk him about the earthquake! He told her, "Madam, you are a virtuous woman, you need not fear, none but the wicked will be deſtroyed. You will eſcape. I would not give the ſame promiſe to your huſband."—What will this poor nation come to! In the condition of troops between two fires; the madneſs of irreligion, and the madneſs of fanaticiſm.

* Mr. Zachary Brooke of St. John's College, Cambridge.

LETTER

LETTER XLVII.

Prior Park, July 5, 1752.

I am glad you received your papers back safe. What came into my head since concerning them, was only this.—I think you have taken notice of the famous Characters of Theophrastus, where passions and not men are coloured. Pray would an observation something like this be worth the making?—Dramatic poets would be likely to justify the fault you condemn by the example of that great master. But you may say it would be by the same indiscretion, a painter would be guilty of, who should employ the excellent colours he finds upon the pallet of a great master, in the same state they lie there, simple and unmixed, and without compounding, to fit them for that infinite variety of shades and tints, requisite for the expression of existing nature.

"I am glad you don't dislike my improvements of the Divine Legation. With regard to which I will tell you an anecdote, that, however, for aught I know, I have told you before. But it is no great matter if I have. When the London clergy pretended to be alarmed, and took fire at the Divine Legation, and were encouraged in their violence by Potter, the late archbishop (who, however, had the meanness, when I expostulated the matter with him, to deny every thing); he and they had endeavoured to persuade certain persons of great name for learning, with them, (amongst the rest one, who had been a little before in a controversy with Middleton, about his letter to Waterland,) to write against my book. They gave out they had engaged these considerable hands in this service, who were to demolish the book. On which I resolved to be prepared for them (who, by the way, thought better of it), and give it the severest examination myself. I set about this work with great care. I detected (which I dare say you will think I was best able to do) all the weak parts of it. I shewed no mercy to them; and then endeavoured to defend them, the best I could. I went through the work, and committed it to paper; which, I thought, I should soon have use enough of. But what do you think was the issue? In the first place, as I said, these heros of literature refused to be engaged. But, in their stead, there was an army of volunteers. My business with these was merely curiosity. I wanted to see if any of them had hit upon the weak parts, I had been with so much pains providing for. And I can assure you, that not one of them has been yet found out by my enemies; and do yet remain a secret between God, my conscience, and my friends. By my friends, I mean all those men of true learning, who, without doubt, see them as well as I do; but for the sake of other things, which, if not well executed, they have the candour to believe well intended, think ought to be pardoned, and not objected to a fallible author.

You talk of Jackson's Chronology, on which occasion you quote a line of Mr. Pope, which he would have envied you the application of, and would certainly have drawn a new character of a *divine Antiquarian*, for the pleasure of applying this line to him. As for Jackson, you would hardly think (after what

what had paſſed between us) that all his account of the myſteries ſhould be one entire theft from me, a tranſcript of my account, without one word of acknowledgment: for which I ſhall make him all due acknowledgments in a note. The wretch has ſpent his days in the republic of letters, juſt as your vagabonds do in the ſtreets of London, in one unvaried courſe of *begging*, *railing*, and *ſtealing*.

The Biſhop of Exeter's book againſt the Methodiſts is, I think, on the whole, compoſed well enough (though it be a bad copy of Stillingfleet's famous book of the *Fanaticiſm of the Church of Rome*) to do the execution he intended. —In puſhing the Methodiſts, to make them *like* every thing that is bad, he compares their fanaticiſm to the ancient myſteries; but as the myſteries, if they had ever been good, were not in the biſhop's opinion, bad enough for this purpoſe, he therefore endeavours to ſhew, againſt me, that they were abominations even from the beginning. As this contradicts all antiquity ſo evidently, I thought it would be ridiculous in me to take any notice of him.

Our excellent friend, Mr. Charles Yorke, eſcaped * narrowly with his life. This makes me think all the reſt a trifle: though he has loſt (together with excellent chambers of his own) an excellent library, and what is irreparable, all the ſtate papers of his great uncle, Lord Somers, thirty or forty volumes in folio, full of very material things for the hiſtory of thoſe times; which I ſpeak upon my own knowledge.

Poor Forſter (whom I have juſt received a letter from) is overwhelmed with deſolation for the loſs of his maſter. I quoted his caſe to our friend Balguy for his conſolation. But you ſay—*I will have no maſter*—which, I confeſs, is the beſt conſolation of all.—Reckon upon it, that Durham goes to ſome noble eccleſiaſtic. 'Tis a morſel only for them. Our *Grandees* have at laſt found their way back into the church. I only wonder they have been ſo long about it. But be aſſured that nothing but a new religious revolution, to ſweep away the fragments that Harry the Eighth left, after banqueting his courtiers, will drive them out again. The church has been of old the cradle and the throne of the younger nobility. And this nurſing mother will, I hope, once more vie with old imperious Berecynthia—

> Læta Deûm partu, centum complexa Nepotes,
> Omnes Cælicolas, omnes *ſupera alta* tenentes.

You mention Noah's ark. I have really forgot what I ſaid of it †. But I ſuppoſe I compared the church to it, as many a grave divine has done before me. The Rabbins make the giant Gog or Magog contemporary with Noah, and convinced by his preaching, ſo that he was diſpoſed to take the benefit of the ark. But here lay

* From a fire at Lincoln's Inn.

† The following ſeems to be the paſſage referred to. It is in Letter XLVI. "The Church, like the ark of Noah, is worth ſaving; not for the ſake of the unclean beaſts and vermin that almoſt filled it, and probably made moſt noiſe and clamour in it, but for the little corner of rationality, that was as much diſtreſſed by the ſtench within as the tempeſt without."

the diſtreſs; it by no means ſuited his dimenſions. Therefore as he could not enter in, he contented himſelf to ride upon it aſtride. And though you may ſuppoſe that, in that ſtormy weather, he was more than half boots over, he kept his ſeat, and diſmounted ſafely when the ark landed on Mount Ararat. Imagine now to yourſelf this illuſtrious cavalier mounted on his *hackney:* and ſee if it does not bring before you the church, beſtrid by ſome lumpiſh miniſter of ſtate, who turns and winds it at his pleaſure. The only difference is, that Gog believed the preacher of righteouſneſs and religion.

I am, &c.

LETTER LX.

I agree with you, that our good friend is a little whimſical as a philoſopher, or a poet, in his project of improving himſelf in men and manners; though as a *fine gentleman*, extremely faſhionable in his ſcheme. But, as I dare ſay, this is a character he is above, tell him I would recommend to him a voyage now and then with me round the Park; oftentimes more eaſe, and ten thouſand times more profit, than making the *grand tour;* whether he chooſes to conſider it in a philoſophico-poetical, or in an eccleſiaſtico-political light.

Let us ſuppoſe his mind bent on improvements in poetry. What can afford nobler hints for *paſtoral* than the cows and the milk-women at your entrance from Spring Gardens? As you advance, you have noble ſubjects for comedy and farce, from one end of the *Mall* to the other; not to ſay ſatire; to which our worthy friend has a kind of propenſity.

As you turn to the left you ſoon arrive at *Roſamond's Pond*, long conſecrated to diſaſtrous love, and *elegiac* poetry. The *Bird-cage-walk*, which you enter next, ſpeaks its own influence, and inſpires you with the gentle ſpirit of madrigal and ſonnet. When we come to *Duck Iſland*, we have a double chance for ſucceſs, in the georgic or didactic poetry, as the governor of it, Stephen Duck, can both inſtruct our friend in the breed of his wild fowl, and lend him of his genius to ſing their generations.

"But now, in finiſhing our tour, we come to a place indeed, the ſeed-plot of Dettingen and Fontenoy, the place of trumpets and kettle-drums, of horſe and foot guards, the *Parade*. The place of heroes and demi-gods, the eternal ſource of the greater poetry, from whence ſprings that *acmè* of human things, an epic poem; to which our friend has conſecrated all his happier hours.

But ſuppoſe his viſions for the bays be now changed for the brighter viſions of the mitre, here ſtill muſt be his circle; which on one ſide preſents him with thoſe auguſt towers of St. James's, which, though neither ſeemly nor ſublime, yet ornament that place where the balances are preſerved, which weigh out liberty and property to the nations all abroad: and on the other, with that ſacred venerable dome of St. Peter, which, though its head riſes and remains in the clouds, yet carries in its bowels the very flower and quinteſſence of eccleſiaſtical policy.

This is enough for any one who only wants to ſtudy men for his uſe. But if our aſpiring friend would go higher, and ſtudy human nature in and for itſelf, he muſt take

take a much larger tour than that of Europe. He muſt go firſt and catch her undreſſed, nay quite naked, in North America and at the Cape of Good Hope. He may then examine how ſhe appears crampt, contracted, and buttoned cloſe up in the ſtrait tunic of law and cuſtom, as in China and Japan; or ſpread out and enlarged above her common ſize, in the long and flowing robe of enthuſiaſm, amongſt the Arabs and Saracens. Or laſtly, as ſhe flutters in the old rags of worn-out policy and civil government, and almoſt ready to run back, naked to the deſerts, as on the Mediterranean coaſt of Africa. Theſe, tell him, are the grand ſcenes for the true philoſopher, for the citizen of the world, to contemplate. The *tour of Europe* is like the entertainment that Plutarch ſpeaks of, which Pompey's hoſt of Epirus gave him. There were many diſhes, and they had a ſeeming variety; but when he came to examine them narrowly, he found them all made out of one hog, and indeed nothing but *pork* differently diſguiſed.

This is enough for our friend. But to you who have, as Mr. Locke expreſſes it, *large ſound and round-about ſenſe*, I have ſomething more to ſay. Though, indeed, I perfectly agree with you, that a ſcholar by profeſſion, who knows how to employ his time in ſtudy, for the benefit of mankind, would be more than fantaſtical, he would be mad, to go rambling round Europe, though his fortune would permit him. For to travel with profit, muſt be when his faculties are at the height, his ſtudies matured; and all his reading freſh in his head. But to waſte a conſiderable ſpace of time, at ſuch a period of life, is worſe than ſuicide. Yet, for all this, the knowledge of human nature, (the only knowledge, in the largeſt ſenſe of it, worth a wiſe man's concern or care) can never be well acquired without ſeeing it under all its diſguiſes and diſtortions, ariſing from abſurd governments and monſtrous religions, in every quarter of the globe; therefore, I think, a collection of the beſt voyages no deſpicable part of a philoſopher's library. Perhaps there will be found more droſs in this ſort of literature, even when ſelected moſt carefully, than in any other. But no matter for that; ſuch a collection will contain a great and ſolid treaſure.

The report you ſpeak of is partly falſe, with a mixture of truth; and and is a thing that touches me ſo little, that I never mentioned it to any of my friends, who did not chance to aſk about it. I have no ſecrets that I would have ſuch to you. I would have it ſo to others, merely becauſe it is an impertinent thing, that concerns nobody; and its being in common report, which nobody gives credit to, covers the ſecret the better, inſtead of divulging it. The *ſimple* fact is only this: that not long ſince, the Duke of Newcaſtle ſent word, by a noble perſon, to Mr. Allen, that he had a purpoſe of aſking the king for the Deanery of Briſtol for me, if it ſhould become vacant while he is in credit, as a thing which, he ſuppoſed, would not be unacceptable to us, on account of its neighbourhood to this place. And now, my deareſt friend, you have the whole ſecret, and a very fooliſh one it is. *If it comes*, as Falſtaff ſays

ſays of honour, *it comes unlooked for, and there's an end.* But he had a good chance, becauſe he did *not deſerve* what he was ſo indifferent about. What my chance is by this ſcale, I leave to be adjuſted between my friends and enemies.

It gives me, my dear friend, a ſincere pleaſure to hear that your health ſeems to be re-eſtabliſhed; and that the good couple tied together for life, the mind and body, are at peace with one another. As for *ſpirits* it is like *love* in marriage, it will come hereafter.

Shall we have the pleaſure of ſeeing you at Chriſtmas? You would likely meet the good company you met here laſt Chriſtmas, I mean Mr. Yorke's. You know, I hope, the true eſteem Mr. Allen has for you, and the ſincere pleaſure your company gives him.

LETTER LXXXIV.

Bedford-row, Oct. 27, 1755.

I *heartily* condole with you in your diſtreſs, but am glad you are got from the ſcene of it.

The politics that encountered you on your coming to Cambridge, plainly ſhew your wiſe men are much more intent on themſelves than the publick; otherwiſe they would not, at ſuch a criſis as this, when our all is at ſtake, (which will always be the caſe in every pitiful ſquabble with France), buſy themſelves with who was in or out.

Take theſe hints while they remain in my memory.—Under the Norman and Plantagenet lines, the prerogative roſe or fell juſt as the Pope or the Barons ruled at court. But the principle of civil liberty was always in vigour.—The Barons were a licentious race in their private lives. The biſhops threw them out a bait, which they were too wiſe to catch at. Subſequent marriage, by the Imperial laws, as well as canons, legitimated baſtards as to ſucceſſion: the common law kept them eternally in their ſtate of baſtardy. The barons' caſtles were full of baſtards; the very name was honourable. At a parliament under Henry III. 'rogaverunt *omnes epiſcopi* ut conſentirent quod nati ante matrimonium eſſent legitimi—*et omnes comites et barones* una voce reſponderunt *quod nolunt leges Angliæ mutari.*" See Coke-Littleton, l. 3. c. 6. Sect. 40. This famous anſwer has been quoted a thouſand and a thouſand times, and yet nobody ſeems to have underſtood the management. The biſhops, as partizans of the Pope, were for ſubjecting England to the imperial and papal laws, and therefore began with a circumſtance moſt to the taſte of the barons. The barons ſmelt the contrivance; and rejected a propoſition moſt agreeable to them, for fear of the conſequences, the introduction of the imperial laws, whoſe very genius and eſſence was arbitrary deſpotic power. Their anſwer ſhews it, "Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari," they had nothing to object to the reform, but they were afraid for the conſtitution.

After the Reformation, the Proteſtant *divines*, as appears by the homilies compoſed by the wiſeſt and moſt diſintereſted men, ſuch as Cranmer and Latimer, preached up non-reſiſtance very ſtrongly; but it was only to oppoſe popery. The caſe was this: the Pope threatened

threatened to excommunicate and depoſe Edward; he did put his threats in execution againſt Elizabeth. This was eſteemed ſuch a ſtretch of power, and ſo odious, that the Jeſuits contrived all means to ſoften it. One was, by ſearching into the origin of civil power, which they brought rightly (though for wicked purpoſes) from the people; as Mariana and others.—To combat this, and to ſave the perſon of the ſovereign, the proteſtant divines preached up divine right.—Hooker, ſuperior to every thing, followed the truth.—But it is remarkable that this *non-reſiſtance* that at the reformation was employed to keep out popery, was, at the revolution, employed to bring it in—ſo eternally is truth ſacrificed to politicks.

My dear friend, take care of your health; and believe me, &c.

LETTER CXXIX.

I have ſent your appendix to Bowyer. I have juſt touched it here and there only in the expreſſion. If the colouring be uniform with your own, it is well. However, you will have a proof, to alter as you ſee fit.

I dont know whether you have ſeen Dr. Young's *comjectures on original compoſition*. He is the fineſt writer of nonſenſe of any of this age. And had he known that *original compoſition*, conſiſted in the manner, and not in the matter, he had wrote with common ſenſe, and perhaps very dully under ſo inſufferable a burthen. But the wiſeſt and kindeſt part of his work, is adviſing writers to be original, and not imitators; that is, to be geniuſes rather than blockheads, for I believe nothing but theſe different qualities made Virgil an original author, and Blackmore an imitator, for they certainly were borrowers alike.

Groſvenor-ſquare, May 17, 1759.

LETTER CLXXXVII.

Prior Park, Nov. 15, 1766.

I have your kind letter of the 11th. As to *Rouſſeau*, I entirely agree with you, that his long letter to his brother philoſopher, Hume, ſhews him to be a frank lunatick. His paſſion of tears—his ſuſpicion of friends in the midſt of their ſervices—and his incapacity of being ſet right,—all conſign him to Monro. You give the true cauſe, too, of this exceſs of phrenzy, which breaks out on all occaſions—the honeſt neglect of our countrymen in their tribute to his importance. For all that Hume ſays of him on this head, ſeems to be the truth; and as it is a truth eaſily diſcoverable from his writings, his patron could have but one motive in bringing him over (for he was under the protection of Lord Mareſhal) and that was cheriſhing a man whoſe writings were as miſchievous to ſociety as his own.

Walpole's pleaſantry upon him had *baſeneſs* in its very conception. It was written when the poor man had determined to ſeek an aſylum in England; and is therefore juſtly and generouſly condemned by D'Alembert. This conſidered, Hume failed both in honour and friendſhip, not to ſhew his diſlike: which neglect ſeems to have kindled the firſt ſpark of combuſtion in this madman's brain. The merits of the two philoſophers are ſoon adjuſted. There is an immenſe diſ-

tance between their natural genius; none at all in their exceſſive vanity; and much again in their good faith. Rouſſeau's warmth has made him act the madman in his philoſophic enquiries, ſo that he oft ſaw not the miſchief which he did: Hume's coldneſs made him not only ſee, but rejoice in his. But it is neither parts nor logic that has made either of them *philoſophers*, but infidelity only: for which, to be ſure, they equally deſerve a PENSION. Had the givers conſidered the difference between what became them to do in *charity*, by way of *protection*, and what became them to do as a *reward*, by way of *penſion*, they never had been reduced to the low and ignoble expedient of having what they did kept a *ſecret*. However, the *conteſtation* is very amuſing; and I ſhall be very ſorry if it ſtops now it is in ſo good a train. I ſhould be well pleaſed, particularly, to ſee ſo ſeraphic a madman attack ſo inſufferable a coxcomb as Walpole; and I think they are only fit for one another.

I could not but laugh at your archneſs in what you ſay about *Antichriſt*. You may think, perhaps, and not amiſs, that a diſcourſe on the *great whore*, like that on the little one in Terence, can be, at beſt, but teaching the ſpiritual inamorato, *cum ratione inſanire*; but this may be ſomething; and not ſo uſeleſs as Parmenio thought it; for the *madneſs* conſult the prophet, Whiſton; and for the *reaſon*, the interpreter, Mede.

The *dormitory* is already filled; but what inſpirations, as a *library*, it may give to the forty little ſleepers therein, muſt be left to time, which reveals all things.

As to news, when you ſend me any, I had rather you would conſider yourſelf as my *purveyor*, than my *intelligencer*. It is a kind of daily bread one can hardly do without; eaten to-day with appetite, and gone, one does not care where, to-morrow. I am a great reader of hiſtory, but a geater ſtill of profeſſed romances: ſo that you ſee nothing comes amiſs to a man who conſults his appetite more than his digeſtion.

I ſuppoſe you have got our friends Mr. and Mrs. Maſon to town. I wiſh ſhe may receive all the benefit they propoſe and hope.

On the Clowns and Fools of Shakſpeare.

(*From Illuſtrations of Shakſpeare. By Mr. Douce.*)

"It is ſo exceedingly clear that the terms *clown* and *fool* were uſed, however improperly, as ſynonymous by our old writers, that it would be an unneceſſary occupation of the reader's time to adduce examples. Their confuſed introduction in the dramatis perſonæ might indeed render this poſition doubtful to any one who had not well conſidered the matter; but although the *fool* of our old plays denoted either a mere ideot or natural, or elſe a witty hireling or artificial fool, both retained for the purpoſe of making ſport for their employers, the *clown* was certainly a character of much greater variety. He occaſionally repreſented one of the above perſonages; ſometimes he was a mere ruſtic, and very often

no

no more than a ſhrewd and witty domeſtic. There are ſome inſtances in which any low character in a play ſerved to amuſe the audience with his ſallies of coarſe buffoonery, and thus became the *clown* of the piece. In ſhort, the theatrical clown or fool ſeems to have been a kind of heterogeneous character, drawn in part from real life, but very conſiderably heightened in order to produce ſtage effect; an opinion that derives conſiderable ſupport from what Shakſpeare has put into the mouth of Hamlet, when he makes him admoniſh thoſe who play the clowns to ſpeak no more than is ſet down for them. Indeed the great dramatiſt himſelf cannot be abſolved from the imputation of having given too high a colouring to the characters in queſtion, unleſs we ſuppoſe, what is extremely probable, that his plays have been very much interpolated with the extemporaneous nonſenſe of the players. To this licentious practice the author of an excellent and well written ſatire, entitled, *Paſquil's mad-cappe throwne at the corruptions of theſe times*, 1626, 4to, alludes in the following lines:

'Tell country players, that old paltry jeſts
Pronounced in a painted motley coate,
Fills all the world ſo full of cuckoes neſts,
That nightingales can ſcarcely ſing a note:
O bid them turn their minds to better meanings;
Fields are ill ſowne that give no better gleanings.'

"Among other grave writers of the age, Sir Philip Sidney has reprobated the practice of introducing fools on the theatre. He remarks that the plays of his time were neither right tragedies nor right comedies, but that the authors mingled kings and clowns; 'not,' ſays he, 'becauſe the matter ſo carrieth it, but thruſt in the *clowne* by head and ſhoulders to play a part in majeſtical matters, with neither decencie nor diſcretion: ſo as neither the admiration and commiſeration, nor the right ſportfulneſſe is by their mongrell tragi-comedie obtained.' William Rankin, a puritan, and contemporary with Shakſpeare, has left us a moſt virulent attack on plays and players, whom he calls monſters; 'And whie monſters,' ſays he, 'Bicauſe under colour of humanitie they preſent nothing but prodigious vanitie. Theſe are wels without water, dead branches fit for fuell, cockle amongſt corne, unwholeſome weedes amongſt ſweete hearbes, and finallie, feends that are crept into the worlde by ſtealth, and holde poſſeſſion by ſubtill invaſion.' In another place, deſcribing the performers at a fictitious banquet in Terralbon (England), he ſays, 'Some transformed themſelves to roges, other to ruffians, ſome other to *clownes*, a fourth to *fooles* ..... the roges were ready, the ruffians were rude, *theyr clownes cladde* as well with country condition, as in ruffe ruſſet; theyr *fooles as fonde as might be*,' &c. The latter paſſage is intereſting, becauſe the clown is properly diſtinguiſhed from the fool, as he always ſhould have been.

"It may be the means of affording a clearer view of the preſent ſubject, if ſomething like a claſſification of the different ſorts of fools and clowns be given. The following is, therefore offered as a ſubſtitute for a better.

"I. *The general domeſtic fool*, often, but as it ſhould ſeem impro-

perly, termed a clown. He was 1. a mere natural, or idiot. 2. Silly by nature, yet cunning and ſarcaſtical. 3. Artificial. Puttenham, ſpeaking of the latter, ſays, 'A buffoune or counterfet foole, to here him ſpeake wiſely which is like himſelfe, it is no ſport at all; but for ſuch a counterfait to talke and looke fooliſhly it maketh us laugh, becauſe it is no part of his naturall.' All theſe officiated occaſionally as menial ſervants.

"II. *The clown*, who was 1. a mere country booby. 2. A witty ruſtic. 3. Any ſervant of a ſhrewd and witty diſpoſition, and who, like a ſimilar character in our modern plays, was made to treat his maſter with great familiarity, in order to produce ſtage effect.

"III. *The female fool*, who was generally an idiot.

"IV. *The city or corporation fool*, whoſe office was to aſſiſt at public entertainments and in pageants. To this claſs belong perhaps the Lord Mayor's ſtate fool, and thoſe employed by the companies of trades, &c.

"V. *Tavern fools.* Theſe ſeem to have been retained to amuſe the cuſtomers. We learn from one of Ben Johnſon's plays, that they exhibited with a Jew's harp, mounted on a joint-ſtool; and in another of them he has preſerved the name of ſuch a character: they were ſometimes qualified to ſing after the Italian manner. Fools were alſo employed in the common brothels.

"VI. *The fool of the ancient theatrical myſteries and moralities.* He was, more properly ſpeaking, the *Vice*, a ſingular character, that would afford ſufficient matter for much better diſſertations than thoſe of Warburton or Upton. Being generally dreſſed in a fool's habit, he appears to have been gradually and undiſtinguiſhably blended with the domeſtic fool; yet he was certainly a buffoon of a different ſort. He was always a bitter enemy to the Devil, and a part of his employment conſiſted in teazing and tormenting the poor fiend on every occaſion. He ceaſed to be in faſhion at the end of the ſixteenth century.

"VII. *The fool in the old dumb ſhows exhibited at fairs, and perhaps at inns*, in which he was generally engaged in a ſtruggle with Death; a fact that ſeems alluded to more than once in Shakſpeare's plays. It is poſſible that ſome caſual veſtiges of this ſpecies of entertainment might have ſuggeſted the modern Engliſh pantomimes.

"VIII. *The fool in the Whitſun-ales and Morris dance.*

"IX. *The mountebank's fool, or merry Andrew.*

"There may be others introduced into our old dramas of an indefinite and irregular kind, and not reducible to any of the above claſſes; but to exemplify theſe or many of the above by a ſpecific reference to authorities, is not within the ſcope of the preſent eſſay. It is hoped that what has been juſt ſtated may contribute to aſſiſt the readers of old plays in forming ſome judgment of their own whenever the neceſſity ſhall ariſe.

"A general inveſtigation of that moſt ſingular and eccentric character, the real domeſtic fool, would occupy more ſpace than could here have been ſpared. It would indeed extend to a length that few will conceive; but ſhould the ſame laudable ſpirit of curioſity reſpecting

ing the manners of former times which at preſent conſtitutes much of the amuſement of an enlightened public, continue to maintain its influence, encouragement would not be wanting to reſume the ſubject more at large. In the mean time it may be ſufficient to remark, that the practice of retaining fools can be traced in very remote times, throughout almoſt all civilized, and even among ſome barbarous nations. It prevailed from the palace to the brothel. The Pope had his fool, and the bawd hers; and ladies entertained them of both ſexes. With reſpect to the antiquity of this cuſtom in our own country, there is reaſon to ſuppoſe that it exiſted even during the period of our Saxon hiſtory; but we are quite certain of the fact in the reign of William the Conqueror. An almoſt contemporary hiſtorian, Maitre Wace, has left us a curious account of the preſervation of William's life when he was only Duke of Normandy, by his fool *Goles*. Mention is made in Domesday of *Berdic joculator regis*; and although this term was unqueſtionably applied in numerous inſtances to denote a minſtrel, much evidence might be adduced to ſhow that on this occaſion it ſignified a buffoon. Latin terms were uſed by the middle-age writers ſo licentiouſly, and with ſuch extreme careleſſneſs, that in many caſes it is difficult to obtain a preciſe idea of their meaning. Thus the jeſters and minſtrels were indefinitely expreſſed by the words *joculator*, *ſcurra*, *mimus*, *miniſtrallus*, &c. a practice that may admit of juſtification when we conſider that in early times the minſtrel and buffoon characters were ſometimes united in one perſon. It muſt be allowed, however, that in an etymological point of view, the term *joculator* is much better adapted to the jeſter than the minſtrel.

"The accounts of the houſehold expenſes of our ſovereigns contain many payments and rewards to fools both foreign and domeſtic, the motives for which do not appear, but might perhaps have been ſome witty ſpeech or comic action that had pleaſed the donors. Some of theſe payments are annual gifts at Chriſtmas. Dr. Fuller, ſpeaking of the court jeſter, whom he ſays ſome count a neceſſary evil, remarks, in his uſual quaint manner, that it is an office which none but he that hath wit can perform, and none but he that wants it will perform. A great many names of theſe buffoons have been preſerved; and ſufficient materials remain to furniſh a ſeparate biography of them, which might afford even more amuſement than can be found in the lives of many of their betters. They continued an appurtenance to the Engliſh court to a late period. Muckle John, the fool of Charles the Firſt, and the ſucceſſor of Archee Armſtrong, is perhaps the laſt regular perſonage of the kind. The national troubles that produced the downfal of regal power, and the puritanical manners that enſued, at once determined the exiſtence of an office that had ſo long maintained its ground at court; and when Charles the Second reſumed the throne, it was probably deemed a matter of no moment to reſtore it. The common ſtories that relate to Killigrew as jeſter to Charles, reſt on no ſufficient authority; and although he might have contributed to amuſe the witty monarch with his jokes, it is certain

certain that he had no regular appointment to ſuch an office. Mr. Granger has juſtly obſerved, that the wit of the buffoons became the higheſt recommendation of a courtier in the time of Charles the Second.

"The diſcontinuance of the court fool had a conſiderable influence on the manners of private life; and we learn from one of Shadwell's plays, that it was then 'out of faſhion for great men to keep fools.' But the practice was by no means aboliſhed; it maintained its ground in this country ſo late as the beginning of the laſt century; and we have an epitaph, written by Dean Swift, on Dicky Pearce the Earl of Suffolk's fool, who was buried in Berkley church-yard, June 18, 1728. This perſon was an idiot. Lord Chancellor Talbot kept a Welſh jeſter named Rees Pengelding. He was a very ſhrewd fellow, and rented a farm of his maſter. Being diſtrained on for his rent by an oppreſſive ſteward, who had been a tailor and bore him a grudge, the ſurly fellow ſaid to him on this occaſion: 'I'll fit you ſirrah.' 'Then,' replied Rees, 'it will be the firſt time in your life that you ever fitted any one.' Another Welſhman, called Will the taborer, was retained in a ſimilar capacity, about the beginning of the laſt century, by Sir Edward Stradling, of St. Donat's caſtle, in Glamorganſhire. He is ſaid to have been a very witty fellow, and a man of ſtrong intellect. Lord Buſſy Manſel, of Margam, had likewiſe in his ſervice one Robin Ruſh, an idiot by nature, but who often ſaid very witty things. There are people now alive in Wales, or lately were, who well remembered him.

"The ſort of entertainment that fools were expected to afford, may be collected in great variety from our old plays, and particularly from thoſe of Shakſpeare; but perhaps no better idea can be formed of their general mode of conduct than from the following paſſage in a ſingular tract by Lodge, entitled *Wit's Miſerie*, 1599, 4to. 'Immoderate and diſordinate joy became incorporate in the bodie of a jeaſter; this fellow in perſon is comely, in apparell courtly, but in behaviour a very ape, and no man; his ſtudie is to coine bitter jeaſts, or to ſhew antique motions, or to ſing baudie ſonnets and ballads: give him a little wine in his head, he is continually flearing and making of mouthes: he laughs intemperately at every little occaſion, and dances about the houſe, leaps over tables, outſkips mens' heads, trips up his companion's heeles, burns ſack with a candle, and hath all the feats of a lord of miſrule in the countrie: feed him in his humour, you ſhall have his heart, in meere kindneſs he will hug you in his armes, kiſſe you on the cheeke, and rapping out an horrible oth, crie God's ſoule Tum, I love you, you know my poore heart, come to my chamber for a pipe of tobacco, there lives not a man in this world that I more honor. In theſe ceremonies you ſhall know his courting, and it is a ſpeciall mark of him at the table, he fits and makes faces: keep not this fellow company, for in *jugling* with him, your wardropes ſhall be waſted, your credits crakt, your crownes conſumed, and time (the moſt precious riches of the world) utterly loſt.'

This

This is the picture of a real hireling or artificial fool.

" As the profeſſion of theſe hirelings required a conſiderable degree of ſkill and dexterity to amuſe their employers, ſo it would in ſome inſtances fail of ſucceſs, and the want of the above talents would excite conſiderable diſguſt and diſſatisfaction. Cardinal Perron being one day in company with the Duke of Mantua, the latter, ſpeaking of his fool, ſaid that he was *un magro buffone & non haver ſpirito*. The cardinal remarked that nevertheleſs he had wit. 'Why ſo?' demanded the Duke; 'Becauſe,' replied the other, 'he lives by a trade which he does not underſtand.' The liberties allowed them were neceſſarily very great; but this was not always a protection to them. Every one knows the diſgracefully ſevere conduct of Archbiſhop Laud to poor Archee. The Duke D'Eſpernon, though a man of great haughtineſs of ſpirit, conducted himſelf on a ſimilar occaſion with much more diſcretion. His Gaſcon accent was a conſtant ſubject of raillery on the part of Maret, the fool of Louis XIII., whoſe great talent lay in mimicry. Cardinal Richelieu, who took upon him to give the Duke ſome pointed admonitions, ordered him, among other things, to endeavour to get rid of his provincial tones, at the ſame time counterfeiting his ſpeech, and ſarcaſtically intreating him not to take his advice in bad part. 'But why ſhould I,' replied the Duke, 'when I bear as much every day from the King's fool who mocks me in your preſence?' Selden has remarked, on a ſimilar occaſion, that a gallant man is above ill words, and has left us a ſtory of the forbearance of the old Lord Saliſbury, whom he calls a great wiſe man, towards Stone, a celebrated fool in the reign of James the Firſt. Fools, however, did not always eſcape with impunity; they were liable to, and often experienced, very ſevere domeſtic caſtigation. Whipping was the puniſhment generally inflicted. On the other hand they appear to have been ſometimes uſed with great tenderneſs. This is very feelingly exemplified in the conduct of Lear. Stafford, in his *Guide of Honour*, 1634, 18mo. tells us, that he 'had knowne a great and competently wiſe man who would much reſpect any man that was good to his foole.' An opportunity here preſents itſelf of explaining the old proverb 'five pounds; you've bled a fool,' which, adverting to the uſual privilege or allowance belonging to this character, ſeems to demand a forfeit from whoever had infringed it by inflicting an improper and unlawful chaſtiſement. This expoſition derives ſupport from a paſſage in Ben Jonſon's *Fox*, and alſo contributes to its illuſtration.

" In the ſecond act there is a ſong deſcribing a fool, in which it is ſaid that he 'ſpeaks truth free from ſlaughter.' This has been with ſome ingenuity ſuppoſed to mean '*free* from hurting any one.' The other conſtruction may perhaps be thought as plauſible.

" With reſpect to his office on the ſtage, we may ſuppoſe it would be nearly the ſame as in reality; the difference might be that his wit was more highly ſeaſoned. Mr. Malone has already cited a very curious paſſage on this ſubject from the play of *The Careleſs Shepherdeſs*, 1656. In Middleton's *Mayor of Quinborough*,

Quinborough, a company of actors with a clown make their appearance, and the following dialogue enſues:

'First Cheater.
'This is our clown, Sir.
'Simon.
'Fye, fye, your company
Muſt fall upon him and beat him; he's too fair, i' faith
To make the people laugh.
'First Cheater.
'Not as he may be dreſſed, Sir.
'Simon.
''Faith, dreſs him how you will, I'll give him
That gift, he will never look half ſcurvily enough.
Oh, the clowns that I have ſeen in my time!
The very peeping out of one of them would have
Made a young heir laugh, though his father lay a dying.
A man undone in law the day before
(The ſaddeſt caſe that can be) might for his ſecond
Have burſt himſelf with laughing, and ended all
His miſeries. Here was a merry world, my maſters!
Some talk of things of ſtate, of puling ſtuff;
There's nothing in a play like to a clown,
If he have the grace to hit on it, that's the thing indeed.
'Simon.
'Away then, ſhift, clown to thy *motley* crupper.'

"Whoever is deſirous of obtaining general and accurate information concerning the great variety of dreſſes that belong to ſome of the characters in queſtion at different periods, muſt ſtudy ancient prints and paintings, and eſpecially the miniatures that embelliſh manuſcripts. Theſe will afford ſufficient ſpecimens; but the difficulty of aſcertaining how the *theatrical fools and clowns* of Shakeſpeare's time were *always* habited, is inſuperable. In ſome inſtances the plays themſelves aſſiſt by peculiar references that leave but little doubt; but this is not the caſe in general. It is to be lamented that our artiſts did not appropriate more of their labours to the repreſentation of theatrical ſubjects, and the fortunate diſcovery of a ſingle ancient painting of this kind would be of more importance than a volume of conjectural diſſertations. As it may be preſumed that former theatrical managers exhibited with fidelity on the ſtage the manners of their own times, a reference to the materials which remain to illuſtrate the dreſs of the real fools, may ſupply the defect before alluded to.

"It may be collected both from the plays themſelves, and from various other authorities, that the coſtume of the domeſtic fool in Shakſpeare's time was of two ſorts. In the firſt of theſe the coat was motley or parti-coloured, and attached to the body by a girdle, with bells at the ſkirts and elbows, though not always. The breeches and hoſe cloſe, and ſometimes each leg of a different colour. A hood reſembling a monk's cowl, which, at a very early period, it was certainly deſigned to imitate, covered the head entirely, and fell down over part of the breaſt and ſhoulders. It was ſometimes decorated with aſſes' ears, or elſe, terminated in the neck and head of a cock, a faſhion as old as the fourteenth century. It often had the comb or creſt only of the animal, whence the term *cockſcomb* or *coxcomb* was afterwards uſed to denote any ſilly upſtart. This fool uſually carried in his hand an official ſceptre or bauble, which was a ſhort ſtick ornamented at the end with the figure of a fool's head, or ſometimes

times with that of a doll or puppet. To this inſtrument there was frequently annexed an inflated ſkin or bladder, with which the fool belaboured thoſe who offended him, or with whom he was inclined to make ſport; this was often uſed by itſelf, in lieu, as it ſhould ſeem, of a bauble. The form of it varied, and in ſome inſtances was obſcene in the higheſt degree. It was not always filled with air, but occaſionally with ſand, or peaſe. Sometimes a ſtrong bat or club was ſubſtituted for the bauble. In the ſecond tale of the prieſts of Peblis, a man who counterfeits a fool is deſcribed 'with *club* and bel and partie-cote with eiris;' but it afterwards appears that he had both a club and a bauble. In an inventory of the goods of the ancient company of Saint George at Norwich, mention is made of 'two habits, one for the *club-bearer*, another for his man, who are now called fools;' and the author of *Tarlton's News out of Purgatory*, 1630, 4to, deſcribes a dream in which he ſaw 'one attired in ruſſet with a button'd cap on his head, a great bag by his ſide, and a *ſtrong bat* in his hand, ſo artificially attired for a clowne, as I began to call Tarlton's wonted ſhape to remembrance.'

"In ſome old prints the fool is repreſented with a ſort of flapper or rattle ornamented with bells. It ſeems to have been conſtructed of two round and flat pieces of wood or paſteboard, and is, no doubt, a veſtige of the crotalum uſed by the Roman mimes or dancers. This implement was uſed for the ſame purpoſe as the bladder, and occaſionally for correcting the fool himſelf whenever he behaved with too much licentiouſneſs. Such a caſtigation is actually exhibited in one ancient German edition of the *Ship of Fools*, by Sebaſtian Brandt; but the uſual puniſhment on this occaſion was a ſimple whipping. In ſome old plays the fool's *dagger* is mentioned, perhaps the ſame inſtrument as was carried by the *Vice* or buffoon of the Moralities; and it may be as well to obſerve in this place, that the domeſtic fool is ſometimes, though it is preſumed improperly, called the Vice. The dagger of the latter was made of a thin piece of lath; and the uſe he generally made of it was to belabour the Devil. It appears that in Queen Elizabeth's time the archbiſhop of Canterbury's fool had a wooden dagger and coxcomb. In Greene's play of *Fryer Bacon*, the fool ſpeaks of his dagger. In Beaumont and Fletcher's *Noble Gentleman*, a perſon being compared to a fool, it is added that he ſhould wear a guarded coat and a *great wooden dagger*. In Chapman's *Widow's Tears*, an upſtart governor is termed 'a wooden dagger *gilded* o'er;' and Rabelais has made Panurge give Triboulet the fool a wooden ſword. In an old German print a fool is repreſented with a ſword like a *ſaw*.

"The other dreſs, and which ſeems to have been more common in the time of Shakſpeare, was the long petticoat. This originally appertained to the idiot or natural fool, and was obviouſly adopted for the purpoſes of cleanlineſs and concealment. Why it came to be uſed for the allowed fool is not ſo apparent. It was, like the firſt, of various colours, the materials often coſtly, as of velvet,

velvet, and guarded or fringed with yellow. In one inſtance we have a *yellow leather* doublet. In Bancroft's *Epigrams*, 1639, quarto, there is one addreſſed 'to a giglot with her greene ſickneſſe,' in which are theſe lines:

'Thy ſickneſs mocks thy pride, that's ſeldom ſeene,
But in *fool's yellow*, and the lover's greene.'

And a manuſcript note in the time of the commonwealth ſtates yellow to have been the *fool's colour*. This petticoat dreſs continued to a late period, and has been ſeen not many years ſince in ſome of the interludes exhibited in Wales.

"But the above were by no means the only modes in which the domeſtic fools were habited. Many variations can be traced. The hood was not always ſurmounted with the cock's comb, in lieu of which a ſingle bell and occaſionally more appeared. Sometimes a feather was added to the comb. In the old morality of *The longer thou liveſt the more foole thou art*, Moros the fool ſays,

'By my trouth the thing that I deſire moſt
Is in my cappe to have a *goodly feather*.'

"The head was frequently ſhaved in imitation, or perhaps ridicule of a monk's crown. This practice is very ancient, and can be traced to the twelfth century. In one inſtance the hair exhibits a ſort of triple or Papal crown. The tails of foxes or ſquirrels were often ſuſpended to the garment. Godfrey Gobilwe, the fool in Haws's *Paſtime of Pleaſure*, 1517, 4to, is deſcribed as ſo habited. In *The Pope's Funeral*, 1605, 4to, the author ſays, 'I ſhall prove him ſuch a noddy before I leave him, that all the world will deeme him worthy to weare in his forehead a coxcombe for his fooliſhneſs, and on his back, a *fox tayle* for his badge.' It was likewiſe the dreſs of the fool in the plough pageant and morris dance. One might almoſt conclude that this cuſtom was deſigned to ridicule a faſhion that prevailed among the ladies in the reign of Edward the Third, and which is mentioned by the author of the old chronicle of England, erroneouſly aſcribed to Caxton the printer, in the following terms, 'And the women more nyſely yet paſſed the men in aray and coriouſlaker, for they were ſo ſtreyt clothed that they let hange *fox tailles* ſowed bineth within her clothes for to hele and hide thir a—, the which diſguiſinges and pride peradventure afterward brouzt forth and encauſed many miſhappes and meſchief in the reame of Englond.' The idiot or natural was often clothed in a calf or ſheep's ſkin.

"A large purſe or wallet at the girdle is a very ancient part of the fool's dreſs. Tarlton, who perſonated the clowns in Shakeſpeare's time, appears to have worn it. The budget given by Panurge to Triboulet the fool, is deſcribed as made of a tortoiſe-ſhell.

"We may ſuppoſe, that the ſame variety of dreſs was obſerved on the ſtage which we know to have actually prevailed in common life. The fools, however, did not always appear in a diſcriminative habit, and ſome of their portraits ſtill remaining, confirm this obſervation. A very fine painting by Holbein, in Kenſington Palace, repreſents Will Somers, the fool of Henry the Eighth, in a common dreſs.

dreſs. In a wardrobe account of that ſovereign, we find theſe articles: 'For making a dubblette of wurſteede lyned with canvas and cotton, for William Som'ar oure foole. Item for making of a coote and a cappe of grene clothe fringed with red crule and lyned with fryſe, for our ſaid foole. Item for making of a dublette of fuſtian, lyned with cotton and canvas for oure ſame foole.' Yet he ſometimes wore the uſual hood inſtead of a cap; for in the ſame account is an article 'For making of a coote of grene clothe with a *hoode* to the ſame, fringed with white crule lyned with fryſe and bokerham, for oure foole aforeſaid;' and there is a print of him after a picture by Holbein, in which he is repreſented in a long tunic with a chain and horn in his hand. In the celebrated picture of Sir Thomas More's family by Holbein, Patenſon the fool is not diſtinguiſhed by any peculiarity of dreſs; and, in one inſtance at leaſt, the ſame remark applies to Archy the fool of James I. In thoſe families where the fool acted as a menial ſervant, it is poſſible that he might have reſerved his official habit for particular occaſions. The paucity of materials that illuſtrate the theatrical character in queſtion, muſt neceſſarily leave this part of the ſubject ſtill more imperfect than the reſt; but the plays of Shakſpeare have furniſhed more information than thoſe of any other writer. It is ſurpriſing, on the whole, that the character of the domeſtic fool is ſo ſeldom found in the old dramas that remain; becauſe it was not only capable of affording conſiderable mirth to the unrefined part of the audience, but of giving the authors an opportunity of diſplaying a great deal of ingenuity ſo far as regarded extemporary wit. It is certain that the fools in Shakſpeare's plays were pre-eminent above all others. For this we have the authority of Shadwell, who makes one of his characters ſay, that they had more wit than any of the wits and critics of his time. Beaumont and Fletcher have but rarely introduced them; Ben Johnſon and Maſſinger never. Indeed the originals had rapidly declined at the period in which moſt of their plays were written, and another character of a mixed nature had been ſubſtituted in their room. This was the witty ſervant or clown, (Claſs II. No. 3.) and of courſe his dreſs was not diſtinguiſhed by any peculiarity.

"The practice of introducing the fools and clowns between the acts and ſcenes, and after the play was finiſhed, to amuſe the audience with extemporaneous wit and buffoonery, has been ſo well illuſtrated by the able hiſtorian of the Engliſh ſtage, that very little can remain to be ſaid on the ſubject. It has been traced from the Greek and Roman theatres; and, as their uſages were undoubtedly preſerved in thoſe of the middle ages that belonged to the countries where Roman influence had been ſpread, it would not of courſe be peculiar to the early ſtage in England. Indeed the records of the French theatre amply demonſtrate the truth of this poſition, and furniſh ſeveral examples of the practice in queſtion. In the myſtery of *Saint Barbara* we find this ſtage direction, 'Pauſa. Vadant, et Stultus loquitur;' and he is ſeveral

ral times introduced in like manner between the ſcenes, in order that the amuſement of the ſpectators might not be ſuſpended whilſt ſomething was in agitation for the further proſecution of the piece. Perhaps the moſt ſingular *pauſe* in any dramatic compoſition whatſoever is one which occurs in the very rare morality of *La Condamnacion des Banquetz*, in the following words, 'Pauſe pour piſſer le fol. Il prent ung coffinet en lieu de orinal & piſce dedans, et tout coule par bas,' ſing. Miiij. Nor was the Engliſh ſtage in Shakſpeare's time allowed to remain empty. Lupton has related a ſtory of the clown at the Red Bull Theatre, who was ſuddenly called for between the acts, and forgot his fool's cap. Puttenham, ſpeaking of verſes that rhyme in the middle and end, obſerves, that 'they were more commodiouſly uttered by the buffoons or vices in playes then by any other perſon.' It was likewiſe a part of the ſtage fool's office to introduce, at his own diſcretion, a great many old ſongs, or at leaſt the fragments of them.

"The firſt ſymptoms of the decline of the domeſtic fools, and the cauſes of it, have been already touched on; and the ſame reaſons may partly be aſſigned for their exile from the ſtage. In the præludium to Goffe's *Careleſs Shepherdeſs*, 1656, 4to, there is a panegyric on them, and ſome concern is manifeſted for the fool's abſence in the play itſelf. It is likewiſe expreſsly ſtated, 'that the motly coat was baniſh'd with trunkhoſe.' Yet during the reign of Charles the ſecond occaſional efforts were made to reſtore the character. In the tragedy of *Thorney Abbey*, or *the London Maid*, 1662, 12mo, the prologue is ſpoken by a fool, who uſes theſe words, 'the poet's a fool who made the tragedy to tell a ſtory of a king and a court and leave a fool out on't, when in Pacy's and Sommer's and Patche's and Archee's times, my venerable predeceſſours, a fool was always the principal verb.' Shadwell's play of *The Woman Captain*, 1680, is perhaps the laſt in which a regular fool is introduced, and even there his maſter is made to ſay, that the character was then exploded on the ſtage."

Commentary on Book the Firſt of Paradiſe Loſt.

(*From a Fragment by the late William Cowper, Eſq.*)

"To Mr. Addiſon's remarks on this ſubject it may not be improper to add, that though our ſyllables are not ſtrictly reducible to the rules either of Greek or Latin proſody, they are nevertheleſs all long or ſhort in the judgment of an accurate ear, and that without cloſe attention to ſyllabic quantity in the conſtruction of our verſe, we can give it neither melody nor dignity. Milton, as Mr. Addiſon obſerves and proves, deals much in the Iambic and in the Trochee, and occaſionally in ſeveral other kinds that he ſpecifies; but perhaps the grand ſecret, to which his verſe is principally indebted for its ſtately movement, is his more frequent uſe of the Spondee than of any other. The more long ſyllables there are in a verſe, the more the time of it is protracted,

protracted, and conſequently the pace with which it moves is the more majeſtic.

LINE 1. Of man's firſt diſobedience.

"Man in Paradiſe received two injunctions from his Maker, and two only. To keep holy the ſeventh day, and to abſtain from a particular fruit, which, if he eat, he would incur death as the inevitable conſequence. Theſe were the ſole teſts of his allegiance; for, created as he was, holy, and in the expreſs image of God, he could have no need of a law written in tables for his direction.

LINE 5. And regain the bliſsful ſeat.

"The ſeat may be poetically ſaid to be regained if the ſtate be ſo, and that the ſtate of man on earth ſhall hereafter be Paradiſaical, ſeems ſufficiently clear from thoſe ſcriptures which ſpeak of the reſtitution of all things. Neither is it improbable, that the ſeat or place itſelf of Paradiſe may be eminently diſtinguiſhed in the economy of that kingdom of univerſal righteouſneſs, which, according to an opinion always prevalent among Chriſtians, and much countenanced by the word of God, ſhall ſucceed the preſent diſpenſation.

LINE 6. ——Secret top.

"Secret probably in reſpect of the ſecrecy of the interview between God and Moſes, during which no creature was permitted on pain of inſtant death, even to touch the mountain.

LINE 7. Of Oreb or of Sinai.

"Theſe are different names, either for the ſame mountain, or for different parts of it.

LINE 8. That ſhepherd.

"Moſes is called a ſhepherd either literally, becauſe he kept the flock of Jethro his father-in-law, Exod. 3. 1. or figuratively, as in Pſalm 77. 20. where it is ſaid that God led his choſen through the wilderneſs like a flock, by the hand of Moſes and Aaron.

LINE 26. And juſtify the ways of God to men.

"Juſtify them by evincing, that when man by tranſgreſſion incurred the forfeiture of his bleſſings, and the diſpleaſure of God, himſelf only was to blame. God created him for happineſs, made him completely happy, furniſhed him with ſufficient means of ſecurity, and gave him explicit notice of his only danger. What could he more, unleſs he had compelled his obedience, which would have been at once to reduce him from the glorious condition of a free agent to that of an animal.

"There is a ſolemnity of ſentiment, as well as majeſty of numbers, in the exordium of this noble poem, which in the works of the ancients has no example.

"The ſublimeſt of all ſubjects was reſerved for Milton, and bringing to the contemplation of that ſubject not only a genius equal to the beſt of theirs, but a heart alſo deeply impregnated with the divine truths, which lay before him, it is no wonder that he has produced a compoſition, on the whole, ſuperior to any that we have received from former ages. But he who addreſſes himſelf to the peruſal of this work with a mind entirely unaccuſtomed to ſerious and ſpiritual contemplation, unacquainted with the word of God, or prejudiced againſt it, is

ill qualified to appreciate the value of a poem built upon it, or to taſte its beauties. Milton is the poet of Chriſtians: an infidel may have an ear for the harmony of his numbers, may be aware of the dignity of his expreſſion, and, in ſome degree, of the ſublimity of his conceptions; but the unaffected and maſculine piety, which was his true inſpirer, and is the very ſoul of his poem, he will either not perceive, or it will offend him.

"We cannot read this exordium without perceiving that the author poſſeſſes more fire than he ſhews. There is a ſuppreſſed force in it, the effect of judgment. His judgment controuls his genius, and his genius reminds us (to uſe his own beautiful ſimilitude) of

"A proud ſteed rein'd,
Champing his iron curb."

He addreſſes himſelf to the performance of great things, but makes no great exertion in doing it; a ſure ſymptom of uncommon vigour.

Line 27. Say firſt, for heaven hides nothing from thy view.

"This inquiry is not only poetically beautiful, like Homer's Iliad, 2. 485, in which he addreſſes the muſes with a ſimilar plea,

Υμεις γαρ θεαι εστε, παρεστε τε, ιστε το παντα,

or like that of Virgil, who pleads with them in the ſame manner, En. 8. 645.

Et meminiſtis, enim, Divæ, et memorare poteſtis.

But it has the additional recommendation of the moſt conſummate propriety, and is in fact a prayer for information to the only inſpirer able to grant it. Of the manner of man's creation, of his happy condition while innocent, and of the occaſion and circumſtances of his fall, we could have known nothing but from the intelligence communicated by the Holy Spirit.

Line 39. To ſet himſelf in glory above his peers.

"Dr. Pearce needed not perhaps to have gone ſo far as he did in his note on this line for a key to the true meaning of it. A ſingle word in the next verſe but one ſeems ſufficiently to explain it—the word *ambitious*. It imports plainly an oppoſition not of mere enmity, but of enmity that aſpired to ſuperiority over the perſon oppoſed. Satan's aim, therefore, was, in Milton's view of it, to ſupplant the Moſt High, and to uſurp the ſupremacy of heaven; and by peers are intended, not only thoſe who aided him in his purpoſe, but all the angels, as well the faithful as the rebellious.

"This line affording the firſt inſtance that occurs in the poem of a *y* cut from the end of a word that precedes a vowel, it affords alſo the fitteſt opportunity to obſerve, that though eliſions of this kind, and many others frequent in Milton's practice, have fallen into diſuſe, their diſcontinuance is no advantage. In the ear of a perſon accuſtomed to meet them in the Greek and Latin claſſics, where they abound, they have often an agreeable, and ſometimes a very fine effect. But it is admitted, that diſcretion and a good taſte are requiſite to the proper uſe of them, and that too frequently employed, or unſkilfully, they may prove indeed deformities.

Line 50. Nine times the ſpace, that meaſures day and night.

"It

"It is obſervable, that between all the members, of which this long period conſiſts, the ſame pauſe or nearly the ſame obtains, till it terminates at line 74. Thus the voice and the ear are held in a ſort of terrible ſuſpenſe, while the poet proceeds enumerating, as he would never ceaſe, the horrors of the ſcene, deepening them ſtill more and more as he goes, till at laſt he cloſes all with that circumſtance of moſt emphatic miſery, the immeaſurable diſtance, to which theſe apoſtate ſpirits had fallen from God and the light of heaven. There is a doleful muſic in the whole paſſage that fitly accompanies ſuch a ſubject.

LINE 57. Oh how unlike the place, from whence they fell.

"Of all the articles of which the dreadful ſcenery of Milton's hell conſiſts, Scripture furniſhed him only with the lake of fire and brimſtone. Yet, thus ſlenderly aſſiſted, what a world of woe has he conſtructed by the force of an imagination proved in this ſingle inſtance the moſt creative that ever poet owned!

LINE 114. ———that were low indeed, That were an ignominy, &c.

"To invent ſpeeches for theſe infernals ſo well adapted to their character, ſpeeches burning with rage againſt God, and with diſdain and contempt of his power, and to avoid in them all the extreme danger of revolting and ſhocking the reader paſt all ſufferance, was indeed, as Horace ſays,—*Ire per extentum funem*, and evidences the moſt exquiſite addreſs in the author.

LINE 143. But what if He, our conqueror.

"There is a fine diſcrimination obſervable in the reſpective ſpeeches of Satan and Beelzebub. In thoſe of the former we find that unbroken hardineſs of ſpirit which ſuits well the character of the arch-fiend, and ſeducer of all the others; while Beelzebub ſo ſpeaks as to ſeem ſomewhat leſs obdurate, leſs a devil than his leader; he is dejected, he deſponds, he forecaſts the worſt, and is in a degree impreſſed with a ſuitable ſenſe of his condition.

LINE 177. To bellow through the vaſt and boundleſs deep.

"In this line we ſeem to hear a thunder ſuited both to the ſcene and the occaſion, incomparably more awful than any ever heard on earth, and the *thunder wing'd with lightening* is highly poetical. It may be obſerved here, that the thunder of Milton is not hurled from the hand like Homer's, but diſcharged like an arrow. Thus in Book 6, line 712, the Father ordering forth the Son for the deſtruction of the rebel angels, ſays—

———bring forth all my war—
My bow and thunder.

As if, jealous for the honour of the true God, the poet diſdained to arm him like the god of the heathen.—So in Pſalm 7. v. 12, it is ſaid—If we turn not he will whet his ſword; he hath bent his bow and made it ready—he ordaineth his arrows againſt the perſecutors.

"The ſubſtance of this ingenious vindication of Milton againſt the charge of Bentley is taken from a note of Richardſon, though by ſome inadvertence Dr. Newton, who borrows it, has omitted to make the acknowledgment.

LINE 193. With head uplift.

"Milton frequently abridges the participle perfect of its laſt ſyllable,

lable, by this, and a multitude of ſuch artifices, giving his language an air of novelty.

LINE 202. Created hugeſt, that ſwim the ocean ſtream.

"The author, ſpeaking of a vaſt creature, ſpeaks in numbers ſuited to the ſubject, and gives his line a ſingular and ſtrange movement, by inſerting the word hugeſt where it may have the clumſieſt effect. He might eaſily have ſaid in ſmoother verſe,

Created hugeſt of the ocean ſtream;

but ſmoothneſs was not the thing to be conſulted when the Leviathan was in queſtion. In like manner, ſpeaking of the larger fiſhes, Book 7, l. 410, he ſays—

———part, huge of bulk,
Wallowing unwieldy! enormous in their gait,
Tempeſt the ocean.

"What man of true taſte would exchange ſuch cumberſome verſe, on ſuch an occaſion, for the moſt muſical that ever was written.

LINE 203. Him haply ſlumbering on the Norway ſoam.

"This ſimile is moſt happily introduced, and finely choſen by the poet for the relief of his reader, who feels his imagination refreſhed by ſuch a ſudden removal from ſcenes of fire to the ſhores of the ocean.

LINE 207. Under the lee.

"Milton, as Dr. Newton here inſinuates, has indeed been charged with an affectation of technical terms; but his uſe of the word *lee* in this place ſeems no proof of it. What other word could he have found in our language, by which to expreſs the ſituation intended; and was not ſuch a word (of maritime uſe indeed, but almoſt univerſally underſtood in our country) to be preferred to a tedious circumlocution?

LINE 215. Heap on himſelf damnation.

"Here Milton ſeems to have had in view Romans 2. v. 5.—But after thy hardneſs and impenitent heart treaſureſt up unto thyſelf wrath againſt the day of wrath, and revelation of the righteous judgment of God.

LINE 241. Not by the ſufferance of ſupernal power.

"To which cauſe alone the poet himſelf aſcribes it a little before. See lines 211, 12.

LINE 257. All but leſs than he.

"The conſtruction perhaps is not very obvious, but ſeems to be this: What matter where I am, ſo I ſtill be the ſame, and what I ſhould be in every reſpect, this one particular excepted, that I am leſs than he, whom thunder hath made greater?

LINE 298. Smote on him ſore beſides.

"The poet in other paſſages expreſſes the effect of violent heat by the verb *ſmite*. Thus in Book 4. l. 244, he ſays—

Both where the morning ſun firſt warmly *ſmote*
The open field.

And again it occurs in his 5th Italian ſonnet;

Per certo i bei voſtr' occhi, Donna mia,
Effor non puo che non ſian lo mio ſole,
Si mi *percuoton* forte.

LINE 300. Of that inflamed ſea.

"Milton ſometimes cuts off the laſt ſyllable of the participle in *ed*, and ſometimes, as here, allows its complete

complete pronunciation. It were to be wiſhed that the practice of incorporating it with the preceding ſyllable by the abſorption of the intermediate *e*—as in *thraſh'd*, *advanc'd*, *wreck'd*, and other words of the like kind, had not ſo univerſally obtained as it has. For the conſequence is often a clutter of conſonants with only a ſingle vowel to aſſiſt their utterance, which has a barbarous effect, both in the ſound and in the appearance.

LINE 315.

"Of all the harangues that either hiſtory or poetry has invented for commanders rallying their routed armies, none was ever better conceived than this. Satan ſeems himſelf aſtoniſhed in the beginning of it, but it is at their aſtoniſhment, which, though he ſees it, he can hardly believe. Next, affecting ignorance of the real cauſe of their inactivity, he imputes it to ſloth and indolence, as if to ſtimulate them by deriſion. In the third place, to provoke and rouſe them ſtill more, he pretends to ſuppoſe it poſſible that they may be at that moment employed in worſhipping and doing homage to the conqueror. Laſtly, he uſes ſolid argument, reminding them of the danger to which they expoſe themſelves by ſuch ſupineneſs, and finiſhes his exhortation with a line detached from the reſt, and therefore ſo emphatical, that while he utters it we ſeem to hear the vaults of hell re-echo.

LINE 335. Nor did they not perceive.

"A Græciſm, and taken from the οὐδ' ἀπιθησε—the *neque non paruit* of Homer.

LINE 376. Who firſt, who laſt?

"So Homer, Iliad 5. 703.

Ἔνθα τίνα πρῶτον, τίνα δ' ὑστατον;

LINE 379. Came ſingly where he ſtood on the bare ſtrand.

"*Singly*, in the true conſtruction of this line, is to be connected with *ſtood*. They came where he ſtood ſingly. That is, as we are told in lines 299, 300:

——on the beach
Of that inflamed ſea.

LINE 384. Their altars by His altar.

"The expreſſion alludes to Ezekiel 43. 8. In their ſetting of their threſhold by my threſholds, and their poſts by my poſts—they have even defiled my holy name, &c.

LINE 418. Till good Joſiah drove them thence to hell.

"This is an alluſion to 2 Chron. ch. 34. v. 4. And they brake down the altars of Baalim in his (Joſiah's) preſence, and the images that were on high above them, he cut down, and the groves and carved images, and the molten images he brake in pieces, and made duſt of them, and ſtrowed it upon the graves of them, that had ſacrificed unto them.

LINE 455. Ezekiel ſaw.

"See Ezekiel, ch. 8. v. 16. And he brought me into the inner court of the Lord's houſe, and behold, at the door of the temple of the Lord, between the porch and the altar, were about five-and-twenty men with their backs toward the temple of the Lord, and their faces toward the eaſt, and they worſhipp'd the ſun toward the eaſt.

LINE 499. Aſcends above their loftieſt towers.

" So Homer makes Eumæus, ſpeaking of the riotous deeds of the ſuitors, ſay—

Τῶν ὑβρις τε, βιη τε, σιδήρεον ὐρανον ικει.
Od. B. 15. l. 328.

Line 516. Ruled the middle air.

" A portion which the poet ſeems to allot to Jupiter on the authority of Homer—Iliad 15. 192.

Ζεὺς δ' ελαχ' ουρανὸν ευρυν εν αιθέρι και νεφέλῃσι.

Line 537. Shone like a meteor.

" Mr. Gray had doubtleſs this line in his eye, when, in the ſecond ſtanza of his ode entitled the Bard, he ſaid—

Looſe his beard, and hoary hair
Stream'd, like a meteor, to the troubled air.

Line 542. A ſhout that tore, &c.

" Homer's is a noble ſhout, of which he ſays in the laſt line of the Iliad 13.

Ἠχη δ' αμφοτερων ικετ' αιθερα, και Διος αυγας.

But this as far ſurpaſſes it, as the fallen angels were more terrible than the Greeks and the Trojans, and the vault of hell more congenial to ſuch an uproar than the plain of Troy.

Line 550. ——ſuch as raiſed
To highth of nobleſt temper, &c.

" Milton never has occaſion to mention muſic, but he diſcovers plainly how much he delights in the ſubject. He always ſpeaks of it experimentally, and like a man whom his own feelings have made acquainted with its effects; and in this charming paſſage the lines themſelves are as ſweet as the melody they deſcribe.

Line 580. ——and what reſounds
In fable or romance.

" Perhaps there are readers of Milton, not altogether deſtitute of taſte, who feel themſelves, when they meet with a paſſage in him like the preſent, diſpoſed to be more merciful to it than ſome of his ſeverer judges. Alluſions to ancient ſtory, whether falſe or true, and to cuſtoms and practices long ſince obſolete, affect a contemplative mind agreeably, and to ſuch perſons, perhaps, the very ſound of names like theſe is not unpleaſing.

Line 589. Their dread commander.

" Milton's divine ſubject afforded him opportunities of ſurpaſſing in ſublime deſcription all the poets his predeceſſors, and his talents were ſuch as enabled him to uſe thoſe opportunities to the beſt advantage. Homer's repreſentation of Agamemnon in the ſecond Iliad, where he ſays, that in his eyes and countenance he reſembled Jove the Thunderer, that he was like Mars in girth, and had the port of Neptune, is indeed magnificent, but when he finiſhes his picture by likening him to a bull, how far ſhort does he fall of Milton, who, when he compares his loſt archangel to the ſun new riſen in a miſty morning, or eclipſed by the moon, not only does not degrade his ſubject, but fills the mind of his reader with aſtoniſhing conceptions of its grandeur.

Line 606. The fellows of his crime, the followers rather.

" Not ſo properly the fellows, becauſe he had ſeduced them, as the followers, for the ſame reaſon.

Line 616. ——whereat their doubled ranks they bend.

" Thus

" Thus forming themſelves into a hemicycle, or half-moon figure, that all might hear him.

LINE 640. —— but ſtill his ſtrength concealed.

" It was neceſſary that Satan ſhould excuſe himſelf as well as he could to the myriads of his ruined followers, and he could not do it better (though even that was but a poor apology) than by pleading the impoſſibility, that he ſhould be prepared effectually to withſtand a power, with the very exiſtence of which, through God's concealment of it, till the hour in which they fell, he had been neceſſarily unacquainted. A vanquiſhed chief, who pleads ſurpriſe, excuſes himſelf by his fault.

LINE 650. ——whereof ſo riſe.

" Riſe is a Saxon word, and ſignifies frequent or common.

LINE 659. ——but theſe thoughts
Full council muſt mature.

Αλλ ητοι μεν ταυτα μεταφρασομεσθα και αυτις.

Iliad 1. 140.

LINE 663. He ſpake: and to confirm his words.

" This is another inſtance (ſee the note on line 589) in which appears the advantage which Milton derives from the grandeur of his ſubject. What deſcription could even he have given of a hoſt of human warriors inſulting their conqueror, at all comparable with this? Firſt, their multitude is to be noticed. They are not thouſands, but millions; and they are millions not of puny mortals, but of mighty cherubim. Their ſwords flame not metaphorically, but they are ſwords of fire; thy flaſh not by reflection of the ſun-beams like the ſwords of Homer, but their own light, and that light plays not idly in the broad day, but far round illumines hell. And laſtly, they defy not a created being like themſelves, but the Almighty.

" It was doubtleſs a happineſs to have fallen on a ſubject that furniſhed ſuch ſcenery and ſuch characters to act in it, but a happineſs it would not have been to a genius inferior to Milton's; ſuch a one, on the contrary, would have been depreſſed by it, and in what Milton reaches with a graceful eaſe, would have fallen ſhort after much and fruitleſs labour.

LINE 670. ——whoſe griſly top.

" Griſly ſeems to ſignify rough or hideous, but perhaps anſwers more exactly in its import to the Latin word *hiſpidus*.

LINE 689. Open'd into the hill a ſpacious wound.

" This is a beautiful expreſſion, and may ſerve to ſhew how an act or image, vulgar and ordinary in itſelf, may be dignified by mere force of diction.

LINE 713. ——where pilaſters round, &c.

" Milton has been cenſured by Addiſon, as well as Dr. Newton, here, for his uſe of technical expreſſions, and the point, enforced as it has been by ſuch great authority, ſeems to be given up. But perhaps it may even now be permitted to an annotator to aſk two ſimple queſtions on the preſent occaſion.—Was it lawful to the poet to give a minute deſcription of this wonderful ſtructure? Surely it was. Ovid has minutely deſcribed the palace of the ſun, and Homer that

of Alcinoüs.—If, then, there was no fault in deſcribing it minutely, it ſhould ſeem that there could be none in particularizing the ſeveral members of it by ſuch terms, as could alone expreſs them. Milton, in fact, had no other means of making his account intelligible.

LINE 772-3. ——The aſcending pile
Stood fixt her ſtately highth.

"The expreſſion is elliptical, and requires two words to ſupply the deficiency, when it would ſtand thus—

——————The aſcending pile
Stood fixt *through all* her ſtately highth.

LINE 777. Behold a wonder!

"This contrivance has been cenſured by ſome, and particularly by Voltaire, who, having ſtated his objections to it, calls it an idle tale, that may match the moſt extravagant. But extravagant it cannot ſeem, if we allow ourſelves to recollect who are in queſtion, and what the Scripture ſays concerning them. All that we know of inviſible agents, whether good or evil, we learn from Scripture, which tells us that a ſingle demoniac was poſſeſſed by a legion. Scripture, therefore, aſcribes to the devils this power of ſelf-contraction, and if Scripture gives it them, it would be difficult to aſſign a good reaſon why Milton ſhould not have imagined them to employ it on this occaſion.

"It may be obſerved, alſo, that this poetical artifice, inſtead of depriving us of the idea of their natural bulk and ſtature, much enlarges it, repreſenting them as not to be contained at their full ſize within walls of any dimenſions and at the ſame time gives us a moſt magnificent impreſſion of their numbers."

Obſervations on the Conduct of the Long Parliament, and the Execution of Charles the Firſt.

(From the Introductory Chapter to Mr. Fox's Hiſtory of the early Part of the Reign of James the Second.)

At the breaking out of the civil war, ſo intemperately denominated a rebellion by Lord Clarendon and other tory writers, the material queſtion to me appears to be, whether or not ſufficient attempts were made by the Parliament and their leaders, to avoid bringing affairs to ſuch a deciſion. That according to the general principles of morality, they had juſtice on their ſide, cannot fairly be doubted; but did they ſufficiently attend to the great dictum of Tully *, in queſtions of civil diſſenſion, wherein he declares his preference of even an unfair peace to the moſt juſt war? Did they ſufficiently weigh the dangers that might enſue even from victory; dangers, in ſuch caſes, little leſs formidable to the cauſe of liberty than thoſe which might follow a defeat? Did they conſider that it is not peculiar to the followers of Pompey, and the civil wars of Rome, that the event to be looked for is, as the ſame Tully deſcribes it, in the caſe of defeat—proſcription; in that of victory, 'ſervitude.' Is the failure of the negotiation, when the king was in the Iſle of Wight, to be imputed

* Iniquiſſimam pacem juſtiſſimo bello antefero.

to

to the ſuſpicions juſtly entertained of his ſincerity? or to the ambition of the parliamentary leaders? If the inſincerity of the king was the real cauſe, ought not the miſchief to be apprehended from his inſincerity, rather to have been guarded againſt by treaty, than alleged as a pretence for breaking off the negotiation? Sad indeed will be the condition of the world, if we are never to make peace with an adverſe party whoſe ſincerity we have reaſon to ſuſpect. Even juſt grounds for ſuch ſuſpicions will but too often occur, and when ſuch fail, the proneneſs of man to impute evil qualities as well as evil deſigns to his enemies, will ſuggeſt falſe ones. In the preſent caſe, the ſuſpicion of inſincerity was, it is true, ſo juſt, as to amount to a moral certainty. The example of the petition of right was a ſatisfactory proof that the king made no point of adhering to conceſſions which he conſidered as extorted from him; and if a philoſophical hiſtorian, writing above a century after the time, can deem the pretended hard uſage Charles met with, as a ſufficient excuſe for his breaking his faith in the firſt inſtance, much more muſt that prince himſelf, with all his prejudices, and notions of his divine right, have thought it juſtifiable to retract conceſſions, which to him, no doubt, appeared far more unreaſonable than the petition of right, and which, with much more colour, he might conſider as extorted. Theſe conſiderations were probably the cauſe why the parliament ſo long delayed their determination of accepting the king's offer as a baſis for treaty; but unfortunately, they had delayed ſo long, that when at length they adopted it, they found themſelves without power to carry it into execution. The army having now ceaſed to be the ſervants, had become the maſters of the parliament, and being entirely influenced by Cromwell, gave a commencement to what may, properly ſpeaking, be called a new reign. The ſubſequent meaſures, therefore, the execution of the king, as well as others, are not to be conſidered as acts of the parliament, but of Cromwell; and great and reſpectable as are the names of ſome who ſat in the high court, they muſt be regarded, in this inſtance, rather as miniſters of that uſurper, than as acting for themſelves.

The execution of the king, though a far leſs violent meaſure than that of Lord Strafford, is an event of ſo ſingular a nature, that we cannot wonder that it ſhould have excited more ſenſation than any other in the annals of England. This exemplary act of ſubſtantial juſtice, as it has been called by ſome, of enormous wickedneſs by others, muſt be conſidered in two points of view. Firſt, was it not in itſelf juſt and neceſſary? Secondly, was the example of it likely to be ſalutary or pernicious? In regard to the firſt of theſe queſtions, Mr. Hume, not perhaps intentionally, makes the beſt juſtification of it, by ſaying, that while Charles lived, the projected republick could never be ſecure. But to juſtify taking away the life of an individual, upon the principle of ſelf-defence, the danger muſt be not problematical and remote, but evident and immediate. The danger in this inſtance was not of ſuch a nature; and the impriſonment, or even baniſhment, of Charles, might have given

given to the republick ſuch a degree of ſecurity as any government ought to be content with. It muſt be confeſſed however on the other ſide, that if the republican government had ſuffered the king to eſcape, it would have been an act of juſtice and generoſity wholly unexampled; and to have granted him even his life, would have been one among the more rare efforts of virtue. The ſhort interval between the depoſal and death of princes is become proverbial; and though there may be ſome few examples on the other ſide, as far as life is concerned, I doubt whether a ſingle inſtance can be found, where liberty has been granted to a depoſed monarch. Among the modes of deſtroying perſons in ſuch a ſituation, there can be little doubt but that adopted by Cromwell and his adherents is the leaſt diſhonourable. Edward the ſecond, Richard the ſecond, Henry the ſixth, Edward the fifth, had none of them long ſurvived their depoſal; but this was the firſt inſtance, in our hiſtory at leaſt, where, of ſuch an act, it could be truly ſaid, that it was not done in a corner.

As to the ſecond queſtion, whether the advantage to be derived from the example was ſuch as to juſtify an act of ſuch violence, it appears to me to be a complete ſolution of it to obſerve, that with reſpect to England, (and I know not upon what ground we are to ſet examples for other nations, or in other words, to take the criminal juſtice of the world into our hands,) it was wholly needleſs, and therefore unjuſtifiable, to ſet one for kings, at a time when it was intended the office of king ſhould be aboliſhed, and conſequently, that no perſon ſhould be in the ſituation to make it the rule of his conduct. Beſides, the miſeries attendant upon a depoſed monarch, ſeem to be ſufficient to deter any prince, who thinks of conſequences, from running the riſk of being placed in ſuch a ſituation, or, if death be the only evil that can deter him, the fate of former tyrants depoſed by their ſubjects, would by no means encourage him to hope he could avoid even that cataſtrophe. As far as we can judge from the event, the example was certainly not very effectual, ſince both the ſons of Charles, though having their father's fate before their eyes, yet feared not to violate the liberties of the people even more than he had attempted to do.

If we conſider this queſtion of example in a more extended view, and look to the general effect produced upon the minds of men, it cannot be doubted that the opportunity thus given to Charles, to diſplay his firmneſs and piety, has created more reſpect for his memory than it could otherwiſe have obtained. Reſpect and pity for the ſufferer on one hand, and hatred to his enemies on the other, ſoon produce favour and averſion to their reſpective cauſes; and thus, even though it ſhould be admitted, (which is doubtful,) that ſome advantage may have been gained to the cauſe of liberty, by the terror of the example operating upon the minds of princes, ſuch advantage is far outweighed by the zeal which admiration for virtue, and pity for ſufferings, the beſt paſſions of the human heart, have excited in favour of the royal cauſe. It has been thought dangerous to the morals of mankind, even in fiction

fiction and romance, to make us ſympathize with characters whoſe general conduct is blameable; but how much greater muſt the effect be, when in real hiſtory our feelings are intereſted in favour of a monarch with whom, to ſay the leaſt, his ſubjects were obliged to contend in arms for their liberty? After all, however, notwithſtanding what the more reaſonable part of mankind may think upon this queſtion, it is much to be doubted whether this ſingular proceeding has not, as much as any other circumſtances, ſerved to raiſe the character of the Engliſh nation in the opinion of Europe in general. He who has read, and ſtill more he who has heard in converſation, diſcuſſions upon this ſubject, by foreigners, muſt have perceived, that even in the minds of thoſe who condemn the act, the impreſſion made by i has been far more that of reſpect and admiration, than that of diſguſt and horror. The truth is, that the guilt of the action, that is to ſay, the taking away the life of the king, is what moſt men in the place of Cromwell and his aſſociates would have incurred; what there is of ſplendour and magnanimity in it, I mean the publicity and ſolemnity of the act, is what few would be capable of diſplaying. It is a degrading fact to human nature, that even the ſending away of the Duke of Glouceſter was an inſtance of generoſity almoſt unexampled in the hiſtory of tranſactions of this nature.

POETRY.

ODE *for the* NEW YEAR, 1808.

By HENRY JAMES PYE, *Esq. Poet Laureat.*

BEHOLD yon lurid Orb that ſeems
Devious thro' æther's paths to ſtray,
And, while with baleful light it gleams,
Appears to trace no certain way;
No influence mild with genial force
Waits on its deſultory courſe:
But myriads view its ſtreaming hair
Shed death and horror thro' the air,
While even Science' piercing ſight,
Clear from the miſts of viſionary fears,
Anxious beholds the erratic Stranger's flight,
Leſt mingling with the planetary ſpheres,
It ſhake the order of the mighty frame,
Deſtroy with pondrous ſhock, or melt with ſulphurous flame.

Such is, alas! the dread that waits
On ſavage Inroad's wild career,
While trembling round, the peaceful States
Survey its meteor courſe with fear;
And as the immortal mandate guides,
And points the Comet where to ſtray;
So thro' the battle's crimſon tides
It points Ambition's fatal way;
Submiſſive both th' Eternal's will perform,
As act his high beheſt the earthquake and the ſtorm.

But as with ray benign and bland
The radiant Ruler of the year
Sheds plenty on the ſmiling land
Where'er his vivifying beams appear,

Now

Now wakes the roſeate bloom of Spring,
Fann'd by young Zephyr's tepid wing,
Or clothes the wide expanding plain,
With Summer's fruits, or Autumn's grain,
Or gathering from the watery ſhores
Sources of vegetable ſtores,
Renews ſcorch'd Earth's exhauſted powers
With balmy dews and gentle ſhowers;
So from the patriot Monarch's care,
Whoſe breaſt no dreams of conqueſt move,
Founding his glory on his people's love,
And proud to boaſt unbounded empire there,
The copious rills of Peace domeſtic ſtream,
Warm glows fair Virtue's flame, and bright Religion's beam.

O BRITAIN, may thy happy coaſt,
Tho' loud oppreſſion rage around,
To the applauding nations boaſt
One ſhore with peace, with mercy crown'd;
Still may thy hoſpitable ſeat
To ſuffering greatneſs yield a ſafe retreat;
For when the ſacred fiat of the ſkies
Firſt caus'd they ſea-encircled Realm to riſe,
It bade it an eternal column ſtand *,
Sacred to want and woe from every clime and land.

ODE *for the* KING's *Birth-Day, June* 4, 1808.

By HENRY JAMES PYE, *Eſq. Poet Laureat.*

NOT with more joy when gathering round,
Dark miſts the face of Heaven deform,
When howls the wind with hollow ſound,
Preluding to the riſing ſtorm;
We thro' the ſevering clouds deſcry
Of cheering light a golden gleam:
And hail awhile the clearing ſky,
And feel awhile the genial beam;
Than now, when ſpreading wide and far,
Roars the tremendous peal of war,
We bleſs of peace and joy the ray,
That gilds the happy hours of GEORGE's natal day.

From regions wrapp'd in endleſs ſnow,
Eternal Winter's drear domain,
To where Sol's fervid axles glow
Inceſſant o'er the arid plain,

The

* Pind. Olymp. viii. Strophe 2.

The Muſes look with anxious eye
To ſee the clouds of diſcord fly,
That the loud clarion's warlike ſound,
Which awes a trembling world, may ceaſe,
And all their tuneful choir around
May ſtrike the lyre to notes of Peace;
The ſcenes of horror and of death be o'er,
And fell Ambition graſp her iron rod no more.

Vain are their hopes, their vows are vain;
War ſtill protracts his bloody reign;
And when theſe halcyon hours are paſt,
That lull awhile the ſtormy blaſt,
The Muſe again in martial lays,
Muſt bid her voice the Song of Battle raiſe;
Muſt ſhew that all the joys that ſmile
On Britain's Heaven-protected Iſle,
Call on her Sons with tenfold might
To ſtem the threatening waves of fight,
Whelm in the enſanguin'd tide their country's foes,
And guard with giant arm the bleſſings Heaven beſtows.

The Battle of Flodden, and Death of Marmion. From "Marmion," by Walter Scott, Eſq.

BLOUNT and Fitz-Euſtace reſted ſtill
With Lady Clare upon the hill;
On which, (for far the day was ſpent,)
The weſtern ſun-beams now were bent.
The cry they heard, its meaning knew,
Could plain their diſtant comrades view:
Sadly to Blount did Euſtace ſay,
"Unworthy office here to ſtay!
No hope of gilded ſpurs to-day.—
But, ſee! look up—on Flodden bent,
The Scottiſh foe has fired his tent."
And ſudden, as he ſpoke,
From the ſharp ridges of the hill,
All downward to the banks of Till,
Was wreath'd in ſable ſmoke;
Volumed and vaſt, and rolling far,
The cloud enveloped Scotland's war,
As down the hill they broke;
Nor martial ſhout, nor minſtrel tone,
Announced their march; their tread alone,

At

At times one warning trumpet blown,
  At times a ſtifled hum,
Told England, from his mountain-throne
  King James did ruſhing come.—
Scarce could they hear, or ſee their foes,
Until at weapon-point they cloſe.—
They cloſe, in clouds of ſmoke and duſt,
With ſword-ſway, and with lance's thruſt;
  And ſuch a yell was there,
Of ſudden and portentous birth,
As if men fought upon the earth,
  And fiends in upper air.
Long looked the anxious ſquires; their eye
Could in the darkneſs nought deſcry.

At length the freſhening weſtern blaſt
Aſide the ſhroud of battle caſt;
And, firſt, the ridge of mingled ſpears
Above the brightening cloud appears;
And in the ſmoke the pennons flew,
As in the ſtorm the white ſea-mew.
Then marked they daſhing broad and far,
The broken billows of the war,
And plumed creſts of chieftains brave,
Floating like foam upon the wave;
  But nought diſtinct they ſee:
Wide raged the battle on the plain;
Spears ſhook, and faulchions flaſhed amain;
Fell England's arrow-flight like rain;
Creſts roſe, and ſtooped, and roſe again,
  Wild and diſorderly.
Amid the ſcene of tumult, high
They ſaw Lord Marmion's falcon fly:
And ſtainleſs Tunſtall's banner white,
And Edmund Howard's lion bright,
Still bear them bravely in the fight;
  Although againſt them come,
Of gallant Gordon's many a one,
And many a ſtubborn Highlandman,
And many a rugged Border clan,
  With Huntley, and with Home.

Far on the left, unſeen the while,
Stanley broke Lennox and Argyle;
Though there the weſtern mountaineer
Ruſhed with bare boſom on the ſpear,
And flung the feeble targe aſide,
And with both hands the broad-ſword plied;

'Twas

'Twas vain.—But Fortune, on the right,
With fickle ſmile, cheered Scotland's fight.
Then fell that ſpotleſs banner white,
The Howard's lion fell;
Yet ſtill Lord Marmion's falcon flew
With wavering flight, while fiercer grew
Around the battle yell.
The Border ſlogan rent the ſky:
A Home! a Gordon! was the cry;
Loud were the clanging blows;
Advanced,—forced back,—now low, now high,
The pennon ſunk and roſe;
As bends the bark's maſt in the gale,
When rent are rigging, ſhrouds, and ſail,
It wavered mid the foes.
No longer Blount the view could bear:—
"By heaven, and all its ſaints! I ſwear,
I will not ſee it loſt!
Fitz-Euſtace, you with Lady Clare
May bid your beads, and patter prayer,—
I gallop to the hoſt."
And to the fray he rode amain,
Followed by all the archer train.
The fiery youth, with deſperate charge,
Made, for a ſpace, an opening large,—
The reſcued banner roſe,—
But darkly cloſed the war around,
Like pine-tree, rooted from the ground,
It ſunk among the foes.
Then Euſtace mounted too;—yet ſtaid,
As loth to leave the hapleſs maid,
When, faſt as ſhaft can fly,
Blood-ſhot his eyes, his noſtrils ſpread,
The looſe rein dangling from his head,
Houſing and ſaddle bloody red,
Lord Marmion's ſteed ruſhed by;
And Euſtace, maddening at the fight,
A look and ſign to Clara caſt,
To mark he would return in haſte,
Then plunged into the fight.

Aſk me not what the maiden feels,
Left in that dreadful hour alone:
Perchance her reaſon ſtoops, or reels;
Perchance a courage, not her own,
Braces her mind to deſperate tone.—
The ſcattered van of England wheels;—

She

She only ſaid, as loud in air
The tumult roared, "Is Wilton there?"—
They fly, or, maddened by deſpair,
Fight but to die.—"Is Wilton there?"—
With that, ſtraight up the hill there rode
Two horſemen drenched with gore,
And in their arms, a helpleſs load,
A wounded knight they bore.
His hand ſtill ſtrained the broken brand;
His arms were ſmeared with blood, and ſand.
Dragged from among the horſes feet,
With dinted ſhield, and helmet beat,
The falcon-creſt and plumage gone,
Can that be haughty Marmion!—
Young Blount his armour did unlace,
And, gazing on his ghaſtly face,
Said—"By Saint George, he's gone!
That ſpear-wound has our maſter ſped!
And ſee the deep cut on his head!
Good night to Marmion."—
"Unnurtured Blount! thy brawling ceaſe:
He opes his eyes," ſaid Euſtace, "peace!"—

When, doffed his caſque, he felt free air,
Around gan Marmion wildly ſtare:—
"Where's Harry Blount? Fitz-Euſtace where?
Linger ye here, ye hearts of hare!
Redeem my pennon,—charge again!
Cry—'Marmion to the reſcue!'—Vain!
Laſt of my race, on battle-plain
That ſhout ſhall ne'er be heard again!—
Yet my laſt thought is England's:—fly,
To Dacre bear my ſignet-ring;
Tell him his ſquadrons up to bring.—
Fitz-Euſtace, to Lord Surrey hie:
Tunſtall lies dead upon the field;
His life-blood ſtains the ſpotleſs ſhield:
Edmund is down;—my life is reft:—
The Admiral alone is left.
Let Stanley charge with ſpur of fire,—
With Cheſter charge, and Lancaſhire,
Full upon Scotland's central hoſt,
Or victory and England's loſt.—
Muſt I bid twice?—hence, varlets! fly!
Leave Marmion here alone—to die."—
They parted, and alone he lay;
Clare drew her from the fight away,

Till pain wrung forth a lowly moan,
And half he murmured,—" Is there none,
Of all my halls have nurſt,
Page, ſquire, or groom, one cup to bring
Of bleſſed water, from the ſpring,
To ſlake my dying thirſt!"—

O, woman! in our hours of eaſe,
Uncertain, coy, and hard to pleaſe,
And variable as the ſhade
By the light quivering aſpen made:
When pain and anguiſh wring the brow,
A miniſtering angel thou!—
Scarce were the piteous accents ſaid,
When, with the Baron's caſque, the maid
To the nigh ſtreamlet ran:
Forgot were hatred, wrongs, and fears;
The plaintive voice alone ſhe hears,
Sees but the dying man.
She ſtooped her by the runnel's ſide,
But in abhorrence backward drew,
For, oozing from the mountain's ſide,
Where raged the war, a dark red tide
Was curdling in the ſtreamlet blue.
Where ſhall ſhe turn!—behold her mark
A little fountain-cell,
Where water, clear as diamond-ſpark,
In a ſtone baſon fell.
Above, ſome half-worn letters ſay,
" *Drink. weary. pilgrim. drink. and. pray.*
For. the. kind. ſoul. of. Sybil. Grey.
Who. built. this. croſs. and. well.
She filled the helm, and back ſhe hied,
And with ſurprize and joy eſpied
A Monk ſupporting Marmion's head;
A pious man, whom duty brought
To dubious verge of battle fought,
To ſhrieve the dying, bleſs the dead.

Deep drank Lord Marmion of the wave,
And, as ſhe ſtooped his brow to lave—
" Is it the hand of Clare," he ſaid,
" Or injured Conſtance, bathes my head?"
Then, as remembrance roſe,—
" Speak not to me of ſhrift or prayer!
I muſt redreſs her woes.
Short ſpace, few words, are mine to ſpare;
Forgive and liſten, gentle Clare!"—

" Alas!"

" Alas!" ſhe ſaid, " the while,—
O think of your immortal weal!
In vain for Conſtance is your zeal;
She died at Holy Iſle."—
Lord Marmion ſtarted from the ground,
As light as if he felt no wound;
Though in the action burſt the tide,
In torrents, from his wounded ſide.
" Then it was truth!"—he ſaid—" I knew
That the dark preſage muſt be true.—
I would the Fiend, to whom belongs
The vengeance due to all her wrongs,
Would ſpare me but a day!
For waſting fire, and dying groan,
And prieſts ſlain on the altar ſtone,
Might bribe him for delay.
It may not be!—this dizzy trance—
Curſe on yon baſe marauder's launce,
And doubly curſed my failing brand!
A ſinful heart makes feeble hand."—
Then, fainting, down on earth he ſunk,
Supported by the trembling Monk.

With fruitleſs labour, Clara bound,
And ſtrove to ſtaunch the guſhing wound:
The monk, with unavailing cares,
Exhauſted all the Church's prayers;
Ever, he ſaid, that, cloſe and near,
A lady's voice was in his ear,
And that the prieſt he could not hear,
For that ſhe ever ſung,
" *In the loſt battle, borne down by the flying,*
Where mingles war's rattle with groans of the dying!"
So the notes rung;
" Avoid thee, Fiend!—with cruel hand,
Shake not the dying ſinner's ſand!—
O look, my ſon, upon yon ſign
Of the Redeemer's grace divine;
O think on faith and bliſs!—
By many a death-bed I have been,
And many a ſinner's parting ſeen,
But never aught like this."—
The war that for a ſpace did fail,
Now trebly thundering ſwelled the gale,
And—STANLEY! was the cry;—
A light on Marmion's viſage ſpread,
And fired his glazing eye:

With

With dying hand, above his head
He ſhook the fragment of his blade,
And ſhouted "Victory!—
"Charge, Cheſter, charge! On, Stanley, on!".....
Were the laſt words of Marmion.

By this, though deep the evening fell,
Still roſe the battle's deadly ſwell,
For ſtill the Scots, around their king,
Unbroken, fought in deſperate ring.
Where's now their victor vaward wing,
Where Huntley, and where Home?—
O for a blaſt of that dread horn,
On Fontarabian echoes born,
That to King Charles did come,
When Rowland brave, and Olivier,
And every paladin and peer,
On Roncevalles died!
Such blaſt might warn them, not in vain,
To quit the plunder of the ſlain,
And turn the doubtful day again,
While yet on Flodden ſide,
Afar, the Royal Standard flies,
And round it toils and bleeds and dies,
Our Caledonian pride!
In vain the wiſh—for far away,
While ſpoil and havoc mark their way,
Near Sybil's Croſs the plunderers ſtray.—
"O Lady," cried the Monk, "away!"—
And placed her on her ſteed;
And led her to the chapel fair,
Of Tilmouth upon Tweed.
There all the night they ſpent in prayer,
And, at the dawn of morning, there
She met her kinſman, Lord Fitz-Clare.

But as they left the darkening heath,
More deſperate grew the ſtrife of death.
The Engliſh ſhafts in vollies hailed,
In headlong charge their horſe aſſailed;
Front, flank, and rear, the ſquadrons ſweep,
To break the Scottiſh circle deep,
That fought around their king.
But yet, though thick the ſhafts as ſnow,
Though charging knights like whirlwinds go,
Though bill-men deal the ghaſtly blow,
Unbroken was the ring;
The ſtubborn ſpear-men ſtill made good

Their

Their dark impenetrable wood,
Each ſtepping where his comrade ſtood,
The inſtant that he fell.
No thought was there of daſtard flight;—
Linked in the ſerried phalanx tight,
Groom fought like noble, ſquire like knight,
As fearleſsly and well,
Till utter darkneſs cloſed her wing
O'er their thin hoſt and wounded king.
Then ſkilful Surrey's ſage commands
Led back from ſtrife his ſhatter'd bands;
And from the charge they drew,
As mountain-waves, from waſted lands,
Sweep back to ocean blue.
Then did their loſs his foeman know;
Their king, their lords, their mightieſt low,
They melted from the field as ſnow,
When ſtreams are ſwoln, and ſouth winds blow,
Diſſolves in ſilent dew.
Tweed's echoes heard the ceaſeleſs plaſh,
While many a broken band,
Diſordered, through her currents daſh,
To gain the Scottiſh land;
To town and tower, to down and dale,
To tell red Flodden's diſmal tale,
And raiſe the univerſal wail.
Tradition, legend, tune, and ſong,
Shall many an age that wail prolong:
Still from the ſire the ſon ſhall hear
Of the ſtern ſtrife, and carnage drear,
Of Flodden's fatal field,
Where ſhivered was fair Scotland's ſpear,
And broken was her ſhield!

The Hampſhire Cottagers. A Tale. By Miſs Mitford. From the Poetical Regiſter, Vol. VII.

HOW lovely o'er thy vallies gay,
Sweet Hampſhire ſpreads the verdure mild!
How brightly ſhines the morning ray
That quivers on thy woodlands wild!

Eden of England! thou art fair!
Thine is each ſoft and awful grace!
A Claude might catch his beauty there,
Or wild Salvator grandeur trace.

And there beneath "Ytene's oaks,"
Where darkly ſpreads the foreſt gloom
That echoes to the woodman's ſtrokes,
The bluſhing roſe delights to bloom.

Fair are thy villas, fairer ſtill
The cots that ſkirt the green wood ſide;
Where ſome lone, ſhallow, babbling rill
Pours through the vale its ſilver tide.

And faireſt of the cottage train
That decks fair Hampſhire's vallies gay,
Of cluſtering vine and jaſmine vain,
Roſe the ſweet home of Gerard Grey.

All ſmil'd without the lovely cot,
And all within of comfort ſpoke;
The happy peaſants bleſt their lot,
And doubly bleſt the nuptial yoke.

Thoſe walls had witneſs'd Gerard's birth;
And witneſs'd thirty years of bliſs,
Since ſhe whom beſt he lov'd on earth,
Bluſh'd whilſt he gave the bridal kiſs.

One only daughter bleſt the pair;—
On the lone ſhrub one roſe bud beam'd,—
Needs it to ſay how ſweet, how fair,
How pure, this living bloſſom ſeem'd?

But not the parent's eye alone
Dwelt on that flower without a ſtain;
For though the village world was known
The beauty and the worth of Jane.

To win her heart, with ruſtic wile
Full many a ſimple peaſant ſtrove,
She gave to all a grateful ſmile,
But William gain'd the bluſh of love.

A friendleſs orphan was the youth;
But induſtry, and ſtrength, and health,
Unblemiſh'd virtue, ſpotleſs truth,
And faithful love, were William's wealth.

They both were young; but "ye ſhall wed,"
Joyous, the happy father cried,
"Together will we ſeek our bread,
"And work for Jane our mutual pride!

"How

" How bleſt will be the day, to ſee
" Your lovely babes around you cling,
" Hang fondly on their mother's knee,
" Or infant carols gaily ſing!

" Yes ye ſhall wed! ſoon Jane will come,
" Bleſt witneſs of our nuptial vows!
" Then ſhall my cot be William's home;
" My blooming Jane be William's ſpouſe."

Oh! gaily paſt fair April's day
Mid watery ſuns, and balmy ſhowers!
Now in the pride of early May
Each meadow beams with dewy flowers;
And Jane more fair, more ſweet than they,
Trips lightly through the verdant bowers.

To meet her William flies the maid,
William, for three long days unſeen!
A truant from his native ſhade,
To Milbrook fair the youth had been.

He comes, but, oh! how chang'd his air!
How gloomy his o'erclouded brow!
To his ſad breaſt he claſps the fair,
Then faultering tells his tale of woe.

Too ſad, too common is the tale!
By heat, fatigue and mirth o'ercome;
Whilſt quaffing the inſpiring ale,
He hears the ſpirit-ſtirring drum.

The ſerjeant's artful tale he hears;
The fatal oaths, are quickly ta'en;—
" And ſoon,—ah ceaſe thoſe fruitleſs tears!
" Muſt William leave thee, gentle Jane."

I may not tell the mournful ſcene
When William left her claſping arms,—
Ye that have lov'd and parted been,
Ah! well ye know her fond alarms!

I may not tell what anguiſh rent
Her heart, when with the martial train
To injured Luſitania ſent,
He ſailed upon the diſtant main.

Oh! drooping was that lovely flower
That bloom'd ſo fair in April's ray!
Sad and alone the weary hour,
She wept for William far away.

And oft yon towering hill ſhe ſeeks,
To gaze upon the miſty line
That faintly the horizon ſtreaks,
And marks where land and ocean join.

There would ſhe ſit, and muſe, and weep,
Dwell on the light bark's ſhadowy form,
And as the evening breezes ſweep,
Would ſhudder at the approaching ſtorm.

But youth and health are buoyant ſtill
Soon hope diſplay'd her viſions gay;
As on the ſnow-crown'd Alpine hill
The wintry ſuns reſplendent play,
So bright the lovely dreams diſtill!
So tranſitory fade away!

Again her dimpled ſmiles ariſe,
Her mild eyes beam, her roſes bloom—
Ah! fatal are thoſe love-fraught eyes!
Gay witching ſmiles ye ſeal her doom!

For Fitzroy ſaw. Deteſted name!
Follow'd by curſes low and deep;
He boaſts the fell ſeducer's fame,
Through him unnumber'd wretches weep;
Or, happier thus to hide their ſhame,
Low in the grave his victims ſleep.

He ſaw her fair; and ſoon his darts
Aſſiduous the deſtroyer proves.—
What can avail his thouſand arts?
What ſhaft can pierce a heart that loves?

But nearer, dearer ſorrows preſs;
Fell poverty's malignant train
Diſeaſe, and anguiſh, and diſtreſs,
At once o'erwhelm the drooping Jane.

No longer in his ſinewy hands
Her aged Father holds the plough;
Her mother's wheel all uſeleſs ſtands;
And Cherry dies; their only cow!

She

The rent day comes; and many a pang
Pierces the heart of Gerard Grey;
Till ſeized by ſickneſs' iron fang,
Gerard had ſtill been firſt to pay.

But now he from his home muſt go,—
The cheriſhed home of ſixty years!
And in the dread abode of woe,
The workhouſe! cloſe his days in tears.

Poor hapleſs Jane! ſtill Fitzroy preſt,
And offered ſtores of glittering gold;
But faithful ſtill that gentle breaſt,
To every love but William's cold.

She wept her parents' wretched fate,
But ſtill a lingering hope aroſe;
That her own William, rich and great
Would come, and baniſh all their woes.

Toiling and weeping, hoping ſtill,
The dreary hours ſlow glided by;
When lo! (the meſſenger of ill!)
A ſoldier met her eager eye.

He aſked her name, ſhe anſwered not,
But, "Where is William?" breathleſs ſaid,—
His dreadful errand ſoon ſhe caught,—
That William, ſo beloved, was dead!

'Vails not to tell Corunna's day,
When Britain's ſons the war-tide ſtem,
Scatter their foes like ocean ſpray,
But mourn, alas! their pureſt gem:
For ever ſhorn the brighteſt ray
That ſhone in Valour's diadem!—

Then William fell; and, ere he died,
Gave to his faithful comrade's care,
The ring he deſtined for his bride,
And a bright ringlet of her hair.

"And ere he died, he bade him ſay
"No pang had he in that dread night,
"Save for that ſweet one far away,
"More dear than health, or life, or light!
For her my parting breath ſhall pray,
"And we ſhall meet in regions bright!"

She ſinks ſubdued; but not in death,
Though cold and pale as death ſhe lies;
Again revives her quivering breath!
Again ſhe opes her weary eyes!

To life, to miſery, ſhe wakes!
A heavy ſenſe of endleſs woe!
Her frame with trembling chillneſs ſhakes;
Or burns with wildly fevered glow.

She names not Him for ever gone!
Her tears are dried and huſhed her ſighs;
Her cold heart ſeems transformed to ſtone;
But lightning flaſhes from her eyes,
And in her wild and hollow tone,
Deſpair and madneſs ſeem to riſe.

O'erclouded was that reaſon bright,
That mental viſion pure and clear,
Quenched that mild ray of heavenly light,
Strong to direct, and warm to cheer.

Roſe to her eyes that blood-ſtained beach,
Where William's corſe unburied lay;
Rung in her ears the diſmal ſcreech
Of vultures, hovering over their prey.

Oh! is there none to ſpeak of peace,
To calm that brain to frenzy driven?
Bid that deſpairing anguiſh ceaſe,
And gently guide her thoughts to Heaven?

Heart-broken, hopeleſs of relief,
Her parents' bitter ſorrows flow;
Not William's death their only grief,
To-morrow from their home they go.

Warm from the heart, her mother's tears
Bathe Jane's cold breaſt and icy cheek;
The ſad appeal her boſom hears,
In fondneſs ſtrong, in reaſon weak.

Gone is that guiding ray divine,
Unheard Religion's heavenly call,
Wit, virtue, ſenſe, no more ye ſhine!
But filial love ſurvives ye all!

Again the Tempter comes; nor vain
His offered love, his laviſhed gold;
"Give to my parents wealth, and Jane
"Shall Fitzroy find no longer cold!"

He came, but fled ere morning ray;
At noon again he ſought the cot,—
There Jane a ſelf-ſlain victim lay,
For ever cloſed her hapleſs lot.

O God! in thine eternal day
May Mercy's tears the record blot!
Her virtues ſhine in bright array!
Her errors and her end forgot!

France: an Ode. By S. T. Coleridge, Eſq. From the ſame.

YE Clouds, that far above me float and pauſe,
Whoſe pathleſs march no mortal may control!
Ye ocean waves, that, whereſoe'er ye roll,
Yield homage only to eternal laws!
Ye woods that liſten to the night-bird's ſinging,
Midway the ſmooth and perilous ſteep reclin'd;
Save when your own imperious branches ſwinging
Have made a ſolemn muſic of the wind!
Where, like a man belov'd of God,
Thro' glooms, which never woodman trod,
How oft, purſuing fancies holy,
My moon-light way o'er flow'ring weeds I wound,
Inſpired beyond the gueſs of folly,
By each rude ſhape, and wild unconquerable ſound!
O, ye loud waves, and O, ye foreſts high,
And O, ye clouds that far above me ſoar'd!
Thou riſing ſun, thou blue rejoicing ſky!
Yea, every thing that is, and will be free,
Bear witneſs for me whereſoe'er ye be,
With what deep worſhip I have ſtill ador'd,
The ſpirit of divineſt liberty.

When France in wrath her giant limbs uprear'd,
And with that oath which ſmote earth, air, and ſea,
Stamp'd her ſtrong foot and ſaid, ſhe would be free,
Bear witneſs for me, how I hoped and fear'd!
With what a joy my lofty gratulation
Unaw'd I ſung amid a ſlaviſh band:
And when to whelm the diſenchanted nation,
Like fiends embattled by a wizard's wand,

The

The monarchs march'd in evil day,
And Britain join'd the dire array;
Though dear her ſhores, and circling ocean,
Though many friendſhips, many youthful loves
Had ſwoln the patriot emotion,
And flung a magic light o'er all her hills and groves;
Yet ſtill my voice unalter'd ſang defeat
To all that brav'd the tyrant-quelling lance,
And ſhame too long delay'd, and vain retreat!
For ne'er, O Liberty! with partial aim
I dimm'd thy light, or damp'd thy holy flame;
But bleſt the pæans of deliver'd France,
And hung my head, and wept at Britain's name!

"And what (I ſaid) tho' blaſphemy's loud ſcream
"With that ſweet muſic of deliv'rance ſtrove;
"Tho' all the fierce and drunken paſſions wove
"A dance more wild than ever maniac's dream;
"Ye ſtorms, that round the dawning eaſt aſſembled,
"The ſun was riſing, tho' ye hid his light!"
And when to ſooth my ſoul, that hoped and trembled,
The diſſonance ceaſed, and all ſeemed calm and bright;
When France her front deep-ſcarred and gory
Conceal'd with cluſt'ring wreaths of glory;
When inſupportably advancing,
Her arm made mock'ry of the warrior's ramp,
While, timid looks of fury glancing,
Domeſtic treaſon, cruſh'd beneath her fatal ſtamp,
Writh'd, like a wounded dragon in his gore;
Then I reproach'd my fears that would not flee,
"And ſoon (I ſaid) ſhall wiſdom teach her lore
"In the low huts of them that toil and groan!
"And conqu'ring by her happineſs alone,
"Shall France compel the nations to be free,
"Till love and joy look round, and call the earth their own!"

Forgive me, Freedom! O forgive theſe dreams!
I hear thy voice, I hear thy loud lament,
From bleak Helvetia's icy caverns ſent—
I hear thy groans upon her blood-ſtain'd ſtreams!
Heroes, that for your peaceful country periſh'd;
And ye, that fleeing ſpot the mountain ſnows
With bleeding wounds; forgive me, that I cheriſh'd
One thought, that ever bleſs'd your cruel foes!
To ſcatter rage and trait'rous guilt
Where Peace her jealous home had built;
A patriot race to diſinherit
Of all that made their ſtormy wilds ſo dear,

And

And with inexpiable ſpirit
To taint the bloodleſs freedom of the mountaineer!—
O France! that mockeſt heav'n, adult'rous, blind,
And patriot only in pernicious toils!
Are theſe thy boaſts, champion of human kind:
To mix with kings in the low luſt of ſway,
Yell in the hunt, and ſhare the murd'rous prey;
To inſult the ſhrine of liberty with ſpoils
From freemen torn; to tempt and to betray!

The ſenſual and the dark rebel in vain,
Slaves by their own compulſion! In mad game
They burſt their manacles, and wear the name
Of freedom graven on a heavier chain!
O Liberty! with profitleſs endeavour
Have I purſued thee many a weary hour:
But thou nor ſwell'ſt the victor's ſtrain, nor ever
Didſt breathe thy ſoul in forms of human pow'r.
Alike from all, howe'er they praiſe thee,
(Nor pray'r nor boaſtful name delays thee,)
Alike from prieſthood's harpy minions,
And factious blaſphemy's obſcener ſlaves,
Thou ſpeedeſt on thy ſubtle pinions,
To live amid the winds, and move upon the waves!
And then I felt thee on that ſea-cliff's verge,
Whoſe pines, ſcarce travell'd by the breeze above,
Had made one murmur with the diſtant ſurge!
Yes! while I ſtood and gaz'd, my temples bare,
And ſhot my being thro' earth, ſea, and air,
Poſſeſſing all things with intenſeſt love,
O Liberty, my ſpirit felt thee there!
February, 1798.

Song. By Mr. Davenport.

From the ſame.

WHEN far beneath the weſtern wave the orb of day's deſcended,
And twilight o'er the tired earth her dewy mantle ſpreads,
And all the birds, ſave Philomel, their warbled ſtrains have ended,
And, lull'd by whiſpering zephyr, ſleep within their leafy beds;

I fly the ſound of human voice, the ſight of human dwelling,
A melancholy wanderer, to rove the woods along,
And there, while tears my eyes o'erflow, while grief my heart is ſwelling,
I break the ſilence of the night by many a mournful ſong.

O! aſk

O! aſk you, why alone I rove? why ceaſeleſsly I languiſh?
'Tis love that ſaddens all my thoughts that bids me wander ſo;
But who the maid, whoſe magic power has filled my ſoul with anguiſh,
No mortal ear has ever heard, no mortal ear muſt know.

Catullus's return Home to his Eſtate at Sirmio. Imitated by Leigh Hunt, Eſq.

From the ſame.

O BEST of all the ſcatter'd lands, that break
From ſpreading ſea or hill-retiring lake,
How happy do I drop within thy breaſt!
With what a ſigh of full contented reſt!
Scarce truſting that my vagrant toil is o'er,
And that theſe eyes behold thee ſafe once more!
Is aught ſo bleſt as ſuch a looſe from care,
When the ſoul's load reſts with us in the chair;
When we return from pilgrimage, and ſpread
The looſen'd limbs o'er all the well-known bed!
This of itſelf repays the grinding toil,
And gives to failing knees the freſh'ning oil.
Hail, lovely Sirmio; meet thy maſter's ſmiles,
And laugh, thou ſparkling lake, thro' all thine iſles!
Laugh every ſocial ſpot; your maſter's come!
Laugh, every dimple on the cheek of home!

The Appearance of Chemos to Korah.

From the Exodiad. Part II.

MORE had he ſaid, when, as he ſtrove to vent
His meditated prayer, amaz'd he found
His palſied tongue had loſt the power to ſpeak;
Cold on his furrow'd brow the faint drops hung;
Their ſlackened lids fell o'er his darken'd eyes,
And death-like lethargy benumb'd his ſenſe.
Scarce had he ſtrength to riſe and ſeek his couch;
There ſtricken down, and at his length ſupine,
Full of the fiend, the entranc'd apoſtate lay.
Then on the pictured tablet of his mind
The ſhadowy form of his deceiver gleam'd,
Garb'd as before, and bearded to the waiſt.
Thus, for a while, as long as might ſuffice
For recognition, the pale ſpectre ſtood;
When ſoon, behold the hoar and wrinkled fiend,
Quick as the ſhifting of a ſcene, became
Tall and erect; his viſage now diſplay'd

Tarniſhed

Tarniſhed magnificence, that dimly ſhowed
A faded remnant of his ſplendor paſt:
Fallen ſpirit though he was, there yet emerged
A ray of majeſty, not quite eclips'd;
And now, though age no longer could be traced
In form and feature, ſtill, if youth it were,
'Twas youth in miſery not immature;
A face, that ſpoke the loſs of happier days;
A wint'ry ſpring, whoſe bloom had been waſht out
By many a ſhower, and daſh'd with chilling ſtorm.
Upon the ſlumbering wretch he fixed his eyes,
And would have ſmiled; but that, amidſt the pangs
Of a tormented conſcience, mocks the power
Even of immortal eſſence to affect.
'Twas ill diſſembled joy, that only ſerved
To throw a deeper ſhade upon deſpair:
Yet with ſo ſtrong a ſpell had he poſſeſſed
The ſenſes of his victim, ſoul-entranced,
That in his viſion Korah ſaw and heard
All that the demon gave to eye or ear:
And now, preparing to diſplay the hoſt
Of rebel angels, armed to overthrow
The power of Moſes, vaunting thus he ſpake:
"Now that thy hungry vengeance is appeas'd,
Sleepeſt thou, thrice happy mortal? It is well!
So ſleeps the tiger, glutted with his feaſt,
And, dreaming, ſlays his victim o'er again,
Laps the warm blood, and tears the quivering fleſh.
And now, to mark thee favoured, thou ſhalt ſee—
What never yet to waking man was ſhewn—
Chemos, the fiery god, who deals around
To all his faithful nations golden gleams,
Diſpenſing life and health; but to his foes,
And ſuch are all, whom Moſes calls his friends,
Fever, and atrophy, and ſpotted plague.
Nor I alone, but the whole winged hoſt
Of thy protecting ſpirits ſhall appear;
And though their airy inſubſtantial forms
No human ſpeculation can pervade,
Yet, for thou art confederate and approved,
In thy ecſtatic viſion with cloſed eyes
Thou ſhalt behold them. Lo! what myriads come,
Borne on the breezy north, from Moab's heights,
From Amorrhæa's and from Baſan's groves,
From Idumæa to the lofty range
Of Libanus, and weſtward from the coaſts
Of Sidon and of Tyre. Seeſt thou not him,
Tremendous god, with human blood beſmeared?

'Tis

'Tis Moloch, worſhipt in Gehenna's vale:
In his mailed hand he brandiſhes a torch,
And lo! he hurls the blazing miſchief down,
Sparkling its glances through the turbid air,
Diffuſing diſcord o'er the factious camp.
Behold, with ſilvery creſcent on her brow,
In ſable mantle ſtudded o'er with ſtars,
The virgin goddeſs! Her, Sidonian dames
Incenſe with odour of Sabæan gums:
Mild though ſhe ſeem, yet mighty is her power,
Or when to Hades ſunk, or when malign
Of aſpect, and with ominous eclipſe,
As at their night ſhe makes diviners mad,
And plagues the nations who provoke her wrath.
Once more direct thine intellectual eye,
Where he, of toiling huſbandry the god,
Dagon, throughout Philiſtia's realm adored,
Like a huge cloud, obſcure and big with ſtorm,
Hovers enormous, and through all your tribes,
Tired of their dewy food, inſpires diſtaſte,
Firing their eager fancies to return,
Where plenty courts them on the banks of Nile.
Theſe, and of others an innumerous hoſt,
Who, though from heaven excluded, reign on earth,
Arm in thy cauſe: and thinkeſt thou that the rod
Of Moſes, though the yielding waters felt
Its magic ſtroke, can againſt theſe prevail
To break one pinion of celeſtial growth,
And wound immortals ſcathleſs as the air?
But lo! where morning glimmers in the eaſt;
Thy comrades, Dathan and Abiram, come
To ſeek their leader: fear not, but aſſume
The proud ſupremacy of Iſrael's prieſt,
And ſanctify the people for their march
Back to the land of Goſhen. This, thy god,
I, Chemos, who now ſpeak to thee, permit.
Seize then thy cenſer; ſeize it in my name!
Heed not thy prophet's prayer; the incumbent cloud
Of hoſtile deities, that ſoar aloft,
Shall beat it down with their triumphant wings,
And give it to the winds. Awake, ariſe!"

The demon vaniſhed, and with him the dream.
Korah awoke; the factious chiefs approached.

Character

Character of Sir Clarenbert.

From "Edwy and Elgiva, a Tale. By the Rev. R. Bland."

THE pride of knights brave Clarenbert was known,
And all in grace and knightly feats outſhone;
Yet curs'd by fortune, tho' enrich'd with power,
The child of Sorrow from his natal hour:
For with the very pangs that gave him breath,
Her gentle mother clos'd her eyes in death.
His ſire, o'er diſtant regions bent to roam
From the blank ſadneſs of a widowed home,
Sought foreign wars, and fell among the ſlain,
When German Otho fought in fair Lorrain.
Two ſiſters truſted to a guardian's hands,
Who meanly thirſted for their gold and lands,
In budding charms when high their pulſes beat
With youthful rapture, and the world was ſweet,
By helliſh arts ſubdu'd, were doom'd to ſhrowd
Their blooming beauties from th' admiring crowd,
With cloiſter'd nuns to ſadden out their years
In barren durance and reluctant tears.
Gay was his heart: but memory of his birth
Would oft with ſorrow cloud his paſſing mirth.
He mourn'd a friendleſs ſtate; and often wept
On the cold marble where his mother ſlept;
Wiſh'd from the ſire on whom he hardly ſmil'd
Unconſcious yet, to hear the name of child;
Oft ſolitary pac'd, in dead of night,
Around the walls of ſainted Æthelbright,
Where loſt for ever in their age's bloom,
Immur'd, and buried living in their tomb,
A guardian's curſe th' unhappy maids deplore,
Forbad to hear or greet their brother more.
Hence, tho' in outward ſhow devoid of care,
Pride of the brave and pleaſing to the fair,
Tho' foremoſt in the brilliant court he ſhone,
Yet, loathing life, he lov'd to muſe alone;
And, looking to the void futurity,
Reſolved to dare ſome glorious deed, and die.
Bound to his prince by loyalty and blood,
The firſt of champions in his cauſe he ſtood,
Not the gay comrade of his happier hour
To ſwell his train and idolize his power,
But moſt a friend when other friends withdrew,
Even in the winter of his fortunes true.

Elgiva's

Elgiva's youth by tyranny oppreſt
Firſt warm'd with enterpriſe his vacant breaſt;
And if his death the deſtinies decreed,
On beauty's ſide 'twere happineſs to bleed.
Hence to his lord he ſwore by knighthood's laws
To free the fair, or periſh in her cauſe.

To Sir William Draper, K. B. With a Copy of "The Patriot," and a preſent of Cottenham Cheeſes.

From the Poetical Works of the late Chriſtopher Anſtey, Eſq.

Doneram pateras, &c. Horace, Lib. iv. Ode 8.

FREELY I'd give ye cups of gold,
Rich with the curious works of old;
With coins and medals I'd preſent ye,
And ſend ye rings and ſeals in plenty;
Reward ye like the valiant Greeks,
If I, like Deard, could make antiques.
But gifts like theſe, my generous friend,
Nor you expect, nor I can ſend.
Something to eat, I'd have you know it,
Is no ſmall preſent from a poet;
And though I took ſome little pains
In weaving my Pindaric ſtrains,
You're welcome, if my verſe diſpleaſes,
To D—n my book, and eat my cheeſes;
Still will I venture to acquaint ye,
Tho' I, like Gainſborough, could paint ye;
Tho' I, with Wilton's art, could give
The animated ſtone to live;
Yet not the picture, or the buſto,
Are things that heroes ought to truſt to.
Good generals and ſtateſmen too,
From verſe alone muſt claim their due;
And oft the friendly Muſe ſupplies
What an ungrateful world denies:
Not the ſwift flight of threatening Lally,
Not every bold ſucceſsful ſally
Under your banners from Madras,
Tho' told on marble or on braſs;
Not India's diſtant ſpoils brought home,
To grace our Henry's lofty dome *;

* The Spaniſh colours which were ſurrendered to the Britiſh arms at the conqueſt of Manilla, were hung up in the chapel of King's College, Cambridge.

Without

Without the Muſes' juſt regard,
Can give the conqueror his reward——
Spite of the law's unjuſt delay,
Your guerdon ſtill the Muſe ſhall pay;
With faithful ſteps your fame attend,
And ſpeed the wiſhes of your friend.

Trumpington, Dec. 24, 1767. C. A.

To Chriſtopher Anſtey, Eſq. From Sir William Draper, K. B. in Anſwer to the foregoing.

From the ſame.

SO much, my friend, your poem pleaſes,
I ſcarce have time to taſte your cheeſes.
Much I admire the infant's cradle,
Who for a pap-ſpoon graſped the ladle,
Split Lions' marrow-bones with cleaver,
And ſucked their eſſence for his beaver—
All would I praiſe, but deaf Apollo
My invocation will not follow;
He, thy luxuriant vein ſtill bleſſes,
Adorns with fancy's richeſt dreſſes;
But what the God to thee ſupplies,
Nature perverſe to me denies.
Hard as the ice of this day's froſt,
My head to fancy's beam is loſt;
But though the god no hopes will give
Nor learned GLYNN, that this may live,
Still in thy verſe, O let my name
Secured with thy more laſting fame
To future times conveyed, pretend
Thou wert my earlieſt, deareſt friend,
And ſtill that name the more to grace,
Let me aſſume the patron's place:
As ſuch I ſend you cups of wine;
Let Bacchus with your Muſes dine;
With Bacchus let the Muſes drink,
And on the ſender deign to think.
Accept St. Kennet's joyous claret,
A ſtranger to the rhymer's garret,
Who, though on earth to treat not able,
Moſt kindly ſpreads celeſtial table.
Something to drink, I'd have you know it,
Is no bad preſent to a poet.
May what my cellars can afford,
Add to the dainties of your board,

And

And if it can amuſement give,
Hear how your friend has learned to live:
His ſword (its barbarous uſe forgot)
Becomes the cook-maid's harmleſs lot;
To toaſt *your cheeſe*, and ſcrape the paring,
Is all the merit it can ſhare in.
Manilla's ranſom quite forgetting,
It aſks no more another whetting.
By downy peace and reſt undone,
" Othello's occupation's gone;"
The ſqueaking fife, and noiſy drum,
No more ſhall drag him from his home;
Nor circumſtance of glorious war
Tempt him to mount Bellona's car;
His gentle ſpirit-lulling wife
Comforts his mild decline of life,
Aſide the dazzling helmet lays,
But no Aſſyanx round him plays.
Farewell! farewell! may Jove encruſt
On guns and pikes perpetual ruſt:
For Time, alas! begins to ſpread
His thin grey mantle o'er my head,
And with his much too ſerious play
Steals beauty, manhood, wit, away.
My breaſt thus ſober reaſon enters,
Forbids to roam for freſh adventures,
Breathes her kind whiſper in my ear,
" No more on falſe ambition leer;
" Be it thy only wiſh to find,
" And heal the woes of *human kind*."
But as I ne'er *humanely* lent
A *friend* my caſh at cent. per cent.;
And am not quite ſo rich as thoſe,
Who pull your Nabobs by the noſe,
From no great ſource my bounty flows.
Why did I not, from zeal to pay
The nation's debt, ſome Rajah ſlay,
The great Mogul's own throne aſſail,
And catch his peacock by the tail,
Which, Argus like, with hundred eyes
Of diamonds bright, is rapine's prize!
But to your friend much kinder heaven
Bleſt mediocrity has given:
Contentment, peace conjoined to health,
Supply the place of wretched wealth;
Hence more true joy my boſom warms
Then e'er was felt from conqueſt's charms,

More

More than great Ammon's ſon would feel,
With vanquiſhed monarchs at his heel;
More than to miſers gold e'er gave,
Vain man's alternate lord and ſlave:
More than ſtern Philip ever drew
From tortured Incas and Peru:
More than thy ceſtus, Venus, gives,
More than in Pruſſian laurel lives.
Scarce, Ligonier! you more can know,
Whoſe heart with goodneſs taught to flow,
Sighs for occaſion to beſtow
Fair fortune's ſmiles; of human kind
The friend, to merit never blind,
Though manly, melts with pangs of grief,
When modeſt want avoids relief;
Scarce more even thee, my Anſtey, bleſſes
From wife's and children's dear careſſes.
Long may you all unparted prove
The union of domeſtic love;
But as I can no longer hope
From you, from Horace, Shakſpeare, Pope,
Both thought and language thus to take,
And what they wrote my own to make,
And undetected ſteal your metre,
Known as St. Paul's, or fam'd St. Peter,
With borrow'd lines no more I'll teaſe you,
But ſtrive in honeſt proſe to pleaſe you.

Beachy Head.

From Mrs. Charlotte Smith's Miſcellaneous Poems.

ON thy ſtupendous ſummit, rock ſublime!
That o'er the channel rear'd, half-way at ſea,
The mariner at early morning hails,
I would recline; while Fancy ſhould go forth,
And repreſent the ſtrange and awful hour
Of vaſt concuſſion; when the Omnipotent
Stretch'd forth his arm, and rent the ſolid hills,
Bidding the impetuous main flood ruſh between
The rifted ſhores, and from the continent
Eternally divided this green iſle.
Imperial lord of the high ſouthern coaſt!
From thy projecting head-land I would mark
Far in the eaſt the ſhades of night diſperſe,
Melting and thinned, as from the dark blue wave

Emerging

Emerging, brilliant rays of arrowy light
Dart from the horizon; when the glorious ſun
Juſt lifts above it his reſplendent orb.
Advances now, with feathery ſilver touched,
The rippling tide of flood; gliſten the ſands,
While, inmates of the chalky clefts that ſcar
Thy ſides precipitous, with ſhrill harſh cry,
Their white wings glancing in the level beam,
The terns, and gulls, and tarrocks ſeek their food,
And thy rough hollows echo to the voice,
Of the gray choughs, and ever-reſtleſs daws,
With clamour not unlike the chiding hounds,
While the lone ſhepherd, and his baying dog,
Drive to thy turfy creſt his bleating flock.
The high meridian of the day is paſt,
And Ocean now, reflecting the calm Heaven,
Is of cerulean hue; and murmurs low
The tide of ebb, upon the level ſands.
The ſloop her angular canvaſs ſhifting ſtill,
Catches the light and variable airs
That but a little criſp the ſummer ſea,
Dimpling its tranquil ſurface.
Afar off,
And juſt emerging from the arch immenſe
Where ſeem to part the elements, a fleet
Of fiſhing veſſels ſtretch their leſſer ſails;
While more remote, and like a dubious ſpot
Juſt hanging in the horizon, laden deep,
The ſhip of commerce richly freighted, makes
Her ſlower progreſs, on her diſtant voyage,
Bound to the orient climates, where the ſun
Matures the ſpice within its odorous ſhell;
And, rivalling the gray worm's filmy toil,
Burſts from its pod the vegetable down,
Which in long turban'd wreaths, from torrid heat
Defends the brows of Aſia's countleſs caſts.
There the earth hides within her glowing breaſt
The beamy adamant and the round pearl
Enchaſed in rugged covering; which the ſlave,
With perilous and breathleſs toil, tears off
From the rough ſea-rock, deep beneath the waves.
Theſe are the toys of Nature; and her ſport
Of little eſtimate in Reaſon's eye:
And they who reaſon, with abhorrence ſee
Man, for ſuch gaudes and baubles, violate
The ſacred freedom of his fellow man—
Erroneous eſtimate! As Heaven's purer air,

Freſh

Freſh as it blows on this aërial height,
Or ſound of ſeas upon the ſtony ſtrand,
Or inland, the gay harmony of birds,
And winds that wander in the leafy woods,
Are to the unadulterate taſte more worth
Than the elaborate harmony, brought out
From fretted ſtop, or modulated airs
Of vocal ſcience.—So the brighteſt gems,
Glancing reſplendent on the regal crown,
Or trembling in the high-born beauty's ear,
Are poor and paltry to the lovely light
Of the fair ſtar, that as the day declines,
Attendant on her queen, the creſcent moon,
Bathes her bright treſſes in the caſtern wave.
For now the ſun is verging to the ſea,
And as he weſtward ſinks, the floating clouds
Suſpended, move upon the evening gale,
And gathering round his orb as if to ſhade
The inſufferable brightneſs, they reſign
Their gauzy whiteneſs; and more warm'd, aſſume
All hues of purple. There, tranſparent gold
Mingles with ruby tints and ſapphire gleams,
And colours, ſuch as Nature through her works
Shews only in the ethereal canopy.
Thither aſpiring Fancy fondly ſoars,
Wandering ſublime thro' viſionary vales,
Where bright pavilions riſe, and trophies fann'd
By airs celeſtial; and adorned with wreaths
Of flowers that bloom amid elyſian bowers.
Now bright and brighter ſtill the colours glow,
Till half the luſtrous orb within the flood
Seems to retire: the flood reflecting ſtill
Its ſplendour, and in mimic glory dreſt;
Till the laſt ray ſhot upward, fires the clouds
With blazing crimſon; then in paler light,
Long lines of tenderer radiance, lingering yield
To partial darkneſs; and on the oppoſing ſide
The early moon diſtinctly riſing, throws
Her pearly brilliance on the trembling tide.
The fiſhermen, who at ſet ſeaſons paſs
Many a league off at ſea their toiling night,
Now hail their comrades, from their daily taſk
Returning; and make ready for their own,
With the night tide commencing:—The night tide
Bears a dark veſſel on, whoſe hull and ſails
Mark her a coaſter from the north. Her keel
Now ploughs the ſand; and ſidelong now ſhe leans,

While with loud clamour her athletic crew
Unload her; and refounds the buſy hum
Along the wave-worn rocks. Yet more remote,
Where the rough cliff hangs beetling o'er its baſe,
All breathes repoſe; the water's rippling ſound
Scarce heard; but now and then the ſea-ſnipe's cry
Juſt tells that ſomething living is abroad;
And ſometimes croſſing on the moon bright line,
Glimmers the ſkiff, faintly diſcern'd awhile,
Then loſt in ſhadow.
Contemplation here,
High on her throne of rock, aloof may ſit,
And bid recording Memory unfold
Her ſcroll voluminous—bid her retrace
The period, when from Neuſtria's hoſtile ſhore
The Norman launch'd his galleys, and the bay
O'er which that maſs of ruin frowns even now
In vain and ſullen menace, then received
The new invaders; a proud martial race,
Of Scandinavia the undaunted ſons,
Whom Dogon, Fier-a-braſs, and Humfroi led
To conqueſt: while Trinacria to their power
Yielded her wheaten garland; and when thou,
Parthenope! within thy fertile bay
Receiv'd the victors.—
In the mailed ranks
Of Normans landing on the Britiſh coaſt
Rode Taillefer; and with aſtounding voice
Thunder'd the war ſong daring Roland ſang
Firſt in the fierce contention: vainly brave,
One not inglorious ſtruggle England made—
But failing, ſaw the Saxon heptarchy
Finiſh for ever.—Then the holy pile,
Yet ſeen upon the field of conqueſt, roſe,
Where to appeaſe Heaven's wrath for ſo much blood,
The conqueror bade unceaſing prayers aſcend,
And requiems for the ſlayers and the ſlain.
But let not modern Gallia form from hence
Preſumptuous hopes, that ever thou again,
Queen of the iſles! ſhalt crouch to foreign arms.
Th' enervate ſons of Italy may yield;
And the Iberian, all his trophies torn,
And wrapp'd in Superſtition's monkiſh weed,
May ſhelter his abaſement, and put on
Degrading fetters. Never! never thou;
Imperial miſtreſs of th' obedient ſea;
But thou, in thy integrity ſecure,
Shalt now undaunted meet a world in arms.

England!

England! 'twas where this promontory rears
Its rugged brow above the channel wave,
Parting the hoſtile nations, that thy fame,
Thy naval fame was tarniſh'd, at what time
Thou, leagued with the Batavian, gaveſt to France
One day of triumph—triumph the more loud,
Becauſe even then ſo rare. Oh! well redeem'd,
Since, by a ſeries of illuſtrious men,
Such as no other country ever reared,
To vindicate her cauſe. It is a liſt
Which, as Fame echoes it, blanches the cheek
Of bold ambition; while the deſpot feels
The extorted ſceptre tremble in his graſp.

Ode to Sophia. From "a Day in Spring, and other Poems." By Richard Weſtall, Eſq. R.A.

"ONCE on a day, alas, the day!
Love, whoſe every month is May,"
Diſcern'd me on a bank reclin'd,
With liſtleſs limbs and vacant mind.
Beſide me lay my idle lyre,
Unfit for ſong, with looſen'd wire;
But heard at times o'er all the vale,
Breathing reſponſive to the gale.
Dreſſed like a ruſtic youth he came,
Nor ſhew'd his form, nor told his name;
But at his ſight the roſes blow'd,
With lovelier deeper crimſon glow'd;
The violet from his moſſy bed
A more delicious odour ſhed:
And 'midſt the woods the feather'd throng,
Enraptur'd, pour'd a ſofter ſong.
"Shepherd," he ſaid, "thy lyre I'll ſtring;
Riſe, idle Shepherd, riſe and ſing."
Thus as he ſpoke, he ſeized my lyre,
And ſnatch'd away the trembling wire;
And unperceived, with ſmiling face,
He ſtretch'd his bow-ſtring in its place.
"What ſhall I ſing?" I faint replied:
"Delightful Spring, and Flora's pride,
Have each a thouſand times been ſung,
The theme of every poet's tongue;
The ripling brook that murmurs by,
And ſoothes me with its melody;
The ſheep which ſhun the blaze of day,
Pant in the ſhade, or round me play;

The

The awful grove, the humble cot
Where favouring Heaven has fixed my lot;
The mighty caſtle, placed on high,
A covering fit for majeſty,
Have all a thouſand times been ſung,
The theme of every poet's tongue."
" Yet ſing," the ſmiling miſchief cried,
" And drew ſtill nearer to my ſide;
Yet ſing; for ſweet the ardent lays,
When Friendſhip chaunts Sophia's praiſe."
Charm'd by the theme, the vocal Muſe
Would not her ready aid refuſe.
I ſtruck the lyre, but at its ſound,
Felt in my heart a thrilling wound;
With Friendſhip's name I fill'd the grove,
But all my erring ſong was Love.

To Candidus. From the Latin of Sir Thomas More.

Tranſlated by the Rev. F. Wrangham. From the Life of Sir Walter Raleigh.

ENOUGH by vagrant love,
Dear youth you've been miſled:
O! riſe theſe joys above,
And quit the lawleſs bed.

Some conſort in your arms,
Heart link'd to heart, embrace;
Who with tranſmitted charms
Your lengthening line may grace.

So did for you your ſire.
The debt, with intereſt due,
Poſterity require,
My Candidus, from you.

Nor be it chief your aim,
Fortune or face to ſeek:
Slight love attends the dame,
Sought for her purſe or cheek.

No purer love can bear
The flame, which fortune fires;
It vaniſhes in air,
And ere it lives, expires.

Nay,

Nay, fortune's courted charms
Fade in the miſer's graſp,
When doom'd within his arms
An unloved ſpouſe to claſp.

And beauty's vaunted power,
By fever's tooth decays;
Or time-ſtruck, like a flower
Beneath the ſolar blaze.

Then vows are urged in vain--
With beauty's paſſing hue,
Bound ſingly by that chain,
Affection paſſes too.

But genuine is the love
Which reaſon, virtue rears--
All fever's force above,
Above the aſſault of years.

—Firſt ſcrutinize her birth;
Be ſure her mother's mild:
Oft with her milk her worth
The mother gives her child.

Next in herſelf be ſeen
Good temper's gentleſt tone:
Still placid be her mien,
Unruffled by a frown.

And ſtill, her cheek's beſt charm,
Be her's ſweet modeſty.
No lover-claſping arm,
No love-provoking eye.

Far from her lip's ſoft door
Be noiſe, be ſilence ſtern;
And her's be learning's ſtore,
Or her's the power to learn.

With books ſhe'll time beguile,
And make true bliſs her own;
Unbuoyed by fortune's ſmile,
Unbroken by her frown.

So ſtill, thy heart's delight
And partner of thy way,
She'll guide thy children right,
Where myriads go aſtray.

So, left all meaner things,
  Thou'lt on her breaſt recline;
While to her lyre ſhe ſings
  Strains, Philomel, like thine:

While ſtill thy raptured gaze
  Is on her accents hung,
As words of honied grace,
  Steal from her honied tongue—

Words they, of power to ſoothe
  All idle joy or woe
With learning's varying truth,
  With eloquence's flow.

Such Orpheus' wife, whoſe fate
  With tears old fables tell;
Or never would her mate
  Have fetched her back from hell.

Such Naſo's daughter, ſhe
  Whoſe muſe with Naſo's vied;
And ſuch might Tullia be,
  Her learned father's pride.

The Gracchi's mother ſuch,
  Who train'd the ſons ſhe bore;
Famed as their mother much,
  And as their tutoreſs more.

But what to diſtant days
  My lingering glance confines?
One girl, of equal grace,
  E'en in this rude age ſhines:

Single, worth all, ſhe ſtands—
  By fame through Britain flown,
Hail'd—gaze of other lands,
  Caſſandra of her own.

—Say, would a maid ſo rare
  Within thy arms repoſe;
Where ſhe, nor rich, nor fair,
  Could'ſt thou decline her vows?

Enough of beauty her's,
  With whom a huſband's bleſt:
Enough of wealth ſhe ſhares,
  To whom enough's a feaſt.

So

So loved, were ſhe (I ſwear)
Than ſoot of darker die;
I'd think her far more fair,
Than e'er met mortal eye:

So lov'd, were ſhe (I ſwear)
Than poverty more poor;
I'd think her richer far,
Than kings with all their ſtore.

Song. From the Warrior's Return, and other Poems. By Mrs. Opie.

I AM wearing away like the ſnow in the ſun,
I am wearing away from the pain in my heart;
But ne'er ſhall he know, who my peace has undone,
How bitter, how laſting, how deep is my ſmart.

I know he would pity—ſo kind is his ſoul,
To him my affliction would agony be;
But never, while I can my feelings control,
The youth whom I love ſhall know ſorrow through me.

Though longing to weep, in his preſence I'll ſmile,
Call the fluſh on my cheek the pure crimſon of health;
His fears for my peace by my ſong I'll beguile,
Nor venture to gaze on his eyes but by ſtealth.

For conſcious I am, by my glance is expreſt
The paſſion that faithful as hopeleſs will be,
And he, whom, alas! I can ne'er render bleſt,
Shall never, no never, know ſorrow through me.

The Otaheitan Mourner.

[Peggy Stewart was the daughter of an Otaheitan Chief, and married to one of the Mutineers of the Bounty. On Stewart's being ſeized and carried away in the Pandora Frigate, Peggy fell into a rapid decay, and in two months died of a broken heart, leaving an infant daughter, who is ſtill living.]

From the Monthly Magazine.

FROM the iſle of the diſtant ocean
My white love came to me;
I led the weary ſtranger
Beneath the ſpreading tree.

With

With white and yellow bloſſoms
I ſtrew'd his pillow there;
And watch'd his boſom's heaving,
So gentle and ſo fair.

Before I knew his language,
Or he could talk in mine,
We vow'd to love each other,
And never to reſign.
O then 'twas lovely watching
The ſparkling of his eyes:
And learn the white man's greeting,
And anſwer all his ſighs.

I taught my conſtant white love
To play upon the wave,
To turn the ſtorm to pleaſure,
And the curling ſurge to brave.
How pleaſant was our ſporting,
Like dolphins on the tide;
To dive beneath the billow,
Or the rolling ſurf to ride.

To ſummer groves I led him,
Where fruit hangs in the ſun;
We linger'd by the fountains,
That murmur as they run.
By the verdant iſlands ſailing,
Where the creſted ſea-birds go;
We heard the daſh of the diſtant ſpray,
And ſaw through the deeps the ſunbeams play,
In the coral bowers below.

And when my lover, weary,
To our woodland couch would creep,
I ſang the ſong that pleas'd him,
And crown'd his lids with ſleep.
My kindred much would wonder,
The white man's love to ſee;
And Otaheitan maidens
Would often envy me.

Yet when my white love's forehead
Would ſadden with deſpair,
I knew not why the cold drops
Should ſtart and quiver there.
I knew not why in ſlumber
His heart ſhould tremble ſo;
Or lock'd in love's embraces,
How doubt and fear could grow.

'Till

'Till o'er the bounding billow
The angry chieftains came;
They ſeiz'd my wretched lover,
They mock'd my anguiſh'd claim.
In iron bands they bound him,
I flew his fate to ſhare;
They tore him from my claſping,
And threw me to deſpair.

Are white men unrelenting,
So far to croſs the ſea;
Their chieftain's wrongs revenging,
To tear my love from me?
Are Otaheitan boſoms
No refuge for the brave;
Can exile nor repentance
A wretched lover ſave?

No more the Heiva's dancing,
My mournful ſteps will ſuit;
As when to the torch-light glancing,
And beating to the flute.
No more my braided treſſes
With ſmiling flowers ſhall bloom;
Nor bloſſom rich in beauty
Shall lend its ſweet perfume.

All by the ſounding ocean
I ſit me down and mourn,
In hopes his chiefs may pardon him,
And ſpeed my love's return.
Can he forget his Peggy,
That ſooth'd his cares to reſt?
Can he forget the baby,
That ſmiles upon her breaſt?

I wiſh the fearful warning
Would bind my woes in ſleep!
And I were a little bird to chaſe
My lover o'er the deep!
Or if my wounded ſpirit
In the death-canoe would rove,
I'd bribe the wind and pitying wave,
To ſpeed me to my love!

Birmingham. P. M. JAMES.

Sonnet

Sonnet from the Sicilian of Meli.

From Iſabel: with other Poems and Tranſlations. By Robert Walpole, Eſq. B.A.

YE ſhadowy forms! Night's offspring! ye that breathe
Your darkening horrors round theſe foreſts deep,
And in theſe caves your ſilent dwelling keep,
O that I here amidſt your glooms might breathe
The expiring ſigh!—and when the guilty maid
Shall wonder where my lowly tomb is laid,
O ſay that here "life's fitful fever o'er,"
He, whom her ſcorn hath kill'd, now finds repoſe.
Haply acroſs her cheek ſome tear may ſteal,
Yet deem not that the tear from pity flows,
For pity ſure that breaſt can never feel:
Her eyes will weep, becauſe there lives no more
One who for her with hopeleſs flames will burn,
And mourn with fruitleſs ſighs, and love without return.

ACCOUNT

Account of Books for 1808.

Letters from a late eminent Prelate to one of his Friends. 4to.

ASTRONOMERS tell us that, at various periods, new ſtars have ſuddenly appeared, ſhone for awhile with luſtre ſurpaſſing that of ſimilar heavenly bodies, and, finally, either vaniſhed, or remained permanent with a diminiſhed ſplendour. Something which much reſembles this, not unfrequently takes place in the world of literature. Men who have, for a time, dazzled all eyes, and eclipſed all their contemporaries, are rapidly ſhorn of their beams, and become mere twinkling points, which ſcarcely attract the careleſs eye. Of this change, the once-dreaded and lordly Warburton affords an undoubted proof. Though he has not, indeed, loſt all his original brightneſs, he holds a very ſubordinate ſtation to that which he once occupied. This has not ariſen from his want of commanding talent, but, as it ſeems to us, mainly from the nature of the ſubjects on which his talents were exerted. The hiſtorian, the philoſopher, the moraliſt, the dramatiſt, appeal to permanent feelings; they ſpeak to all ages; but the theoriſt and the controverſialiſt cannot hope for an enduring fame, becauſe they appeal only to paſſions, intenſe, perhaps, while they laſt, but neceſſarily brief in their duration. Nothing excites a more powerful intereſt than ſtrenuous controverſy, or brilliant theory; nothing is ſo ſpeedily conſigned to oblivion. The diſputes, the theories, the paradoxes of yeſterday, are obliterated by thoſe of to-day, which, in their turn, will be obliterated by thoſe of to-morrow. Men purſue theſe things with the ſame ardour with which children purſue butterflies, and with the ſame fickleneſs: they quit the old object whenever their path is croſſed by a new one.

Of Warburton a character has been drawn by Dr. Johnſon, which is felicitous in expreſſion, and approaches to correctneſs. "Warburton," ſays he, "was a man of vigorous faculties; a mind fervid and vehement; ſupplied by inceſſant and unlimited enquiry, with wonderful extent and variety of knowledge, which yet had not oppreſſed his imagination, nor clouded his perſpicacity. To every work, he brought a memory full fraught; together with a fancy, fertile of original combinations; and at once exerted the powers of the ſcholar, the

the reaſoner, and the wit. But his knowledge was too multifarious to be always exact, and his purſuits too eager to be always cautious. His abilities gave him a haughty confidence, which he diſdained to conceal or mollify; and his impatience of oppoſition diſpoſed him to treat his adverſaries with ſuch contemptuous ſuperiority, as made his readers commonly his enemies; and excited againſt the advocate, the wiſhes of ſome who favoured the cauſe. He ſeems to have adopted the Roman emperor's determination, *oderint dum metuant;* he uſed no allurements of gentle language, but wiſhed to compel, rather than perſuade. His ſtyle is copious without ſelection, and forcible without neatneſs: he took the words that preſented themſelves; his diction is coarſe and impure, and his ſentences are unmeaſured."

In this character, ample juſtice is done to all that was praiſe-worthy in Warburton, and his demerits are touched with a gentle hand. It is ſimilar to one of thoſe portraits, which preſerve the likeneſs of an ugly perſon, yet ſoften down the deformity. The confidence, not to ſay the vanity, of Warburton, was unbounded. He appears to have thought, that it was impoſſible to diſſent from his opinions, without being either a knave or a fool. He could bear no rival near his throne. His antagoniſts, however amiable or learned they might be, he treated with an arrogant and even brutal aſperity and contemptuouſneſs, which now excite unqualified diſguſt. It was not enough for him to conquer his foes; he muſt likewiſe gratify himſelf by trampling on and ſpurning them. His triumphs, however, were more often imaginary than real; and he was frequently wounded by the ſhafts of thoſe whom he affected to deſpiſe.

This volume of letters was left for publication, by his devoted friend and correſpondent, biſhop Hurd, who directed that the profits ariſing from the ſale of them ſhould be applied to the benefit of the Worceſter Infirmary. They undoubtedly diſplay enough of learning, ſound ſenſe, obſervation, and intellectual power, to give them a fair claim on the public attention. It is, however, not probable, that they will ever become popular. There is in them none of that overflow of heart, that careleſs grace, that elegant ſportiveneſs, that almoſt unconſcious delineation of manners and character, which makes the peruſal of ſome familiar epiſtles ſo delightful an employment. The ſtyle is vigorous, but plain; the wit, ſometimes pungent, is generally coarſe. Theſe Letters are likewiſe blurred by the ſame rancour that diſgraces the other compoſitions of their author. With the exception of his correſpondent, and his correſpondent's works, he abſolutely runs a muck at almoſt all he meets. To his friend, indeed, he deals out ſuch a profuſion of compliment as is nauſeating; while his friend returns his compliments with equal profuſion, and writes in a tone of obſequiouſneſs which approaches to ſervility.

Under the head of "Miſcellaneous Eſſays," we have made ſeveral extracts from this volume. We ſhall now ſelect ſuch other parts as are calculated to give pleaſure to our readers.

On

On the proper mode of ſtudying the Bible, the biſhop thus writes to Dr. Hurd*: "You rejoice me much in what you tell me of your purpoſe to ſet upon a thorough ſtudy of the Bible. For it is ſuch as you, who muſt do what is wanting, and ſo much wanting, to the better underſtanding of it. And you have, beſides your greater parts, all the previous knowledge required to ſtudy it to purpoſe; I mean, a complete knowledge of profane antiquity, and of the ſcience of ethics, both private and public: of the latter of which branches, the moſt conſiderable part for this purpoſe is the ſtudy of laws. Of which, under its theologic conſideration (to mention it by the way) I know of nothing ſo complete and maſterly as the firſt book of Hooker's "Eccleſiaſtical Polity." I wiſh I was better able than I am to give you my thoughts of the method to be purſued in this ſtudy. But you may ſerve yourſelf of the following hints.

"I think you ſhould begin with thoſe two great maſter-pieces of erudition, Morinus's "Exercitations," and Capellus's "Critica Sacra," in the order I name them: I need not ſay in the beſt editions. You will ſee, by this recommendation, of what party I am with regard to the authentic text; being perſuaded, that, had it not been for the Septuagint, the Hebrew Bible would have been as unintelligible as any cypher is without its key, by which nothing could be learned; or rather, ſince the invention of the Hebrew points, a complete noſe of wax, to be turned every way, and made ſay every thing. Which partly ariſes from the beggarly ſcantineſs of the language, partly becauſe no more remains of the tongue than is contained in one ſingle book of no great bigneſs, but principally from there having been no vowel points affixed till many ages after it was become a dead language. This impenetrable darkneſs was a fit ſcene for myſteries; and out of this they roſe in abundance: firſt by the cultivation of cabaliſtic Jews of old, in theſe latter times by Cocceius in Holland, and by Hutchinſon amongſt us; which now is growing into a faſhionable madneſs. On which account I have thought it not amiſs to plan out a diſſertation in the laſt volume of the Divine Legation, to ſhew that this myſtery in Hebrew roots is foreign to the genius of the tongue, which has an entire conformity to other barbarous languages—to the nature of Moſes's diſpenſation—to the nature of the religions of thoſe times—to the end of God's diſpenſations—no foundation in the reaſon and nature of things—and is expreſsly confuted by many expreſs aſſertions of Chriſt and his apoſtles. To give you only a ſample of the laſt. The Hutchinſonians pretend, that the reaſon of all the inſtitutions in the Moſaic law, is to be found out in the myſteries of the Hebrew roots: in conſequence of which they exclaim againſt thoſe as moſt impious who affirm any thing in the law was inſtituted in compliance to the people's infirmities. And yet Jeſus in a capital point, that of polygamy, ſays it was indulged to the Jews for the hardneſs of their hearts. Again,

* Letter xxv.

the

the Hutchinſonians ſay, that the very vitality of all revealed religion is lodged in theſe myſteries: and yet St. Paul ſays, ſpeaking of the old law, that the *letter killeth*. —But I have rambled from my ſubject.

"When you have read Morinus and Capellus, I ſhould think it would be worth your while to peruſe P. Simon's "Critical Hiſtory of the Old Teſtament;" then Le Clerc's "Sentiments of the Divines of Holland;" Simon's Anſwer to it; Le Clerc's "Defence of the Sentiments;" and Simon's Reply to that. After this I ſhould adviſe you to read Maimonides's famous book, called "Ductor Dubitantium." It contains the method of the moſt learned and the wiſeſt Jew that ever was for interpreting Scripture: the laſt part of which work, you will find, is the groundwork of Spencer's admirable book, "De Legibus Hebræorum," with which you may conclude your previous reading. And then begin with the Bible, the Polyglott, and the "Sacred Critics," as they are called, always before you. This is a collection of many excellent critical commentators on the text, among which Grotius may be found entire. Beſides theſe, I know no modern critic you will want to ſee, except it be Le Clerc. And of all the ancient commentators you need be little ſolicitous, except it be of St. Jerom, who has many excellent things; and is the only father that can be called a critic on the ſacred writings, or who has followed a juſt or reaſonable method of criticiſing. You perceive what I have ſaid relates only to the Old Teſtament, and is enough, I preſume, at preſent."

Dr. Hurd, at one period, having turned his attention to the writers on the hiſtory of the civil wars, in the reign of Charles the Firſt, Warburton makes ſome juſt and ſenſible obſervations on thoſe writers *.

"As to the hiſtory of the Long Parliament," ſays he, "the principal authors are, "May's Hiſtory of the Parliament," which only reaches to the time of the *ſelf-denying ordinance*, Clarendon, Whitlocke, Ludlow, Ruſhworth's Collections, and Walker's Hiſtory of Independency. The firſt is an extraordinary perſormance, little known; written with great temper, good ſenſe, and ſpirit; has the qualities of a regular compoſition, which neither Ludlow nor Whitlock have; the firſt of whom is a mad republican, the other, a low-ſpirited lawyer."

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"I forgot whether I mentioned in my laſt, Walker's Hiſtory of Independency. It is written in a rambling way, and with a vindictive preſbyterian ſpirit, full of bitterneſs; but it gives you an admirable idea of the character of the times, parties, and perſons. There is little or nothing in that enormous collection of Thurloe worth notice. Ruſhworth is full of curioſities; Nalſon is worth turning over. Whitlocke, that has been ſo much cried up, is a meagre diary, wrote by a poor-ſpirited, ſelf-intereſted, and ſelf-conceited lawyer of eminence; but full of facts. In May's admirable Hiſtory, you have, as I

* Letters lvi. lviii. lix. xci.

told

told you, the hiſtory of the Parliament while the Preſbyterians continued uppermoſt. If you would know the facts of Fairfax and his independent army, till the reduction of Oxford and the king, you will find them in Sprigge's *Anglia Rediviva*. But you muſt not expect to find in this parliament hiſtorian, the moderation, ſenſe, and compoſition of the other. But it is worth reading. And Walker tells us, it was not Fairfax's chaplain, Sprigge, but colonel Fiennes, who compoſed it. There is, at the end, a curious liſt of all Oliver's commanders, even to the ſubalterns."

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"In ſtudying this period, the moſt important, the moſt wonderful in all hiſtory, I ſuppoſe you will make lord Clarendon's incomparable performance your groundwork. I think it will be underſtood to advantage, by reading, as an introduction to it, Rapin's Reign of James I. and the firſt 14 years of Charles I.

"After this will follow Whitlock's Memoirs. It is only a journal or diary, very ample, and full of important matters. The writer was learned in his own profeſſion; thought largely in religion, by the advantage of his friendſhip with Selden: for the reſt, he is vain and pedantic; and, on the whole, a little genius.

"Ludlow's Memoirs, as to its compoſition, is below criticiſm; as to the matter, curious enough. With what ſpirit written, you may judge by his character, which was that of a furious, mad, but, I think, apparently honeſt, republican and independent.

May's Hiſtory of the Parliament is a juſt compoſition, according to the rules of hiſtory. It is written with much judgment, penetration, manlineſs, and ſpirit; and with a candour that will greatly increaſe your eſteem, when you underſtand that he wrote by order of his maſters, the Parliament. It breaks off (much to the loſs of the hiſtory of that time) juſt when their armies were new modelled by the *ſelf-denying ordinance*. This loſs was attempted to be ſupplied by

"Sprigge's Hiſtory of Fairfax's Exploits—*non paſſibus æquis*. He was chaplain to the general. Is not altogether devoid of *May's* candour, though he has little of his ſpirit. Walker ſays, it was written by the famous colonel Fiennes, though under Sprigge's name. It is altogether a military hiſtory, as the following one of Walker, called The Hiſtory of Independency, is a civil one; or rather of the nature of a political pamphlet againſt the Independents. It is full of curious anecdotes; though written with much fury, by a wrathful preſbyterian member, who was caſt out of the ſaddle with the reſt, by the Independents.

"Milton was even with him, in the fine and ſevere character he draws of the Preſbyterian adminiſtration, which you will find in the beginning of one of his books of the Hiſtory of England, in the late uncaſtrated editions. In the courſe of the ſtudy of theſe writers, you will have perpetual occaſion to verify or refute what they deliver, by turning over the authentic pieces in Nalſon's, and eſpecially Ruſhworth's, voluminous collections, which are vaſtly curious and valuable.

"The *Elenchus Motuum* of

Bates, and Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs may be worth reading. Nor muſt that ſtrange thing of Hobbes be forgot, called "The Hiſtory of the Civil Wars:" it is in dialogue, and full of paradoxes, like all his other writings. More philoſophical, political, or any thing rather than hiſtorical, yet full of ſhrewd obſervations. When you have digeſted the hiſtory of this period, you will find in Thurlow's large collection many letters that will let you thoroughly into the genius of thoſe perſons and times."

His contraſt of the character and conduct of Maynard and that of Whitlock, the author of the Memoirs, is drawn with ſpirit and diſcrimination. "As to old Maynard," ſays he, "perhaps you may underſtand him beſt by compariſon. He and Whitlock were both lawyers of family, and in the Long Parliament; both of the Preſbyterian faction; both learned and eminent in their profeſſion; moderate, ſage, and ſteady. So far they agreed. In this they differed; Maynard had ſtrong parts, with a ſerious modeſty; Whitlock was weak and vain; and, by theſe defects only, more ſelf-intereſted. A ſenſe of honour made Maynard ſtick to the Preſbyterian faction, and to fall *with* them; but as he had much phlegm and caution, not like Hollis and Stapleton, to fall *for* them. So that he was never marked out by the Independents for their firſt ſacrifices. On the contrary, Whitlock forſook his party in diſtreſs; but, as he had the other's moderation, it was by ſlow and gentle degrees; and ſo, as it happened, decently. But his weakneſs and vanity, which expoſed him to the groſs flattery of the Independent leaders, had at leaſt an equal ſhare in this with his ſelfiſhneſs, which made him follow their power. From this time, he was with every party that was uppermoſt; ſo that by the time the king came in, he was grown ſo contemptible, rather than obnoxious (for he never abuſed his intereſt) that he was only fit to be forgot; though he had had the early friendſhip of Hyde. While Maynard, by adhering ſteadily, but not violently, to the party he ſet out with, was reverenced by all; and had he not been more intent on the affairs of his profeſſion, than on public buſineſs, might have become conſiderable by ſtation. He went through the whole reign of Charles and James II. with the ſame ſteady pace, and the ſame adherence to his party: but by his party I rather mean Preſbytery for the ſake of civil liberty, than to civil liberty for the ſake of Preſbytery. He lived, you know, to ſee the Revolution, and made that fine reply to the Prince of Orange's compliment."

We ſhall cloſe this article with a few ſtriking obſervations, anecdotes, and characters, ſelected from different parts of the volume.

"You aſk about the Prebendary of Rocheſter. Browne (the pipe of Tobacco Browne) wrote a lampoon on Lord Granville, called "The Fire Side." To add the more poignancy to his ſatire, he, in the wantonneſs of his ſpleen, conceived a deſign that Upton ſhould write notes upon it. He knew him to be dull enough not to ſee the drift of the lampoon, and vain enough to think himſelf honoured

honoured by the requeſt; ſo he got him to his chambers, and perſuaded him to write what indeed he himſelf in part dictated to him. In this condition the lampoon was printed, and then Browne told all his acquaintance the joke. I had it not from himſelf, and therefore was at liberty to ſpeak of it. But was it not a charity to caution him againſt a commerce with this ſpecies of wits, whoſe characteriſtic is what Mr. Pope gives of them, of

'A brain of feathers, and a heart of lead.'

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"I am much obliged to you for the notice you are ſo good as to take of young Dick Sutton. He has made his acknowledgments of it to me. He is a charming boy. But Weſtminſter has made his mind a little whimſical. He has an inſatiable thirſt after new languages. Pray check this in him. He wrote me word, the other day, he had a mind to ſtudy Arabic. I aſked him whether the oratory of the writer of Pocock's life had won upon him, who, in an earneſt addreſs to the youth to apply themſelves to this charming language, aſſures them, as the height of their ſolace and conſolation, that it contains twelve millions three hundred and fifty thouſand fifty and two words. I told him, I conſented he ſhould learn the odd *two*, provided he choſe thoſe two which ſignified the *ne plus* of the Latins.

"Were I to be the reformer of Weſtminſter School (with the higheſt reverence be it only whiſpered), I would order that every boy ſhould have impreſſed upon his accidence, in great gold letters, as on the back of the horn-book, that oracle of Hobbes, that '*words are the counters of wiſe men, and the money of fools.*'

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"I believe our friend Browne (the author of the Eſtimate, &c.) has both ſenſe and modeſty enough not to be intoxicated with his ſucceſs. I envy him one quality; and that is, bringing his notions, and his compoſitions, to perfection at a heat; for I believe you will find his ſecond edition *verbatim* the ſame with the firſt. For my own part, I have ſo imperfect an idea of my ſubject, and rough caſt my compoſition ſo looſely, that my works if they eſcape damning, are yet in a ſtate of purgatory; and with ſo much terreſtrial matter about them, that they would take till Plato's great year to purge and purify, had I time, and nothing elſe to do but to attend to them. I believe there are ſome thouſand alterations in the language only, in the ſecond edition of Julian; and the firſt volume of the Divine Legation, now in the preſs, is ſo *tranſmogrified* that you will hardly know it again. Nor is this the effect of modeſty (which would be ſome comfort), but of pride, and the having more reſpect for myſelf than the public; who to give them their due, are not over delicate,—

'Curious, not knowing, not exact, but nice.'

"Beſides, I have often thought, that they eſteem it a kind of inſolence to alter or amend what they have ſtamped with their approbation. On which account, bookſellers, who know mankind, for the general, better than au-

thors, as having long experienced that caprice or accident always regulates the public judgment, would never by their good will have a ſucceſsful book made better in the ſecond edition. For they have often known, and ſo have I too, a very imperfect book cried up in the firſt edition; and when rendered more complete in the ſecond, let fall again as a thing of no notice.

"Mr. Pope uſed to tell me, that when he had any thing better than ordinary to ſay, and yet too bold, he always reſerved it for a ſecond or third edition, and then nobody took any notice of it."

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"As to Byrom's notion of enthuſiaſm, I agree with him in this, that it is fooliſh to confine the paſſion to religion, when it ſpreads through all human life: but I diſagree with him in ſuppoſing an *intenſe application* of the mind to any object, is enthuſiaſm. If I were to define it, I would ſay it is ſuch an irregular exerciſe of it as makes us give a ſtronger aſſent to the *concluſion*, than the evidence of the premiſes will warrant:—then reaſon begins to be betrayed, and then enthuſiaſm properly commences. This ſhows why enthuſiaſm is more frequent in religious matters than in any other; for thoſe intereſts being very momentous, the paſſions bear the greateſt ſway, and reaſon is the leaſt heard!"

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"Your account of your labouring through poor Birch (Life of Tillotſon) made me ſmile. I will aſſure you he has here done his beſt, and topt his part. As to the Archbiſhop, he was certainly a virtuous, pious, humane, and moderate man; which laſt quality was a kind of rarity in thoſe times. His notions of civil ſociety were but confuſed and imperfect, as appears in the affair of Lord Ruſſel. As to religion, he was amongſt the claſs of latitudinarian divines. I admire his preſerving his moderation in all times, more than his refuſing the archbiſhopric at the time of his decay, and after a ſtroke of an apoplexy, and when he had the large revenue of the Deanery of St. Paul's, and when the archiepiſcopal promotion, he knew, would expoſe him to infinite abuſe. But what I admire moſt was, his beneficence and generoſity, and contempt of wealth. But ſee the imperfection of humanity. That moderation, coolneſs, and prudence (which you gueſſed right is held in the higheſt admiration by the perſon you wot of—Tillotſon is indeed his hero); this turn, I ſay, which made him ſo placable an enemy, made him but a cold or indifferent friend; as you may ſee, in part, by that exceedingly ſimple narrative of Beardmore (I uſe ſimple in the beſt ſenſe); for ſo imperfect are we, as I ſay, that the human mind can with difficulty have that warmth of friendſhip kindled in it (which, after all, is what makes a two-legged animal deſerve the name of man), but the ſame heat will prove noxious to others. So that you ſee, if Tillotſon was defective in this, I lay the blame not upon him, but upon corrupt humanity. As a preacher, I ſuppoſe his eſtabliſhed fame is chiefly owing to his being the firſt city-divine who talked rationally and wrote purely. I think the ſermons

mons publiſhed in his life-time are fine moral diſcourſes. They bear indeed the character of their author, ſimple, elegant, candid, clear, and rational. No orator in the Greek and Roman ſenſe of the word, like Taylor: nor a diſcourſer in their ſenſe, like Barrow *; free from their irregularities, but not able to reach their heights. On which account I prefer them infinitely to him. You cannot ſleep with Taylor; you cannot forbear thinking with Barrow. But you may be much at your eaſe in the midſt of a long lecture from Tillotſon; clear, and rational, and equable as he is. Perhaps the laſt quality may account for it."

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"I greatly approve of your deſign of a Dialogue on the effect of *tranſferring ſupremacy in religious matters*. A thouſand curious hints will ariſe to you as you proceed in contemplation of the ſubject. One now, for inſtance, occurs to me. Could any thing be more abſurd than that, when the yoke of Rome was thrown off, they ſhould govern the new church, erected in oppoſition to it, by the laws of the old. The pretence was, that this was only by way of *interim*, till a body of eccleſiaſtical laws could be formed. But whoever conſiders that the *canon laws* proceeded from, and had perpetual reference to, an *abſolute ſpiritual monarch*, and were formed upon the genius, and did acknowledge the authority of the *civil laws*, the iſſue of *civil deſpotiſm*—I ſay, whoever conſiders this, will be inclined to think that the Crown contrived this *interim*, from the uſe the canon law was of to the extenſion of the Prerogative. However, it is certain that the ſucceeding monarchs, Elizabeth, James, Charles, prevented our ever having a body of new eccleſiaſtical laws, from a ſenſe of this utility in the old ones; and a conſciouſneſs, if ever they ſhould ſubmit a body of new laws to the legiſlature, the Parliament would form them altogether upon the genius of a free church and ſtate. This I take to be a true ſolution of this myſterious affair, that wears a face of ſo much abſurdity and ſcandalous neglect."

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"Pray when you ſee our friend, tell him that poor Griſt, the politician, is juſt dead; and that the laſt queſtion he aſked was, —*Is the fleet yet ſailed?* Mr. Allen will have a great loſs, not in his apothecary, but in that beſt phyſic he was perpetually adminiſtering to him, mirth and laughter."

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"A ridiculous accident happened not long ago, which is likely to prove a ſerious one to the party concerned. Lady Betty Waldegrave, one of the ladies of the bed-

* In another letter to me, not contained in this collection, Mr. Warburton expreſſes his ſentiments of theſe two eminent perſons in the following manner:—"Taylor and Barrow are incomparably the greateſt preachers and divines of their age. But my predilection is for Taylor. He has all the abundance and ſolidity of the other, with a ray of lightening of his own, which if he did not derive it from Demoſthenes and Tully, has at leaſt as generous and noble an original. It is true, they are both *incompti*, or rather exuberant. But it is for ſuch little writers as the preacher of Lincoln's Inn (himſelf) to hide their barrenneſs by the finical neſs of culture. H.

bed-chamber, wrote to her husband in Germany, in a very free manner, of all the intrigues of courts and parties, in which Mr. Pitt is mentioned more to his honour than certain persons cared to hear. By ill luck, the dispatches, in which was this letter, were intercepted. It was signed only E. W. and the direction lost. The French mistook it for a letter of the Countess of Yarmouth, and as such, published, and cried it about at the Hague. You may judge what alarm this gave at court; and what apprehensions and uneasiness to the party concerned."

* * * *

"All you say of Malbranche is strictly true; he is an admirable writer. There is something very different in the fortune of Malbranche and Locke. When Malbranche first appeared, it was with a general applause and admiration; when Locke first published his Essay, he had hardly a single approver. Now Locke is universal, and Malbranche sunk into obscurity. All this may be easily accounted for. The intrinsic merit of either was out of the question. But Malbranche supported his first appearance on a philosophy in the highest vogue; that philosophy has been overturned by the Newtonian, and Malbranche has fallen with his master. It was to no purpose to tell the world that Malbranche could stand without him. The public never examines so narrowly. Not but that there was another cause, sufficient to do the business, and that is his debasing his noble work with his system of *seeing all things in God*. When this happens to a great author, one half of his readers out of folly, the other out of malice, dwell only on the unsound part, and forget the other, or use all their arts to have it forgotten.

"This has been the very fate of Baxter. His noble demonstration has been neglected, because he wrote of *dreaming*.

"But the sage Locke supported himself by no system on the one hand, nor on the other, did he dishonour himself by any whimsies; the consequence of which was, that, neither following the fashion, nor striking the imagination, he at first had neither followers nor admirers: but being every where clear, and every where solid, he at length worked his way; and afterwards was subject to no reverses. He was not affected by the new fashions in philosophy, who leaned upon none of the old: nor did he afford ground for the after-attacks of envy and folly by any fanciful hypotheses; which, when grown stale, are the most nauseous of all things."

* * * *

"Nichols, Potter, and T. Wilson, of Westminster, preaching one after another, bedaubed the new king, who, as Lord Mansfield tells me, expressed his offence publicly, by saying, that he came to chapel to hear the praises of God, and not his own. There will be some remove of chaplains; if he should turn out these three, it would give a general satisfaction."

* * * *

"You say true, I have a tenderness in my temper which will make me miss poor Stukeley; for, not to say, that he was one of my oldest acquaintance, there was in him such a mixture of simplicity, drollery,

drollery, abſurdity, ingenuity, ſuperſtition, and antiquarianiſm, that he often afforded me that kind of well-ſeaſoned repaſt, which the French call an *ambigu*, I ſuppoſe, from a compound of things never meant to meet together. I have often heard him laughed at by fools, who had neither his ſenſe, his knowledge, nor his honeſty; though it muſt be confeſſed, that in him they were all ſtrangely traveſtied. Not a week before his death he walked from Bloomſbury to Groſvenor Square to pay me a viſit: was cheerful as uſual, and as full of literary projects. But his buſineſs was (as he heard Geekie was not likely to continue long) to deſire I would give him the earlieſt notice of his death, for that he intended to ſolicit for his Prebend of Canterbury, by Lord Chancellor and Lord Cardigan. 'For,' added he, 'one never dies the ſooner, you know, for ſeeking preferment.'

* * * *

"Wherever Nature has ſown her coxcomb ſeeds, whether at court or in the country, they will ſpring up; and the man in the world, and the man out of the world, who was born with them, will be coxcombs alike, though coxcombs of a very different ſpecies. However, this maxim is verified in all, which I think I once laid down to you, in applying it to ——; *that Nature never yet put one grain of gratitude or generoſity into the compoſition of a coxcomb.*"

The numerous extracts which we have given will more than ſuffice to ſhow the talent of the writer. A peruſal of the volume will afford ample proof that his ſpirit of rancorous hoſtility againſt his literary contemporaries was at leaſt equal to his learning and his genius.

Account of the Life and Writings of James Bruce, of Kinnaird, Eſq. F. R. S. By Alexander Murray, F. A. S. E. 4to.

To the merit of Bruce, entire juſtice has even yet been ſcarcely rendered by his countrymen. In too many perſons, whoſe education and rank in ſociety ought to inſpire them with better feelings, there is a low ſpirit of envy, which prompts them to depreciate, or to diſbelieve the exiſtence of actions, which they have not themſelves the courage and intelligence to perform. Some, alſo, have an intellect too narrow to comprehend any thing beyond their ordinary ſphere of obſervation; others have a weak dread of being thought credulous, if they yield their belief to extraordinary facts; and many conſider the diſplay of an abſurd ſcepticiſm as a proof of their ſuperior acuteneſs in avoiding the ſeductions of error and falſehood. Accordingly, when the travels of Bruce were firſt publiſhed, it was denied that he had ever viſited the countries which he deſcribes. The ſources whence he was ſaid to have pillaged his deſcriptions were boldly referred to, as irrefragable evidence that his pretenſions were groundleſs. At length, however, the deciſive teſtimony of Sir William Jones, and others, eſtabliſhed, beyond the poſſibility of diſpute, that he had actually reſided, and been held in eſteem, at the court of Abyſſinia.

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It having become impoſſible to deny that he had penetrated into Abyſſinia, it was next triumphantly aſſerted, that he had not ſeen the genuine head of the Nile. The real Nile, it was ſaid, is the Bahar el Abiad, and he had only reached the head of the Bahar el Aſrak, which is a river of inferior ſize to the Bahar el Abiad; and can, therefore, have no claim to be conſidered as the Nile. But this is merely a cavil, and one of the moſt futile kind. Though the Bahar el Abiad is the largeſt of the two ſtreams, yet there is indubitable proof that it loſes its name after its junction with the Bahar el Aſrak, which thenceforth gives name to the united waters. On this head, the natives of the ſurrounding provinces are uniformly on the ſide of Bruce. Nor is it at all an unuſual occurrence for the ſmaller of two ſtreams to impoſe its name on the whole. Many inſtances might be mentioned; but two will ſuffice. In Scotland, the Firth and the Forth are confluent; and the former, though it has the advantage in ſize, loſes its denomination in the latter. Within a few miles of our metropolis, the Colne, which is an abſolutely inſignificant brook, extinguiſhes the name of the Verlam, which is a ſtream of far ſuperior magnitude. In general, it is directneſs of courſe, which confers the privilege of naming.

Theſe points having failed, objections have been raiſed to ſome parts of Bruce's narrative. It does not, however, appear, that any diſcordancy or erroneous aſſertion is to be found, which may not eaſily be accounted for, on the very natural ſuppoſition that he ſometimes truſted to memory, and was thus involuntarily miſled as to places and dates. His obſtinate ſilence when attacked, afforded, indeed, ſome handle to his enemies to infer his inability to defend his veracity. But the ſilence of Bruce was the ſilence of pride, not of guilt. He believed that his exertions and diſcoveries deſerved the praiſe of his countrymen; he looked on his accuſers as being at once ignorant and malignant; and he could not ſtoop to plead at the tribunal of thoſe whom his haughty ſpirit deſpiſed.

He might well deſpiſe ſome of thoſe who aimed their ſhafts at his fame. Nor are ſome of his more recent adverſaries entitled to a larger ſhare of reſpect. In a review of the work which is now under our conſideration, one of theſe ſapient critics exclaims, "What a difference in point of both amuſement and inſtruction, between Mr. Bruce's Travels to diſcover the Source of the Nile, and the voyages of Ulyſſes in the Mediterranean!" It would not have been more ridiculous had this well-informed critic contraſted the travels of Bruce, with the amuſing, though ſcantily inſtructive, voyages of Sinbad the ſailor.

It is, however, leſs from critics, than from wits and ſatiriſts, that Bruce has ſuſtained injury. Thoſe circumſtances in his narrative, and there are many of them, which admit of being placed in a ludicrous point of view, were converted into arms againſt him; a laugh was raiſed; and he who becomes the object of laughter muſt wait till the feelings of riſibility are over, before his ſerious claims can obtain an effectual or a willing hearing. Jeſts and epigrams have, however, no

no enduring influence. Time finally enables truth and reaſon to aſſert their rights; and thus will at length give to Bruce the reputation which he deſerves.

No man, it has been juſtly remarked, was ever better calculated than Bruce for the perfect performance of the taſk which he undertook. Tall in ſtature, dignified in appearance, robuſt in frame, ſkilful in all manly accompliſhments, he was at the ſame time not leſs mentally than corporeally gifted; he was brave, prudent, full of preſence of mind and reſources, and had the happy talent of accommodating himſelf to all claſſes of ſociety, without making any ſacrifice of that defenſive and honourable pride, which is the firmeſt ſafeguard of character.

What has been done, by Mr. Murray, in the volume before us, it will not be amiſs to ſtate in his own words. "The following account," ſays he, "of the life and writings of Mr. Bruce, was prefixed to the ſecond edition of his Travels, publiſhed in 1805. It is now reprinted in the quarto form, with conſiderable additions and emendations, for the uſe of thoſe who poſſeſs only the firſt edition of his work, or may deſire to know ſomething of the perſonal hiſtory of a man, who obtained celebrity by expoſing his life for the particular advancement of uſeful knowledge. As no European, however adventurous, has hitherto, during a period of thirty years, traced his ſteps, or penetrated into Abyſſinia, the value of the information contained in his work muſt remain undiminiſhed, until ſome fortunate accident open that country to the reſt of the world, and the public owe to circumſtances not to be foreſeen, what has been denied to ſcientific curioſity.

"The merits of Mr. Bruce's work may now be conſidered as ſufficiently well known, but they can be eſtimated in detail only by the light of future diſcovery. Its imperfections muſt be finally aſcertained from the ſame ſource; but when criticiſm and envy have both exhauſted their ſeverity, the author will occupy a place far above the ordinary deſcription of travellers.

"The appendix to this volume conſiſts partly of a ſelection from Mr. Bruce's correſpondence with a variety of perſons, eminent in literature, and in public life. Some letters have been admitted, not on account of their intrinſic value, but becauſe they contain additional notices and illuſtrations; others have been inſerted, as characteriſtic of their authors. Thoſe written from Algiers, particularly, diſplay the indignant ſpirit with which Mr. Bruce was accuſtomed to reſent every attack on the honour, the privileges, and welfare, of his country.

"The notices of the Ethiopic MSS. will, it is hoped, be acceptable to ſuch as intend to examine Abyſſinian hiſtory, or the ſources from which Mr. Bruce extracted his account of it. The deſcription of the Abyſſinian cuſtoms and provinces, however imperfect, has not been compiled without more labour than it may be altogether prudent to confeſs. An ordinary acquaintance with oriental literature, is, in this country, ſeldom reckoned either uſeful or profitable. The ſtudy of the Ethiopic and Amharic, may therefore poſſibly be judged ſuch a miſapplication of time, as ought to

be

be corrected by more than negative diſcouragement.

" In No. XLVI. Part I. the reader will find an abſtract of the tranſactions in Abyſſinia immediately preceding Mr. Bruce's entry; of the hiſtory of Ras Michael, a leading character in the Travels, compiled from Ethiopic MSS.; and likewiſe an extract from Mr. Bruce's Journal, written at Gondar, in March, 1770, containing an account of his own reception and firſt occupation at court. Theſe are followed by the moſt important parts of his Journals, in Italian and Engliſh, relating to his journey into Agow-midre to viſit the ſources of the river.

" In the ſame number, Parts II. and III. is arranged all the miſcellaneous information concerning Habbeſh, Atbara, and Sennaar, which could be found amongſt Mr. Bruce's papers. It is hoped that this will ſupply the want of minute explanatory notices in ſome parts of his work; in many inſtances confirm the reports of other travellers; and ſhew, that his inquiries reſpecting the interior of Africa were extenſive and indefatigable.

" The additions made to the articles of natural hiſtory, in the edition of 1805, are reprinted here in No. XLVIII. The obſervations of longitudes and latitudes are likewiſe inſerted in the number ſucceeding.

" The ſpecimens of the Abyſſinian languages contained in Volume I. of Mr. Bruce's own edition, and engraved in a more correct ſtate for that of 1805, are annexed to this account of his life, along with the vocabularies extracted from a MS. compiled for him at Gondar. Theſe may probably be of conſiderable uſe to future travellers: and it is evident, that, if a diſtinct claſſification of the African tribes be ever attempted, it muſt be formed chiefly from their languages, the only permanent monuments of nations that have no written records. But until the civilized part of the world make a better uſe of its ſcience than to employ it in abetting private vices, and in defending public crimes, it will not benefit the cauſe of humanity to reveal to the unprincipled factions of the north, inveterate evils, which they are more willing to know than to remove.

" In the courſe of the ſubſequent narrative, it has not been mentioned that Mr. Bruce was a member of various literary academies, both in France and Italy, particularly of Bologna and Marſeilles. He was elected a member of the Royal Society ſoon after his arrival from Abyſſinia, and contributed ſome memoirs, which were firſt inſerted in its Tranſactions, but afterwards printed in his own work."

Mr. Murray has executed his labour with fidelity, and in a praiſeworthy ſtyle. From the materials which he has furniſhed, we ſhall preſent our readers with a brief ſketch of the life of Mr. Bruce.

James Bruce, deſcended by both parents, from an ancient and honourable family, was the ſecond child of David Bruce and Marion Graham, and was born at the family reſidence of Kinnaird, in the county of Stirling, on the 14th of December, 1730. His mother died when he was yet an infant. By a ſecond marriage, with Miſs Glen, his father had ſix ſons and two daughters.

daughters. In his early years, Bruce had none of that ſtrength, which he ſubſequently poſſeſſed. He was of delicate health, and ſubject to frequent pains in the breaſt, which threatened to prove as fatal to him, as they had done to his mother and ſiſter. Nor was it till his arrival at manhood, and after ſeveral ſevere attacks of illneſs, that his conſtitution acquired that vigour, which, at a later period, enabled him to endure the numerous toils of his foreign journies. At the age of eight years, about the end of 1738, he was ſent to Harrow ſchool, where he made a rapid progreſs in the languages of ancient Greece and Rome. Having remained at Harrow more than ſeven years, he removed to the academy of a Mr. Gordon, where he reſided nearly twelve months, proſecuting his claſſical education, ſtudying French, arithmetic, and geometry, and gaining thoſe lighter accompliſhments which are neceſſary to a gentleman, and which were ſubſequently of not leſs utility to him than his more dignified knowledge.

During this time he frequently heſitated as to the choice of a profeſſion. He at firſt leaned to the ſtudy of theology, and was deſirous to become a clergyman of the Engliſh Church. This idea, however, he relinquiſhed, in compliance with the wiſhes of his father; and he then turned his thoughts towards the Scottiſh bar, with the intention of becoming an advocate. It does not, however, appear that his legal ſtudies were entered into with much ardour, or carried to any conſiderable extent. From quotations written by him into "Heineccius's Inſtitutes," it appears that he found more charms in reading the Italian poets, than in poring over the dry writers on local or international law.

It is not wonderful, therefore, that he at length abandoned a purſuit which had ſo few attractions. In the twenty-ſecond year of his age, he viſited London, with the view of petitioning the Court of Directors for leave to ſettle in India, as a free trader, under the patronage of the company. While he was ſoliciting this permiſſion, his circle of acquaintance was daily enlarged; and an event, in conſequence, occurred, which induced him to give up all thoughts of ſeeking occupation and fortune in the torrid regions of Aſia. This was his marriage with Miſs Adriana Allan, the daughter of the widow of an eminent wine merchant. "Her mind," ſays the biographer, "accorded with the beauty of her perſon. She was elegant both in her manners and appearance, and remarkable for a gentle, unaſſuming temper, united with a warm and kind heart." The match was approved of by the parents of both parties; and, as a part of his wife's portion, Mr. Bruce was admitted to participate in the buſineſs, in conjunction with his brother-in-law.

Bruce now took an active ſhare in the concern, and obtained the friendſhip of many perſons of diſtinction. His happineſs, however, was of ſhort duration. In a few months after her marriage, ſymptoms of conſumption appeared in his wife. She was removed to Briſtol, but without producing the deſired effect; and, as a laſt reſource, was adviſed to take up her reſidence in the ſouth of France.

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This advice was given too late. Worn out by diſeaſe, and the fatigue of travelling, Mrs. Bruce expired at Paris, in a week after her arrival at that place. By the kindneſs of lord Albemarle, then Britiſh ambaſſador to the French court, ſhe was protected in her laſt moments from the bigoted perſecution of the prieſts, and her remains obtained, in the burying-ground of the embaſſy, that Chriſtian burial, which would otherwiſe have been denied to them by the fanatical intolerance of the country in which ſhe died. Her huſband ſaw her remains depoſited in the ground, and then, almoſt frantic, in a tempeſtuous night, and in ſpite of the remonſtrances of his friends, he ſet out on horſeback for Boulogne, which he reached on the following day, without having ſtopped on the road. Grief, violent exertion, and want of reſt produced a fever, which detained him there for ſome days; and when he at laſt regained the Engliſh ſhore, it was with depreſſed ſpirits and injured health.

By this event the mind of Bruce had received ſo ſevere a ſhock that he could no longer continue to pay to buſineſs that eager attention which he had hitherto done. Still retaining his ſhare in the trade, he left to his partner the largeſt part in the management, and applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Portugueſe and Spaniſh, and to the acquiring of a perfect knowledge of drawing, and a correct taſte in painting.

It was not, however, merely for the purpoſes of amuſement that he engaged in theſe ſtudies. He was looking forward to "the time when he could travel over the ſouth of Europe in the character of a merchant, with the taſte and ſcience of a ſcholar." In viſiting Spain and Portugal he could at once forward the purſuits of the buſineſs in which he was engaged, and indulge his wiſh to obſerve the manners and the cuſtoms of foreign nations.

In the beginning of July, 1757, he ſailed from Falmouth, and landed at Corunna, on the fifth, whence he proceeded to Oporto, and ſubſequently to Liſbon. His oſtenſible object was, to be preſent at the vintage; his real one was, to make himſelf acquainted with the ſtate of ſociety, art, and ſcience, in the Iberian peninſula. He remained in Portugal till the middle of November, and did not quit the country with any favourable ideas of its inhabitants. After he quitted Portugal, he made a tour in the ſouthern provinces of Spain, and formed the deſign of writing an enquiry into the hiſtory of Spain, during the eight centuries in which it was poſſeſſed by the Arabs. This deſign, however, the difficulty, or rather impoſſibility, of obtaining acceſs to the documents in the Eſcurial compelled him to abandon.

At Madrid he was introduced to Don Ricardo Wall, then Miniſter to his Catholic Majeſty. This miniſter endeavoured, but in vain, to induce Mr. Bruce to enter into the Spaniſh ſervice. From Madrid, Mr. Bruce proceeded to the Pyrenean frontier, and as, notwithſtanding letters from Mr. Wall, he was ſuſpected of travelling in that quarter for improper purpoſes, he was treated with ſeverity and reſerve at St. Sebaſtian. But, in conſequence of letters from France, he was, at length, permitted to enter Bayonne, though his paſſport had

had not arrived, and he was treated with much kindneſs by the Duke d'Aumont, who was the governor of that fortreſs. At Bordeaux, which he next viſited, he ſpent ſeveral months, and then continued his journey through Perigord, the Limoſin, and Alſace, to Straſburg, where he quitted the French territory.

Paſſing down the Rhine, he pauſed awhile at Frankfort, and then purſued his way, by Bonne and Cologne to Bruſſels. He had not, however, been two days in the latter city, before he was involved in a quarrel with a perſon, who had behaved rudely to a young gentleman in his preſence. The aggreſſor challenged him, and received two wounds, one of which was believed to be mortal. In conſequence of this, he quitted Bruſſels directly, but returned on being informed that his antagoniſt was recovering. He ſhortly after departed, to view the ſeat of war between the French and the Allies; and he arrived juſt in time to witneſs the battle of Crevelt." "It was the firſt opportunity which he had had of ſeeing any military operation, and the impreſſion which it made on his mind prompted him to return immediately to Britain; to forſake the peaceful life which he had hitherto led, and to ruſh into adventures more congenial to the ſpirit of his anceſtors."

His preſence at home was now, indeed, rendered neceſſary, by the death of his father. By this event he came into poſſeſſion of a reſpectable inheritance. He reached England in the beginning of July, 1758, but did not for ſome time viſit his native country; his attention being engroſſed by his concerns in the wine trade. When he did viſit Scotland, he engaged in a manufacturing ſpeculation at Carron, which was projected by Dr. Roebuck, was the cauſe of a conſiderable addition to Mr. Bruce's fortune, and had nearly induced him to relinquiſh his deſign of travelling into Africa. It was with the view of travelling in this quarter of the globe that, during this period, he collected the principal works on Oriental literature, entered cloſely into the ſtudy of the Arabic, and examined, in the works of Ludolf, the Ethiopic or Geez.

From the wine buſineſs he entirely withdrew in Auguſt, 1761. He was, therefore, now free to follow the bent of his inclinations. At this moment a war with Spain was anticipated by well-informed perſons. To the active mind of Bruce this ſeemed to afford an opportunity of rendering an eſſential ſervice to his country. In the courſe of his journey through Spain, he had ſtopped a few days at Ferrol, and had obtained a plan of the harbour and works, and much important information. This induced him to draw up and preſent to the miniſtry the project of an attack upon Ferrol. "He added, that in caſe a war with Spain was reſolved on by the Miniſtry, if the king would entruſt him with the command of the forlorn hope, and a pair of colours, he would not deſire the aſſiſtance of another boat except that in which he embarked, till he had planted them with his own hand on the beach at Ferrol." The adoption of this plan, however, was at firſt retarded by an attempt to interweave with it a ſcheme of capturing Bourdeaux, a ſcheme

(a ſcheme which, from his knowledge of the country, Mr. Bruce proteſted againſt as impracticable;) and the whole plan was afterwards relinquiſhed, in conſequence of the reſignation of Mr. Pitt. The ſucceſſors of that great man did, indeed, manifeſt an intention of carrying it into effect, but on the repreſentations of the Portugueſe ambaſſador, they were induced to ſend the troops direct to Portugal, for the defence of that country.

Mr. Bruce, probably chagrined at the failure of his hopes, now reſolved to retire to his own eſtate in Scotland. From this, however, he was diſſuaded by Lord Halifax, who ſuggeſted to him "that the way to riſe in the preſent reign, was by enterprize and diſcovery; and that his Majeſty's love of the arts was a ſure and effectual introduction to patronage." His Lordſhip pointed out Africa to him as an unexplored country; reminded him that Dr. Shaw had ſpoken of magnificent remains of architecture exiſting in the kingdoms of Tunis and Algiers; expreſſed a wiſh that drawings could be made of them for the king's collection; and wound up his ſpeech by telling him, that the conſulſhip of Algiers was vacant, and that if he would accept it, he ſhould be allowed to appoint a vice-conſul to act during his occaſional abſence. As a ſtill further inducement he promiſed that "if he made extenſive excurſions into the country, and large additions to the king's collection, he ſhould be recompenſed with the reward ſtipulated in the affair of Ferrol, or advanced to a higher ſituation in the diplomatic department." Thus encouraged, Mr. Bruce acceded to the propoſals of Lord Halifax.

On the ſubject of Africa, a favourite ſubject with him, Mr. Bruce had ſeveral converſations with Lord Halifax, and with Mr. Wood, then under ſecretary of State. In the courſe of thoſe converſations, it was natural that the Nile ſhould be mentioned. "The fountains of the river of Egypt were ſpoken of as likely to remain wholly unknown to the moderns, unleſs ſome undaunted adventurer ſhould trace it to its origin. Hints were obliquely thrown out, that the diſcovery of theſe 'coy ſources' could not be expected from an ordinary traveller, much leſs from one who had no experience in thoſe difficulties which muſt accompany an enterprize of ſuch magnitude and glory; and it was inſinuated, that, if any Briton ſhould fulfil, in this particular, the wiſhes of every age, he needed not, under ſuch a monarch, and in a period ſo auſpicious to diſcovery and learning, deſpair of a high reward." To a mind like that of Mr. Bruce, the hope of fame which was thus held out was an ample inducement, without adding the hope of reward.

Temporary circumſtances prevented the affair of the conſulſhip from being immediately arranged, and Mr. Bruce availed himſelf of the delay, to pay a viſit to Scotland. At length, in February, 1762, his appointment was announced to him. On this occaſion, he was introduced to his Majeſty, "at whoſe gracious requeſt, it is believed, he promiſed to make, for his princely collection, accurate and complete delineations of all the ruins of ancient

architecture

architecture which he ſhould diſcover in the courſe of his travels."

In order as much as poſſible to combine opportunities of travelling and literary enquiry with the diſcharge of the duties of his office, it was ſettled that he ſhould paſs through France into Italy, in which latter country he ſhould wait the orders of his government for ſailing to Algiers. The pretext for viſiting Italy was, that he would be wanted there to convey a notification of hoſtilities to the grand Maſter of Malta, who had acted in an unfriendly manner towards the Britiſh. It was Mr. Wood, himſelf a promoter and judge of the arts, who procured for his friend the opportunity of reſiding for a few months in Italy.

Mr. Bruce quitted Britain about the end of June, 1762. His paſſport through France was granted, in the moſt liberal manner, by M. de Choiſeul. He reached Turin on the 15th of July, and, having paſſed through Parma and Bologna, arrived at Rome in the beginning of Auguſt. In every place, he was received with the moſt flattering kindneſs, and he omitted nothing by which he could make himſelf acquainted with the ſtate of arts and ſociety in that delightful country. He planned a ſhort diſſertation on the ancient and modern ſtate of Rome, but this he afterwards abandoned. At Florence he ſpent three months, which time he employed in carefully improving himſelf in drawing; and, indeed, it is to the attention which he beſtowed upon this art, during his ſtay in Italy, that the excellent ſtyle and manner of his productions may juſtly be attributed.

No inſtructions had yet been ſent to him. At length, in January, 1763, he was directed to await further orders at Naples; a command which was highly pleaſing to him, as it enabled him to take a view of the ſouth of the Italian peninſula, and alſo to forward a literary project which he had formed. He had already purchaſed ſome drawings, made by a Spaniſh officer, of the ruins of Pæſtum, and had conceived the idea of publiſhing engravings from them, accompanied by a diſſertation on that city. Of this diſſertation, he urged Sir James Grey, our ambaſſador at Naples, to undertake the compoſition; but Sir James declined it, and ſtrongly recommended to him to viſit Pæſtum himſelf, for the purpoſe of verifying or correcting the drawings. Mr. Bruce did ſo, and fully inveſtigated the ſubject of this ruined and almoſt forgotten place. He arranged the materials of his account, engaged Signor Zocchi to compoſe a frontiſpiece to the work, and entruſted the engraving of the drawings to his friend Mr. Strange, who was then in Italy. The work, however, was never publiſhed, and the engravings by Strange are believed to be unfortunately loſt.

At laſt, in the month of February, he was informed, by diſpatches from England, that the buſineſs of Malta was ſettled; and at the ſame time a Britiſh ſhip was ſent to carry him to the place of his appointment. He arrived at Algiers on the 20th of March, 1763, and immediately entered upon the duties of his troubleſome and even dangerous office. With the written Arabic he was already con-

converſant, and, as he was reſolved to make little uſe of an interpreter, he now diligently applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the Arabic language as it is ſpoken in Barbary. For ſome months after his arrival no incident of any conſequence took place. But this calm was not of long duration. The politics of Algiers were at that period hoſtile to Britain. The Court, the ſoldiery, and the populace, were diſguſted to ſee that England enjoyed peace with them on moderate terms, while other Chriſtian ſtates were compelled to purchaſe it from them at an exorbitant price. The fury of the lower orders roſe to ſuch a height on this ſcore, that it became dangerous for the conſul to make his appearance in public. In the council, the renegadoes were the moſt violent againſt the Britiſh. Theſe men now thought that they had found a favourable pretext for coming to an open rupture. Some change had been made by the Britiſh miniſtry in the form of the paſſes granted to veſſels ſailing in the Mediterranean, and this circumſtance the violent part of the council conſtrued into a proof of the duplicity and arrogance of the Engliſh, at the ſame time importuning their maſter to order every ſhip to be ſeized, which could not produce a paſſport in the ancient form. Their wiſhes were too much in uniſon with thoſe of the Dey for him not to accede to them. Orders were iſſued to capture every ſhip which did not bear what the Algerines were pleaſed to conſider as a proper paſſport. Theſe meaſures were oppoſed by Mr. Bruce with ſuch ſpirit that the Dey diſowned him as conſul, and ſent a meſſenger to England to ſolicit his removal. Mr. Bruce's exertions were not wholly loſt. He ſucceeded in making known their danger to the trade in the Mediterranean, and the conſequence was, that only one veſſel fell into the hands of the pirates.

Acts of violence and inſult now daily occurred. The favourites of the Dey detained a meſſenger whom he had ſent off with diſpatches to government, and propoſed, by means of torture, to force his ſecretary to diſcloſe their contents. Under all theſe trying circumſtances, Mr. Bruce diſplayed an unſhaken courage. At length, he received orders to quit the country in three days, under pain of death. Juſt, however, as he was on the point of embarking, a great change took place in the divan, to which it is probable that the rumour of an Engliſh ſquadron being deſtined for the Barbary coaſt did not a little contribute. The Dey now expreſſed an unuſual deſire for peace, and many of the renegadoes confeſſed and regretted the part which they had taken in the recent outrages. But the Britiſh miniſters were miſerably deficient in that ſpirit which their agent poſſeſſed. Inſtead of admiring and applauding him for his bold and dignified conduct, they treated him with a marked coldneſs, and, as if they had been deſirous to increaſe the arrogance of the Algerines, they meanly conceded the point to them on the queſtion of the paſſports. Such behaviour as this was admirably calculated to increaſe the inſolence of his enemies, and to render more difficult the performance of his duties.

duties. It was, therefore, no doubt with infinite pleaſure that, in the year 1765, Mr. Bruce gave up his office to Mr. Kirke, who had been appointed in his ſtead.

It was, as we have ſeen, a part of the original propoſal of Lord Halifax that Mr. Bruce ſhould have occaſional leave of abſence, for the purpoſe of inveſtigating the remains of antiquity in the States of Barbary. In his correſpondence, Mr. Bruce reminded his Lordſhip of this, but, though the promiſe was confeſſed to have been given, it was never performed. Some of the miniſtry are even ſaid to have conſidered, or affected to conſider, his requeſt as an improper one. He had, therefore, no alternative but to relinquiſh that purſuit which had been the principal inducement for his reſidence in Barbary, or to make his excurſion as a private individual. With his accuſtomed reſolution, he choſe the latter. Intrepidity and probity always inſpire reſpect, even in thoſe againſt whom they are exerted. More ſenſible than the Engliſh miniſters, the Dey of Algiers, though he had been grievouſly thwarted by the firmneſs and integrity of Mr. Bruce, could not help admiring his character. "At a private audience of the Dey, which he obtained for the purpoſe of aſking his permiſſion to travel through the inland provinces of Algiers, he had the ſatisfaction to receive the moſt cordial promiſes of friendſhip and protection in the courſe of his journey, and letters of recommendation to the governors of the places which he intended to viſit."

Thus furniſhed with the means of forwarding his purpoſe, Mr. Bruce ſailed for Tunis, on the 26th of Auguſt, 1765, and, on his way to the place, he went on ſhore to examine the ruins of Utica and Carthage. From the Bey of Tunis he obtained permiſſion to travel in any part of his dominions. Mr. Gordon, a relation of Mr. Bruce, was Engliſh Conſul at Tunis; the French Conſul, a moſt amiable and accompliſhed character, was M. de Saiſeu; and both emulouſly contributed to further the deſigns of Mr. Bruce. As an aſſiſtant, in making drawings, Mr. Bruce took with him a young Italian, of the name of Luigi Balugani, who had been engaged for him at Rome, by Mr. Lumiſden.

Mr. Bruce, accompanied by Balugani, ſet out from Tunis, for the interior, about the middle of September, 1765. He paſſed by Tucca, Keff, and Hydra, to Tipaſa, and thence entered Conſtantina, the moſt eaſterly province belonging to Algiers. In all theſe places he found remains of Grecian architecture. Near Conſtantina, Mr. Bruce diſcovered the ruins of Cirta, the capital of Syphax. The Dey had given orders for his reception at the palace of Conſtantina, and there he reſted ſeveral days. He then continued his journey, by Siteef, Taggouzainah, and Jibbel Aures, at which latter place he met with a ſavage tribe, the colour of whoſe hair and whoſe features ſeem to indicate their deſcent from the nations in the north of Europe. He then returned to Tunis by Tezzoute, Caſſareen, Spaitla, Muchtar, and Tugga; in moſt of which places, but "particularly at Spaitla, he found magnificent ruins, either of temples, triumphal arches, or other public buildings, executed by the Romans, in the beſt ages of the Empire."

In a ſecond journey, he took the

route of Zowan, Jelloula, and Caſſareen, to Theriana or Thala; and then came back by Caſsa, Tozer, Shibgah el Lowdeah, Gabs, El Hammah and El Gemme, along the ſea coaſt, to Tunis.

Tripoli was the next place which Mr. Bruce reſolved to viſit. Though the Bey of Tunis being at variance with the Baſha of Tripoli, would give Mr. Bruce no letters of recommendation, though the Baſha of Tripoli had quarrelled with the Engliſh conſul, and though the intermediate country was infeſted by Arabs, Mr. Bruce determined to take the journey. He reached Tripoli, after encountering many dangers, but could not then attain his object, which was to view the antiquities of the Tripoline territory. He, therefore, returned to Tunis.

In a ſecond journey to Tripoli he was more fortunate. He was enabled to advance into the country, viſited Barca, took drawings at Ptolemeta, and diſproved the exiſtence of a city at Ras Sem, whoſe inhabitants were ſaid to have been petrified by a judgment of Heaven. Famine, plague, and the hoſtilities of the Arabs, prevented him from continuing his reſearches to the extent which he originally intended; and he took his paſſage for Crete, in a ſmall Greek veſſel, having fortunately ſent before to Smyrna his books, drawings, and ſupernumerary inſtruments. The veſſel was ſhipwrecked near Ptolometa, and Mr. Bruce, who had ſwam aſhore with much difficulty, was cruelly treated by the Arabs, as he lay inſenſible on the beach. He was ſent to Bengazi, where he remained two months, partly ſupporting himſelf by fiſhing. At length he got on board a ſmall French veſſel, and arrived in ſafety at Canea, where he was hoſpitably received by M. Amoureux, the French conſul.

At Canea Mr. Bruce was ſeized with an intermitting fever, which laſted ſeveral months, the conſequence of the fatigues which he had undergone, and the rude treatment which he had received from the Arabs. While in Crete, he learned that many remarkable ruins were to be ſeen in Caramania, on the adjacent continent, and he formed the deſign of exploring them. Having obtained the neceſſary letters of introduction, he left Canea, in April 1767, and touched at Rhodes, where he found his books and papers, which had been forwarded from Tunis and Tripoli; he then proceeded to Caſtel Roſſo on the Caramanian coaſt. The return of his illneſs, however, fruſtrated his intention of travelling in Aſia Minor, and he therefore bent his courſe to Sidon, where he met with the moſt hoſpitable reception from M. Clairembaut, the French conſul, to whom he had been warmly recommended by M. Peyſonnel, the conſul at Smyrna. Here, in the families of the merchants, and at Aleppo, which he ſubſequently viſited, were ſpent ſome of the happieſt moments of his life. The French had at that period a flouriſhing eſtabliſhment in the Levant, and thoſe who were connected with it were almoſt uniformly diſtinguiſhed by their taſte, their politeneſs, and their virtues. While at Sidon, Mr. Bruce was once more attacked by the ague and fever, under which he ſuffered for ſome weeks, in conſequence of his having imprudently expoſed himſelf to the night air, by ſleeping in a tent. But to remain in a ſtate of indolence was neither

neither conſiſtent with the temper nor the purpoſe of Mr. Bruce. After having made ſhort excurſions to mount Libanus, and viſited one of the ſources of the Jordan, where he found the papyrus growing in a marſh, he planned a journey to Balbec and Palmyra. He departed from Sidon, on the ſixteenth of September, and arrived, on the nineteenth, at Balbec. There he carefully delineated every thing that was deſerving of attention, and completed his labours without having encountered any moleſtation whatever. He next viſited the ſtill more ſplendid remains of Palmyra, of which he made thirteen magnificent drawings. Theſe, and alſo the drawings of Balbec, he, on his return to his own country, preſented to the King. In the end of October, he returned to Tripoli, whence he travelled to Latakia and Antioch, and finally halted at Aleppo. At this latter place he was again confined to a ſick bed, and reduced almoſt to death by the fever and ague, but the conſtant attention of M. Belville, a French merchant, and the ſkill of Dr. Patrick Ruſſel, averted the fate which impended over him. The time of his ſtay here was not ſpent fruitleſsly by Mr. Bruce. He had already made himſelf acquainted at Algiers with ſome of the practical parts of medicine, and he now enlarged his knowledge by the aſſiſtance of the inſtructions of Dr. Ruſſel. This was a highly politic meaſure; it being his intention to viſit a country where the character of a phyſician was the beſt introduction to both the court and the people. Dr. Ruſſel was famous for his acquaintance with the diſeaſes of the eaſt, and he liberally imparted to his friend his mode of treating them, and pointed out the medicines of which it would be neceſſary to procure a ſupply.

Two projects now occupied the thoughts, and rendered doubtful the choice, of Mr. Bruce. The firſt project was that of a long and dangerous journey through Armenia and the regions to the north of it, for the purpoſe of obſerving, on the ſhores of the Caſpian, the tranſit of Venus. This he was compelled to relinquiſh, by the impoſſibility of procuring the neceſſary aſtronomical inſtruments in time; and "his diſappointment was aggravated by accounts, which he received from England, of abſurd and diſreſpectful ſtories relating to himſelf and his travels, which had been circulated there by ſome perſons envious of his reputation."

The other project was that on which his fame was deſtined ultimately to reſt. It had indeed taken a deeper root than any other in Mr. Bruce's mind. There was in it a grandeur and daringneſs which accorded with his character. It was nothing leſs than to penetrate into Abyſſinia, and explore the ſources of the Nile, which had for ages been a ſubject of wonder and of diſpute. But this enterpriſe could not be undertaken without the aid of aſtronomical inſtruments, and he was conſequently compelled to pauſe till he received information as to the practicability of procuring them, from his friends in England. He feared that the reſult of his application would be unfavourable, but in this he was agreeably diſappointed, as they haſtened to procure the inſtruments and to ſhip them to Alexandria.

He quitted Aleppo in the begin-

ning of March 1768, and after having been in imminent danger of being drowned in the Orontes, he paſſed through Tripoli and Beirout to Sidon, where he was received with undiminiſhed affection by M. Clairembaut, and had the ſatisfaction of learning that the neceſſary apparatus were already on the way.

It was in June 1768 that Mr. Bruce arrived in Egypt, which was then under the Mamaluke government, the ſupreme head of which was the celebrated Ali Bey. Ali and his miniſter Maalem Riſk were both implicit believers in aſtrology, and, as they imagined that the inſtruments belonging to Mr. Bruce were intended for aſtrological purpoſes, they conceived the higheſt opinion of his ſkill, and, conſequently, veneration for his perſon. The inſtruments were forwarded, without examination, or the payment of duty; and, which was of more importance, the traveller was liberally furniſhed with peremptory letters of recommendation to all thoſe whom Ali Bey commanded, or over whom he poſſeſſed any degree of influence. The impreſſion which the ſight of the inſtruments had made upon Ali Bey was confirmed by the perſonal appearance and the talents of the poſſeſſor. After a few audiences, Mr. Bruce ſucceeded in gaining, by his ſuperior ſkill in medicine and prophecy, the entire confidence and friendſhip of the Bey. By a Coptic prieſt, called Chriſtopher, he was alſo introduced to the Patriarch of Alexandria, who is acknowledged by the Abyſſinians as the head of their church; and from this dignified individual he obtained letters to all the principal Greeks of Gondar, "accompanied with a general bull, in which they were enjoined to renounce their pride and vanity, and to ſupport, to the utmoſt of their power, the ſtranger whom the patriarch ſent among them."

Previous to his quitting Egypt, Mr. Bruce aſcended the Nile, and viſited the ſite of the ancient Memphis, Dendera, Furſhout, the remains of Thebes, Syene, and the cataract. Availing himſelf of the ſetting out of a caravan from Kenne to Coſſeir, he quitted Kenne on the ſixteenth of February, 1769, traverſed the deſert, and arrived on the twenty-ſecond at Coſſeir, whence he did not finally depart till the fifth of April. During his ſtay there, he made an excurſion on the coaſt of the Red Sea, as far as 23° 58′ of north latitude, and examined Jibbel Zumrûd, the emerald mine, which is deſcribed by Pliny and other ancient writers.

On leaving Coſſeir for Jidda, inſtead of taking the direct route, he ſailed by a circuitous courſe, in order to make obſervations on the hydrography of the Red Sea. He drew plans of the various harbours, took obſervations for the uſe of future navigators, and collected a number of curious marine productions, of various kinds.

The Arab dreſs had long been worn by Mr. Bruce, and he had frequently paſſed for a Barbary Arab. On his landing at Jidda, which was on the third of May, he ſo much reſembled a Turkiſh galiongy, or ſailor, that the captain of the port was aſtoniſhed to hear ſome of his ſervants declare that he was an Engliſhman. His dreſs was ſo little calculated to inſpire reſpect that he was driven as a vagrant from the gate of the Engliſh

liſh factory. Captain Thornhill, of the Bengal Merchant, received him, however, with great kindneſs and compaſſion. In the mean time, Youſef, the governor of Jidda, had taken the liberty of examining Mr. Bruce's baggage, in which, to his infinite ſurpriſe, he found a number of preſents, a firman from the Porte, and a variety of letters, written by and addreſſed to perſons of the higheſt dignity. He immediately haſtened to the factory to enquire about the Engliſh nobleman, and was aſtoniſhed to find him ſitting under a ſhed in the habit of a Turkiſh ſailor. "A good underſtanding was inſtantly eſtabliſhed with Youſef; the Engliſh gentlemen uſed their whole influence to promote Mr. Bruce's deſigns; and every head was employed in procuring letters of the moſt effective kind from the Sheriffe of Mecca to the governor of Maſuah, the king of Abyſſinia, and his general and prime miniſter, Michael Suhûl."

Among thoſe who ſtrongly intereſted themſelves in favour of Mr. Bruce, was Metical Aga, originally an Abyſſinian ſlave, but now miniſter to the Sheriffe of Mecca. At the ſolicitation of the Engliſh, he wrote, in the moſt preſſing terms, to Michael Suhûl, or, as he is often called, the Râs Michael, to inform him that he was about "to ſend him a Chriſtian phyſician, who was accuſtomed to wander over the world in ſearch of herbs and trees, beneficial to the health of man; a ſubject of a great king, ſovereign of a powerful people, called the Engliſh, ſettled in India; and much eſteemed at Jidda." He alſo entreated the Râs to ſave Mr. Bruce from the violence of the Naybe of Maſuah, and to protect him till he ſhould return to Cairo. To render the traveller ſtill more ſafe, Metical Aga, at the ſolicitation of Captain Price, diſpatched a confidential ſervant with Mr. Bruce to carry letters into Abyſſinia.

Mr. Bruce departed from Jidda on the eighth of July, 1769, and, as a compliment to his enterpriſing ſpirit, was ſaluted by the Engliſh veſſels which were then in the harbour. Before the arrival of the traveller at Maſuah, the Naybe of that place, a bloodthirſty ruffian, had received intimation of his coming, and had held a council, to deliberate whether, according to their laudable cuſtom, they ſhould murder him on his landing, or preſerve his life till they learned by whom he was protected. At this council, Ahmed, the Naybe's nephew, had ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the murdering of Mr. Bruce, aſſigning as a reaſon for his oppoſition, and no other reaſon was likely to influence his auditors, that the murder would be dangerous, as the ſtranger was no doubt powerfully protected, and one half of the guns which had been fired in honour of him, by the Engliſh at Jidda, would, in a few hours, reduce Maſuah to a heap of ruins. This reaſon was conſidered as a valid one, and the plan of aſſaſſination was, in conſequence, ſuſpended.

After having quitted Jidda, Mr. Bruce halted ſome time at Loheia, to wait for the guide who had been promiſed to him by Metical Aga. This guide, whoſe name was Mahomet Gibberti, at length came, and brought with him a letter to Ahmed, and another to Mr. Bruce, from

from Sidi Ali, the keeper of the ſacred well at Mecca, who cautioned him to diſtruſt the Naybe, and to ſecure the friendſhip of Ahmed.

On the nineteenth of September, after a tedious voyage, in which he was nearly ſhipwrecked, Mr. Bruce anchored before Maſuah, with his conductor, Mahomet, who immediately went on ſhore, ſent off letters to the Râs, and had an interview with the Naybe. On his way Mahomet met with Ahmed, and was informed of what had taken place, and he loſt no time in communicating this information to Mr. Bruce. This promptneſs in Mahomet was of great advantage to Mr. Bruce, as Ahmed imputed the traveller's acquaintance with what had paſſed, to ſupernatural ſkill, and was thereby induced to befriend him to the utmoſt of his power.

Mr. Bruce found the Naybe to be a conſummate villain. This ruffian treated the Grand Signior's firman with contempt; then endeavoured to frighten Mr. Bruce into the making of an enormous preſent; and, having failed in this, he ſummoned a divan, "in which he accuſed him of ſeveral ridiculous offences, ſuch as converſing, for the purpoſe of bringing diſeaſes upon the country, with a comet then viſible at Maſuah." By dint of firmneſs, Mr. Bruce eſcaped upon this occaſion, and alſo upon another, when the Naybe ſent a party of ſoldiers to his houſe to murder him. At length meſſengers arrived from Abyſſinia, and, by a well concerted ſtratagem, the Naybe was intimidated into letting his prey eſcape. Ahmed ſupplied the party with neceſſaries, and Mr. Bruce and his conductor departed towards the Abyſſinian frontier.

At this period the dangers which awaited Mr. Bruce were ſcarcely leſs alarming than thoſe to which he was now expoſed. "Owing to a violent but unſucceſsful attempt of the Portugueſe jeſuits, in the ſeventeenth century, to change the form of religion from that of the Greek church of Alexandria to the Roman catholic, the very name of *Frank*, or European, is generally regarded in Abyſſinia, as ſynonimous with pagan and infidel. Beſides this prejudice, which had, hitherto, occaſioned in Habbeſh the death or baniſhment of every European, a civil war, of the moſt violent kind, rendered, at this period, that country ſtill leſs eaſy of acceſs to foreigners. Three powerful parties the *Kuaranya*, the *Galla* and the *Tigré* divided the kingdom into as many factions." The moſt prominent character in the diſturbances of Abyſſinia, was Michael Suhûl, governor of Tigré, the province of Habbeſh neareſt to Arabia, a powerful, ambitious, and ſavage warrior, who held "the high offices of Râs and Berûdet, which conſtituted him, by the laws of that country, guardian of the whole kingdom, under the king, and commander in chief of the national forces." The reigning monarch, *Teclahaimănoût*, a youth of fifteen years of age, had been raiſed to the throne by Michael, who had cauſed his father to be murdered. At this moment, the Râs, in conjunction with the *Kuaranya*, or queen dowager's party, by which he was ſecretly deteſted, was making war upon the *Galla*, commanded by *Faſil*, who had declared his intention

tion of revenging the murder of the late king, and driving home Michael to his own diſtrict. It is in the province of *Agow-Midré*, one of the four provinces which belonged to Faſil, that the fountains of the Nile are ſituated.

Such was the ſituation of Abyſſinia at the time when Mr. Bruce entered that country, on the twenty-ſixth of November 1769. He was, however, hoſpitably received at Adowa, by the deputy of the Râs, with whom he reſided more than ſix weeks. He then ſet out on his journey, during which he viſited Axum, once the metropolis, ſaw the monks perform the ceremony of bleſſing the waters of the Epiphany, witneſſed the barbarous cuſtom of eating fleſh cut from a live cow, and, after having encountered many difficulties and dangers, reached the neighbourhood of Gondar, the capital, on the fifteenth of February. A great victory had juſt been obtained by the Râs, over the rebel general Faſil.

At Gondar, Mr. Bruce ſoon rendered himſelf popular by his manners, his ſtrength and accompliſhments, and particularly by his medical ſkill, which he exerted very ſucceſsfully in curing many perſons of the ſmall-pox, a diſorder which was then ravaging the country. He was introduced to the Iteghe or Queen Dowager, and to her daughter Ozoro Eſther, the wife of the Râs; the friendſhip of both of whom he gained by ſaving the children of Ozoro.

Mr. Bruce was reſiding with the Court, at Koſcam, when Michael returned. "The firſt ſcene which Michael exhibited after he arrived, was the pulling out the eyes of a number of Galla officers whom he had taken in war, after which he turned them out into the fields, to periſh by famine and the wild beaſts. Mr. Bruce ſaved the lives of two of them, a circumſtance which was of ſervice to him afterwards, when travelling through the Galla country to the ſources of the Nile."

The firſt reception of Mr. Bruce by the Râs was not calculated to inſpire very flattering hopes. It was cold and formal. "For ſome time after his firſt audience, Mr. Bruce thought himſelf entirely neglected by Michael and the king; but, about the middle of March, Aylo, (a warm friend of Mr. Bruce) told him that Mahomet Gibberti had delivered to the Râs two letters from Metical Aga, in which he explained to Michael Mr. Bruce's character, deſigns, and religion, and requeſted that he would provide for his ſafety while he reſided in Abyſſinia. Michael complained that Metical did not know the ſtate of the country, otherwiſe he would not have aſked ſafety for a ſtranger, while the king himſelf was daily fighting for his life. "All I can do," ſaid the Râs, "is to keep him with me; if the king and I periſh, he cannot ſuppoſe that it was in my power to defend his ſtranger"—"You do not know the man," exclaimed Ayto Aylo, who remembered the feats at Koſcam, "he is a devil on horſeback; he rides and ſhoots better than any man who ever came into Abyſſinia—put him about the king, and there is no fear of him."

This character decided Michael in favor of Mr. Bruce. He at firſt wiſhed to appoint him Maſter of the Horſe, but this office Mr. Bruce

Bruce declined, as interfering with his plans, by compelling a conſtant attendance at Court. The Râs then made him a Baalomaal, or one of the gentlemen whoſe office it is to wait upon the king, and commander of the Coccob horſe, a body of cavalry belonging to the houſehold.

"The various incidents which eſtabliſhed Mr. Bruce's reputation for courage, abilities, and generoſity, after his introduction to the king, though very intereſting, are too minute to be enumerated in this place. He gained nearly as much by the diſcreet and liberal manner in which he treated his enemies, as by the reſpectful attention which he paid to his friends. He eaſily excited the admiration of an ignorant court by exhibiting effects of fire arms well known in Europe, but wonderful to ſuch as have little knowledge of them. Though equally qualified for the field and court, he owed much of the favour beſtowed on him by the Abyſſinians to his medical character. In order, however, to prevent his being reckoned an indigent phyſician, he often refuſed the money which was offered to him for his ſervices, and, by aſſerting that he practiſed medicine only for his own ſatisfaction, and through a love of mankind, preſerved the dignity of his character as a ſoldier and a man of rank."

Thus in favor at court, Mr. Bruce was ſoon honoured with farther preferment; be being made governor of the province of Râs-el-feel. The troops of the king now took the field, and Mr. Bruce, after having reſided for some time at Emfras, ſet out to join them. In his way he viſited the celebrated cataract of the Nile at Alata, where the river falls about forty feet over the rocks. Fortunately for the object which Mr. Bruce had in view, a peace was patched up between Michael and Faſil, and the latter was formally declared governor of Agow-Midré, Damot and the adjoining provinces. Faſil having ſent ſeveral perſons of conſequence to Gondar to receive the inveſtiture, Mr. Bruce availed himſelf of this opportunity to gain their friendſhip by preſents, and alſo to endeavour to obtain that of Faſil, by ſending him "ſome medicines, which were at that time requiſite, for his favorite general, Welleta Yaſous. For theſe acts of reſpect and kindneſs, the meſſengers expreſſed themſelves willing to grant a ſuitable compenſation. Mr. Bruce, induced by their readineſs to oblige him, aſked of the king a gift of the village of Geeſh, and of the ground which contains the fountains of the Abay (or Nile) with a promiſe from Faſil to conduct him to theſe in ſafety, and free from expence. The court, ignorant of his enthuſiaſm, laughed at the trifling nature of the requeſt. The king haſtened to pronounce the words of the grant, and to make Faſil's ſervants confirm it by oath, in the name of their maſter."

But, though the rebellion of Faſil was at an end, there could be no ſcarcity of rebellions in ſuch a country as Abyſſinia. The governors of two of the provinces were in arms, originally inſtigated by Faſil, with the intention of attacking Michael, and as they were much the ſtrongeſt, it was neceſſary for him to retreat to Tigré with the king, before the overflowing of the rivers rendered it impracticable for him to retire. The king endeavoured

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to prevail upon Mr. Bruce to accompany them, but finding that his entreaties were of no avail, he parted from him with the kindeſt wiſhes, and gave him ſuch inſtructions as were neceſſary to ſecure his ſafety.

As ſoon as the king and Michael had departed, the two governors and the queen dowager ſet up a new king, named Socinios, a young man, with neither education nor talents, but with an abundance of vices. He was, beſides, a mortal hater of the Franks, in which diſpoſition he was confirmed by Abba Salama, who held a high ſituation in the Abyſſinian church, and who was a determined enemy of Mr. Bruce. The queen dowager, however, was ſtill the friend of the traveller. While in this unpleaſant ſituation, Mr. Bruce gained the applauſe of all parties, by his manly conduct in paying funeral honours to the corpſe of Joas, the late king, which had been diſinterred, and to which, from the dread of Michael, no one dared to ſhow the leaſt reſpect. Even Michael, when he heard of it, ſeemed to approve of this behaviour, and Teclahăimanoût, the young king, ſpoke of it with delight.

At length, on the twenty-eighth of October, Mr. Bruce ſet out to viſit the ſpot which was the object of all his toils. At a place called Eamba, he met the van of Faſil's army. The chief received him in ſo rude and indecent a manner, that Mr. Bruce could not forbear from loading him with reproaches. This boldneſs ſeems to have wrought a favourable change in Faſil. In the morning he gave Mr. Bruce the inveſtiture of Geeſh in the uſual way, made the Galla chiefs take an oath of brotherhood with him, and furniſhed him with a guide, called Shalaka Woldo, a perſon of authority in that country, and with a horſe, which he deſired him not to mount, but to drive before him till he came to Saccala.

This horſe appears to have been a moſt important part of the company. It was every where treated with the higheſt reſpect by the wild Gallas. The charge of protecting Mr. Bruce for one portion of his journey, was entruſted to a Galla chief, who was conſidered by his countrymen as "a prodigy of mildneſs, and emphatically called the Lamb, becauſe he ſometimes ſpared the lives of his priſoners, eſpecially of pregnant women, contrary to the eſtabliſhed cuſtom of the Galla." Two parties had been diſpatched by Abba Salama, to murder Mr. Bruce, and the Lamb had orders from Faſil to defeat them, which he fully accompliſhed, without alarming the travellers.

Having entered the wild but beautiful countries of Arooſi and Goutta, Mr. Bruce continued his journey ſouthward for two days, and entered the diſtrict of Saccala, where he obſerved that the Nile was dwindled into a ſcanty brook. Woldo, the guide, being gratified with a preſent, "pointed with his finger to the marſh which contains the ſprings of the Nile, and retired into the village of Geeſh, leaving his maſter to indulge his enthuſiaſm. Mr. Bruce ran down to the graſſy ſpot, where he obſerved two or three fountains of different ſizes, ſome of which were incloſed within a mound of ſod, the work of the Agows, who have long worſhipped the river, and ſtill continue to pay adoration to it at theſe ſources. The joy which

which he felt on contemplating an object unknown to the ancients, and which, as he conceived, had been hitherto ſeen by no European, was great, but momentary and tranſient. The dangers and ſufferings which he had already undergone, and thoſe which might probably terminate, in the moſt fatal manner, this romantic journey, preſented themſelves to his imagination, and quite overwhelmed him with deſpondency and ſorrow." He ſoon, however, recovered from this momentary depreſſion, and ſpent five days at Geeſh, which were a continual feſtival. By his generoſity he ſo endeared himſelf to the ſimple natives, that they ſaw his departure with regret.

Having accompliſhed the great object which he had ſo long had at heart, Mr. Bruce returned to Koſcam, where he found Ozoro Eſther and his other friends at court, and was informed of the double danger to which he had been expoſed by the murderous deſigns of the Abba Salama. His peril was not yet over. The uſurper, Socinios, made an attempt to murder him, but was fortunately foiled. He, however, deſtroyed or carried away every thing of value in the houſe of Mr. Bruce, at Gondar, and killed one of the ſervants with his own hand.

The reign of this aſſaſſin was but of ſhort duration. The king and the Râs Michael were at this time on their way to Gondar with the army. Before his viſit to the ſources of the Nile, Mr. Bruce had received information of their intended movement, and he now haſtened to meet them. "The king and the Râs received him graciouſly; the king, calling him the arch rebel who would not accompany him to Tigré, offered him his hand to kiſs, with many marks of condeſcenſion and favour."

Nothing was now thought of but vengeance by the triumphant party. "Innumerable executions took place daily for many weeks after their arrival. Abba Salama the Acab Saat, Mr. Bruce's enemy, and hundreds beſides, were hanged in the public ſquare, and their bodies left unburied to be eaten by the dogs and the hyenas. Blood was ſpilt like water till the middle of the following month. The courts were filled with carcaſes, which the natives neither wiſhed nor dared to remove. Mr. Bruce ſickened at the horrible ſight, and complained of it to the young king, who treated the matter with abſolute indifference."

There no longer exiſted any thing in this country which could induce him to bear with its barbariſm and ferocity, and Mr. Bruce, therefore, became anxious to quit it. But it was not without much difficulty, and the exaction of many conditions from him, that the young king conſented to allow of his departure. But before he could prepare for his journey, another revolution took place. The rebels, more powerful than ever, were again in arms; the king and the Râs marched againſt them, in the beginning of May 1771; and Mr. Bruce, as commander of the houſehold cavalry, attended the king. After a bloody but indeciſive battle, between the hoſtile armies, in which Mr. Bruce bore ſo diſtinguiſhed a part, that he was rewarded with a maſſy gold chain, and a ſplendid ſuit of clothes, the king's affairs daily grew more deſperate; and at length the Râs and

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the king were compelled to ſurrender themſelves into the hands of the rebels. The Râs was kept priſoner in his own houſe, and the king, though not formally dethroned, was left without even a ſhadow of authority. Mr. Bruce reſided at Koſcam, in a houſe given to him by the dowager queen, and during the rainy ſeaſon of 1771, his health exceedingly declined. "This, more than any other circumſtance, induced the king to allow him to return home, and even to write in his favour to the king of Sennaar. The affairs of Abyſſinia ſeemed verging to a revolution, from which Mr. Bruce was deſirous to eſcape. He therefore kiſſed the ground for the laſt time before his unfortunate benefactor, for whoſe welfare he had a ſincere regard, and haſtened to Koſcam, where he took formal leave of his other friends."

Mr. Bruce began his homeward journey on the 26th of December, 1771. He ſpent a few days at Tcherkin, where he unexpectedly met with Ayto Confu, Ozoro Eſther, and other friends, and was gratified with the diverſion of hunting the elephant, rhinoceros, and buffalo, ſtayed two months in his government of Ras-el-Feel, and then, leaving Abyſſinia, proceeded to Teawa, the reſidence of Fedaile, the Shekh of Atbara, a man of the moſt baſe and ſanguinary character.

Fedaile had promiſed to forward the traveller in ſafety to Sennaar, but this promiſe he had no intention of performing. Mr. Bruce having refuſed to give him a large ſum of money, the Shekh made two fruitleſs attempts to murder him. In one inſtance he employed an aſſaſſin. In the other, he undertook the office himſelf, and drew his ſword upon Mr. Bruce, whom he was prevented from killing only by the appearance of a large piſtol which Mr. Bruce drew from beneath his cloak. At length, by his own preſence of mind, and the exertions of the Shekh of Beyla, Mr. Bruce was extricated from his diſagreeable ſituation. He quitted the inhoſpitable territory of Teawa on the 18th of April.

Having halted a few days at Beyla, with the Shekh of that place, who received him in the moſt friendly manner, he reached Sennaar on the eighth of May, and, in reaching it, had new perils to encounter. The king, Iſmael, was a being of the ſame kind as the Shekh of Teawa. He made more than one effort to procure the aſſaſſination of Mr. Bruce, and failed only from the want of courage in thoſe whom he employed. Happily for Mr. Bruce, he had acquired the friendſhip of the Shekh Adelan, the chief miniſter, and, in fact, the real poſſeſſor of authority in Sennaar, and alſo of Ahmed, governor of the houſehold, to whom his medical ſkill had been of much benefit. At Sennaar, however, he was compelled to wait four months, during which time his purſe was reduced ſo low, that he was under the neceſſity of ſelling the gold chain which had been given to him by the king of Abyſſinia. At laſt, having procured camels and proviſions, he and his companions ſtole out of Sennaar, on pretence of viſiting Adelan's camp; but inſtead of moving in that direction, they puſhed forward to Herbagi, Halfaia, and Chendi, and thence to Gooz, which lies on the edge of the

the deſert. At Gooz Mr. Bruce hired a guide to conduct him acroſs the trackleſs wilderneſs, five hundred miles in extent, which lay between him and Egypt. This ſandy deſert affords little water, and no ſupply of proviſions; is infeſted by the Biſhareen Arabs, who murder every ſtranger whom they can find; and is rendered ſtill more dangerous to the wanderer by the frequent blaſts of the deadly Simoom, which blow acroſs its burning expanſe. It is a curious circumſtance, that the treachery of the king of Sennaar ſaved Mr. Bruce from periſhing in this horrible ſpot. The traveller had intended to join a caravan from Sennaar to Egypt, under the care of Mahomet Towaſh, but was prevented by a ſtratagem of the king. The caravan was attacked by the Arabs on the Egyptian frontier, and every perſon was ſlain.

Mr. Bruce's party, on quitting Gooz, conſiſted of thirteen or fourteen perſons, only eight of whom were effective, and well armed. It departed on the ninth of November. Very ſoon, nothing appeared around but "rocks and burning ſands, the latter of which were ſeen, at times, raiſed in the air to a great height, and, being illuminated by the rays of the ſun, appeared like pillars of fire. The heat and thirſt, excited by the ſun and glowing atmoſphere, were as nothing compared with the effects of the ſimoom, or poiſonous wind, which is produced in theſe deſerts; and which ſuffocates every creature who has not, by falling to the ground, the addreſs to avoid it." On the ſixth day, after leaving Gooz, Mr. Bruce and his party ſuffered exceedingly from a blaſt of this wind, near a well called Chiggré.

Having eſcaped this peril, they were ſpeedily expoſed to another. A Biſhereen Arab and two women, made an attempt to ſteal their camels in the night, but were luckily detected. Had this attempt been ſucceſsful, Mr. Bruce and his companions muſt have periſhed of hunger. This happened at Terſowey. A ſhort time after their departure for that place, they once more encountered the terrific ſimoom, and one of their camels died of hunger and fatigue. "As a laſt reſource, in caſe of famine, they dried and preſerved ſlices of the fleſh. On the ſecond day after they had left Terſowey, they were again involved in the purple haze of the poiſonous wind. Silence, and a deſperate indifference about life, were the immediate effects of this occurrence, their camels being quite exhauſted. Mr. Bruce himſelf, by far the moſt courageous of the company in every part of the journey, began to deſpair, and to expect, with a degree of reſignation, a ſandy grave. Their bread was nearly at an end, and their water, though occaſionally ſupplied from wells, was brackiſh. In this diſtreſsful condition, they held out four days longer, in the courſe of which, they found the bodies of Mahomet Towaſh and his followers ſcattered in the deſert, and met with a party of Ababde Arabs, who gave them ſome information of their exact diſtance from Egypt. On the 26th of September they reached Saffieha, a place, as they were afterwards informed, about forty miles from Syene. Their camels, overcome with hunger and fatigue, and chilled with the exceſſive cold of

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that night, could advance no further. As the diſtance from Syene was unknown, and their ſtrength ſo far reduced as to be ſcarcely ſufficient for travelling, much leſs for carrying water and proviſions, death appeared inevitable. The loſs of all his drawings, journals, and indeed of every memorandum of his travels, was an affliction, of ſuch a kind as excludes the poſſibility of deſcribing Mr. Bruce's feelings in theſe moments of complicated diſtreſs. Having loaded themſelves with the ſcanty remains of their black bread and impure water, moſt of which they were obliged to take from the ſtomachs of their camels, they made a laſt effort to ſave their lives. In the evening of the ſecond day after leaving Saffieha, Mr. Bruce being parted from his company, for the purpoſe of viewing the ground to the weſtward of a ſmall eminence, then in ſight, heard the ſound of the Nile, and judged that they were near it, by the flight of the river birds. On returning to his companions, he communicated to them his diſcovery, which was confirmed by the guide, and inſtantly followed by loud acclamations of joy. They arrived early in the forenoon of the following day at a grove of palm trees to the north of Syene." Twenty days had been ſpent in croſſing the deſert. Worn down, both in body mind, by the pain, fatigue, and misfortunes which he had undergone, Mr. Bruce was near a fortnight before he was in a condition to continue his journey from Syene. His feet were ſo diſabled that he could not ſtand or walk for ſome time. At Syene, however, he was treated with great kindneſs by the Aga, who ſupplied him with money and neceſſaries. Fortunately his baggage was found in the deſert, untouched and entire.

Mr. Bruce arrived at Cairo on the 10th of January 1773, and took up his lodging in the convent of St. George. Ali Bey had been driven from the throne by his ſon in law Mahomet Bey Aboudahab, who, hearing of Mr. Bruce's arrival, immediately ſent a party of ſoldiers to bring him to the palace. Deceived by the mean dreſs and neglected appearance of the traveller, the guards hurried him along as if he had been a felon. Mahomet, however, when he learned his rank, behaved to him in the kindeſt manner, and aſked with great complacency what he ſhould do for him. With a truly noble ſpirit, Mr. Bruce, inſtead of aſking any favour for himſelf, requeſted that the Bey would give permiſſion to the Engliſh to trade to Suez. The requeſt was readily granted, and a firmân or government order was made out, which Mr. Bruce tranſmitted to India, with a letter to the merchants who were concerned in the trade of the Red Sea.

In the beginning of March, Mr. Bruce reached Alexandria, and, after a ſhort ſtay, ſailed for Marſeilles, in a veſſel belonging to that city. The voyage laſted three weeks, and the weather was ſo ſtormy, that they were nearly ſhipwrecked on the coaſt of Africa. Such was the brute ſuperſtition of the crew, that, while the peril laſted, they were on the point of throwing the traveller's baggage overboard, and thus robbing him of the fruits of ten years of ſuffering and toil. His health, too, was exceedingly bad, as his conſti-

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tution was much ſhattered by the fatigue of croſſing the deſert, and he had alſo the diſeaſe called the guinea worm, which wholly diſabled him from walking, and endangered his life.

On his landing in France Mr. Bruce was greeted with enthuſiaſm. The Count de Buffon, Mr. Guys, and many others, haſtened to congratulate him on his return. In the ſouth of France he continued till his health was ſomewhat reſtored, and he then ſet out for Paris with the Count de Buffon. In the French capital his reception was of the moſt flattering kind, and he teſtified his gratitude by a preſent of the ſeeds of rare plants to the king's garden, and a copy of the prophecies of Enoch to the Royal library. About the end of July he departed for Italy, in order to re-eſtabliſh his health. This object he accompliſhed, after a ſtay of two months at the baths of Poretta, and a reſidence of ſome time at Bologna. He viſited Rome, but it was not art nor ſcience which drew him there. He went to demand reparation from a rival, who, as he had imagined, had diſhonourably ſtolen the affections of a lady who was engaged to Mr. Bruce. His rival, however, gave a ſatisfactory explanation, which prevented Mr. Bruce from proceeding to extremities. From the Roman nobility he received particular marks of attention, and from the Pope, the enlightened Ganganelli, a ſeries of gold medals relating to ſeveral tranſactions of his pontificate.

To Paris he returned in the ſpring of 1774, dwelt there till June, and then once more ſet foot on the Britiſh ſhore, from which he had been abſent twelve years. The drawings which Mr. Bruce had made of Balbec, Palmyra, and the African cities, his Majeſty was pleaſed to accept of, for his own collection. By all literary and liberal-minded men his labours were regarded with admiration, but even already, envy and malignity were buſy in labouring to depreciate his merits. In the beginning of Autumn, after having ſtaid ſome months in London, he proceeded to Scotland, where he was, of courſe, exultingly hailed by his fellow countrymen. It being his intention to ſettle in Scotland, he rebuilt his houſe, and began to regulate the affairs of his eſtate, which had gone into diſorder during his abſence. His attention was now drawn off from literature, by a number of law-ſuits in which he was involved, and alſo by an event of a more pleaſing kind. This event was his marriage with Mary, the daughter of Thomas Dundas of Fingaſk, Eſq. a woman ſo amiable and accompliſhed that her name is ſtill revered in the county in which ſhe lived.

In the boſom of his family, for he had three children, Mr. Bruce was ſo entirely happy, that he had little inclination to engage in literary toils. That happineſs was, however, at length, interrupted. In the winter of 1784, Mrs. Bruce's health, always delicate, began rapidly to decline, and, in the ſpring of 1785, ſhe expired, leaving her afflicted huſband to ſadneſs, and to what may be truly called ſolitude.

It is to this event that the public is perhaps indebted for the appearance of his travels. His friends exhorted him to divert his ſorrow by writing the narrative of his

long

long and dangerous journey, and he complied with their wiſhes. "Part of the firſt ſketches were written with his own hand, and part dictated to his clerk, which laſt was his uſual method of compoſing." The work was publiſhed in 1790, and was univerſally read and commended by perſons of the firſt literary reputation. There were, however, not wanting cavillers, who attacked the author with a virulence which was probably not inſpired by the love of truth alone. To ſuch enemies the haughty ſpirit of Bruce diſdained to reply.

The remainder of Mr. Bruce's life was paſſed in retirement, during which he applied, at intervals, to ſtudy, and at the requeſt of ſome perſons eminent in the church, amuſed himſelf with comparing part of the Ethiopic tranſlation of the Bible with the original languages. He alſo began to make arrangements for reprinting his travels, which it was his intention to give to the public in an octavo form.

But the moment was now at hand which was to bring to a period his earthly labours. On the twenty-ſixth of April 1794, he accidentally ſlipped down ſix or ſeven ſtairs, in his houſe, at Kinnaird, and though no outward bruiſe of any conſequence was viſible, he was taken up inſenſible. Medical aſſiſtance was procured, and momentary ſymptoms of recovery appeared, but they ſpeedily vaniſhed, and he expired early on the following morning. His remains were depoſited in the churchyard of Larbert, in the tomb which he had erected to the memory of his wife and child. Such was the end of James Bruce, a man who has ſeldom, if ever, been excelled for that undaunted courage and preſence of mind, and thoſe popular talents and accompliſhments, which are the beſt paſſport to a traveller in an uncivilized country. Had Bruce been a timid or commonly-gifted individual, his travels would have been brought to an abrupt cloſe at a very early period.

The Appendix to Mr. Murray's volume contains many valuable papers, from ſome of which we have given extracts, in the miſcellaneous part of our work.

A Voyage to the Demerary, containing a Statiſtical Account of the Settlements there, and of thoſe on the Eſſequibo, the Berbice, and other contiguous Rivers of Guyana. By Henry Bolingbroke, Eſq. 4to.

At the period when this volume was written, the colonies of which it treats, though Britiſh by right of conqueſt, were not yet permanently annexed, by a formal ceſſion, to the Britiſh empire. They have ſince been relinquiſhed to us by the King of the Netherlands; and as their growing proſperity promiſes to rank them, in time, among the moſt valuable of our colonial poſſeſſions, Mr. Bolingbroke's book, which gives the lateſt and moſt copious account of them, is not unworthy of particular notice.

He who thinks that colonies are a benefit ſhould praiſe that impulſe, ſometimes purely loco-motive, more often communicated by a love of gain, which impels men to quit their native country for new lands. Mr. Bolingbroke does ſo. At the outſet

outſet of his firſt chapter he enlarges on the merit of emigration. "Emigration," ſays he, "ought to be claſſed among the merits of a citizen. The little void an abſentee leaves is preſently filled. By withdrawing from the competition for employment at home, he favours an increaſe in the recompence of induſtry. Whether he fails, and dies abroad; or thrives, and returns with a fortune; he has helped to keep in motion the great wheel of commercial circulation. He who quits his country, does not forſake it; he only chooſes a different poſt of activity in its behalf. He aſſiſts in extending to a diſtance the imitation of its manners, the conſumption of its handywork, the advantage of its intercourſe, the popularity of its literature and law."

There is ſound ſenſe in theſe obſervations, and they give a pledge for the diſcrimination and accuracy of his ſubſequent remarks. At the very outſet, indeed, he proves himſelf not to be an unreflecting traveller. The mention of the iſland of Madeira ſuggeſts to him the idea of introducing into the Weſt Indies new objects of culture. "Why," ſays he, "ſhould the ſort of grapes which thrive in this iſland not be capable of culture in ſome of the Britiſh iſlands; on the mountains of Trinidad, for inſtance. Our people could learn, as well as the Portugueſe, to ferment the muſt in cellars, and to throw in quick lime, when any tendency to acetous fermentation is perceived. The government ought to lower the duty on wines imported from the Cape and from Trinidad, ſo as to confer the monopoly of the Britiſh market on the wine makers, who might ariſe in our own colonies. The olive could in like manner probably be cultivated in the hilly parts of Jamaica, and elſewhere. Our laws have not enough reciprocity: the colonies muſt buy no where but in Great Britain; while Great Britain gives no correſponding preference to her colonies. Now that the Gallipoli oils grow in the French territory, there is ſome chance, perhaps, that an attempt may be made to ſupply our woollen manufactories from provinces of our own. Recruiting in the Mediterranean for the garriſons in the Weſt Indies has been ſuggeſted; it might indirectly improve their agriculture, by introducing ſome peaſants accuſtomed to grow oil, wine, rice, and ſilk." Though ſome of theſe ideas are erroneous, there are ſome of them which are worthy of notice. To the navigation laws Mr. Bolingbroke is a determined enemy, and for his hoſtility to them he aſſigns reaſons which are at leaſt plauſible.

But it is now time to turn from the ſpeculations in which Mr. Bolingbroke occaſionally indulges, and collect together ſome of the various information which he gives. The colonies which are the ſubject of his volume, and which, collectively, may now bear the name of Britiſh Guiana, are Berbice, Demerara, and its dependence, Eſſequibo. They extend along the coaſt of the Atlantic, about a hundred and ſixty miles in a ſtraight line. Their breadth is perhaps twice as much. The Courantin ſeparates Berbice from Surinam; the little river Moroko is the boundary between Eſſequibo and the Spaniſh territory. For a conſiderable

ſiderable diſtance into the interior the land is ſo level that there is ſcarcely an eminence to be ſeen of the ſize of a mole-hill. The ſoil is mud and clay, evidently formed by ſubſidence from water, and the ſame proceſs is ſtill going on, along the coaſt; the ſea there being turbid and ſhallow. The chief rivers are the Eſſequibo, the Demerara, the Courantin, the Berbice, the Canje, and the Pomaroon. Of theſe all are navigable; but the Eſſequibo, which runs a courſe of four hundred miles, is by far the largeſt.

The climate, in point of healthineſs, is far ſuperior to that of moſt tropical countries, an advantage for which it is probably indebted to the cooling influence of the trade wind, and alſo to the ſea and land breezes which regularly blow, each day, at morning and night, and prevent any abrupt variation of temperature from taking place. Hurricanes are not known in theſe colonies. The ſeaſons are divided into the wet and the dry, and there are two of each, the wet ſeaſons occupying a part of December, and the whole of the months of January, February, June, July, and Auguſt.

The principal exports of theſe colonies are cotton, ſugar, coffee, and rum, the latter of which is much ſought after in the American market. Timber for building ſhips, mill timber, for the erection of ſugar works, various kinds of ornamental woods, and a profuſion of ſhingles, hoops, and ſtaves, may be procured from the foreſts. Rice may be cultivated with great ſucceſs, and the extenſive Savannahs are well calculated for the fattening of oxen, of which, and likewiſe of ſheep, goats, and ſwine, the numbers are abundant.

Berbice, Eſſequibo, and Demerara, were ſettled in the order in which they are here enumerated; Berbice having been firſt ſettled about the year 1620. For many years, however, they were of little conſequence. But by 1774, Demerara, which, till then, had been only a dependence on Eſſequibo, had got ſo much the ſtart of the parent colony, that the ſeat of government was removed thither from Eſſequibo, and Stabrœk was founded, as the capital. Berbice was ſhaken to its centre in 1763 by a rebellion of the ſlaves, which was at firſt ſucceſsful, and was on the point of extending to the neighbouring ſettlements. The revolters, however, were at laſt ſubdued, and thoſe who were taken were puniſhed in the moſt barbarous manner. Six years after this, the woods on the coaſt were ſet on fire, and the conflagration extended itſelf along the coaſt from the Courantin to the Demerara, deſtroying in its progreſs many rich plantations. A ſmall Britiſh force ſubdued theſe colonies in 1781, but they were ſhortly after retaken by the French, who reſtored them to the Dutch. They were again conquered by our arms in 1796 and 1803, and the poſſeſſion of them was ſecured to us by a convention, ſigned at London, on the thirteenth of Auguſt, 1814.

Of the town of Stabrœk, the capital of Demerara, Mr. Bolingbroke's deſcription has been given in the miſcellaneous part of this volume. The capital of Berbice is New Amſterdam, which was founded in 1795, at the confluence of the Canje with the Berbice. It is now

of conſiderable magnitude. The former capital of this colony was Zealandica, or Old Amſterdam, which was built, about fifty miles up the river, by the firſt ſettlers. The difficulty of navigating a crooked river, ſtudded with numerous ſhoals, was the reaſon for removing the ſeat of government and commerce to the town of New Amſterdam.

"The plantations along the river, as well as in the other parts of the colonies, were ſurveyed and laid out in grants, or allotments, of five hundred acres, by the Dutch Weſt India Company. They are of an oblong form, the frontage being one hundred roods, and the depth ſeven hundred and fifty; with a conditional grant of as much more behind the firſt, when two-thirds of that ſhould be cultivated. All the eſtates on the river are now entitled to this, and many of them have already carried their cultivation thirteen or fourteen hundred roods from the banks of the river in a ſtraight line with the extended ſides of the front dam, or ditch, thrown up to prevent the water in ſpring tides from inundating the land. Two ſide dams are likewiſe thrown up, and extend as far as the cultivation, where they join a back dam: ſo that an eſtate is a complete iſland within itſelf, and dammed on all ſides. Every plantation is, therefore, obliged to have a bridge on each ſide, to permit the traveller to croſs theſe trenches and canals, in the proſecution of his journey. Like public roads, theſe bridges are obliged to be kept in repair, and according to an act of the court of police, to be painted white, that they may be ſeen with more facility in a dark night. The eſtates on the river, I was informed, had greatly increaſed and extended themſelves ſince 1796, as well as thoſe on the coaſt; and where there was one ſugar plantation then, there were five now. Three fine new canals are already dug, and carried twenty-five miles into the interior, and, as the water carriage extends, freſh lands are getting into cultivation, in coffee, ſugar, and plantains." In fact, thanks to the exertions of the Britiſh ſettlers, who firſt ſettled the flat land on the ſea ſhore, nearly, if not the whole line of ſea coaſt, is now in a cultivated ſtate.

How juſtice is adminiſtered, and what is the military conſtitution of the colony, may be ſeen under the head of Characters, in another part of our volume. The form of the adminiſtrative government is thus deſcribed by Mr. Bolingbroke. "The laws in force in the Dutch colonies were moulded on the Roman or civil code, tempered and reviſed as the reſpective governors and council thought fit, guided by local circumſtances and experience. The burghers, or inhabitants, have the chief appointment of the adminiſtrators of juſtice, through the body of keizers, who are their repreſentatives, and are regularly elected for that purpoſe, by the planters and merchants. All thoſe poſſeſſing twenty-five negroes are entitled to a vote. There is no diſſolution whatever of this body, but as faſt as the members drop off, either by death or abſence, notice is iſſued by the governor for electing others in their ſtead. This is done by ſealed notes containing the votes, which

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are left at one of the public offices. The whole number of keizers conſiſts of only ſix for each colony; and when any vacancy takes place, the Engliſh party, being the ſtrongeſt, uſe their influence in electing one of themſelves, to maintain their majority in the college, as it is termed. A knowledge of the Dutch language is not neceſſary to obtain a ſeat in it. The governor is preſident of this body, with the privilege of a caſting vote. The province of the college not only extends to the appointment of members for the courts of police and juſtice; but to the financial department of the colony, ſo far as regards the proper diſtribution of taxes raiſed for the internal improvements. It is ſimilar in ſome degree to the Britiſh Houſe of Commons."

"A court of juſtice, which conſiſts of ſix members and the governor, ſits every other month at the court houſe, and decides on all cauſes laid before them, according to the evidence produced. The ability of council on either ſide, has too frequently an opportunity of biaſſing the opinion of the court; from the members not having received a regular judicial courſe of education, they are ſometimes fatally deceived by deſigning artifices and quibbles in law, which, by litigious characters, are conſidered as good poſts of defence, or a fair channel for offenſive operations. From the ſentence of this court, there is, however, fortunately, an appeal to the mother country, either to their high mightineſſes in Holland, or to the king in council in England, to whichever ſovereignty the colony happens to owe its obedience."

There is likewiſe a court, conſiſting of three members, which meets every month to decide on debts not exceeding fifty pounds, and to grant licences to marry—for in this country no marriage is held to be valid which has not been advertized in the gazette, and obtained the ſanction of the commiſſary court, of which court the fees, be it obſerved, are enormous.

"No perſons are of age, or conſidered capable of acting for themſelves, until they have attained the age of twenty-five; at which time they are authorized to take poſſeſſion of any eſtate, or legacy, left them. The laws do not admit of a partial diviſion of property from parents to children, but an equal diſtribution is made among the whole—the younger claims with the elder an equal portion. The weeſkamer's office, or orphan chamber, adminiſters the affairs of orphans, and of thoſe perſons who die inteſtate. The appointment to this office is a valuable one."

For the ſlave trade Mr. Bolingbroke is an earneſt advocate. He calls it indeed "a univerſal benefit," and talks, with a flippancy which is highly amuſing, of "metaphyſical politicians" and "vain authors" having "goaded the Engliſh people into petitioning their legiſlature for an abolition of the ſlave trade." There was a time when it would have been proper to expoſe his ſophiſtry and his petulance, but, fortunately for humanity, that time is paſt. The queſtion is now for ever at reſt, and we will not quarrel with the dead. It is, however, but juſtice to ſay that Mr. Bolingbroke does by no means appear to be diſpoſed

to cruelty. He is only a proof of the empire which ſituation and circumſtances acquire over the minds of moſt men.

The Indians of that part of Guaina which is deſcribed by Mr. Bolingbroke are the Caribbees, the Accawaws, the Worrows and the Arrowauks. He has delineated their perſons, manners, and cuſtoms with conſiderable ſkill. The Caribees are the moſt numerous, induſtrious, and warlike of all the Indians of Guiana. They are well made, of the middle ſtature, and of a light complexion, compared with other tribes; their features are agreeable, their countenance is remarkably ſprightly, and their hair, like that of all the tribes, is long, ſtraight, and black. There is no doubt that they occaſionally devour the enemies whom they have ſlain in battle. The Worrows are above the middle ſize, with large diſagreeable features, and ſkins much darker than the ſkins of the Caribbees. They are a quiet, patient, contented people, but dirty, fearful, and indolent. The Accawaws are above the middle ſize, have lighter complexions, and more agreeable features than the Worrows, are grave in their manners, unuſually cunning in their characters, and are much dreaded, becauſe of their practice of poiſoning thoſe by whom they conceive themſelves to have been injured. The Arrowauks appear to be the handſomeſt of all the tribes. "They are of the middle ſize, well made, and of a lighter colour than the three former tribes. Their features are regular, their teeth very white, their eyes black and piercing, and the whole expreſſion of the face is very agreeable. The prominent features of their character are vivacity, friendſhip, and timidity."

Among thoſe things which are common to all the tribes, there is nothing more curious than the feaſt of the dead, or the feaſt of ſouls, a ſingular feſtival which is probably a remnant of Mexican ſuperſtition, it being more or leſs in uſe among all the American ſavages bordering on the Gulph of Mexico; on the Miſſiſſipi as well as on the Orinoco. This circumſtance undoubtedly proves the common origin of all the tribes.

"The day for this ceremony is appointed in the council of their chiefs, who give orders for every thing, which may enable them to celebrate it with pomp and magnificence. The riches of the nation are exhauſted on this occaſion, and all their ingenuity is diſplayed. The neighbouring people are invited to partake of the feaſt, and to be witneſſes of the ſolemnity. At this time, all who have died ſince the laſt ſolemn feaſt of that kind, are taken out of their graves. Thoſe who have been interred at the greateſt diſtance from the villages are diligently ſought for, and brought to this great rendezvous of carcaſes. It is not difficult to conceive the horror of this general diſinterment. Some appear dry and withered; others have a ſort of parchment on their bones; ſome look as if they were baked and ſmoked, without any appearance of rottenneſs; ſome are juſt turning towards the point of putrefaction; whilſt others are all ſwarming with worms, and drowned in corruption. I know not which ought to ſtrike us moſt, the horror of ſo ſhocking a ſight, or the tender piety and affection of theſe poor people towards

wards their departed friends; for nothing deſerves our admiration more, than that eager diligence and attention with which they diſcharge this melancholy duty of their tenderneſs; gathering up carefully even the ſmalleſt bones; handling the carcaſes, diſguſtful as they are, with every thing loathſome; cleanſing them from the worms, and carrying them upon their ſhoulders through tireſome journies of ſeveral days, without being diſcouraged by their inſupportable ſtench, and without ſuffering any other emotions to ariſe, than thoſe of regret, for having loſt perſons who were ſo dear to them in their lives, and ſo lamented in their death. A pompous reinterment is given to the dead; and games of all kinds are celebrated, in the ſpirit of thoſe which the ancient Greeks and Romans celebrated upon ſimilar occaſions."

Laws and magiſtrates there are none among theſe Indians. Family love is univerſal among them, and the friendſhips which they form are of the ſtrongeſt kind. Polygamy is allowed, but a ſecond wife is never taken until the firſt is become ugly and old. Whether his wife be a virgin the Indian cares not; but he expects her to be faithful after marriage, and ſhe uſually is ſo. The female ſuffers little in childbirth; a ſufficient proof of which is, that, as ſoon as the labour is over, the mother and child are plunged into water, and ſhe directly returns to her uſual occupations. Of the children little care is taken during their childhood. All the Indians are indolent, and ſpend a great part of their time in their hammocks. When the men are occupied it is chiefly in hunting and fiſhing; agriculture and the domeſtic concerns being left to the wives. One of the greateſt pleaſures of an Indian is to lie in his hammock, firſt picking the hairs out of his beard, and then admiring himſelf in a looking glaſs. Their powers of calculation are very limited; time, beyond ten or twelve moons, they cannot expreſs, nor can they enumerate any objects beyond the number of a hundred. They believe in one God, who is the author of all good, and in a race of malevolent beings, inferior to him in power, called yowahoos, whom they believe to be the cauſe of all the evils which afflict them. To the Deity they never pray; but, when any misfortune happens to them, they ſupplicate the yowahoos, through the intervention of a prieſt or peii, of which claſs of men each family has one, who acts both as prieſt and phyſician, and who is believed to have ſuch influence over the minds of demons as to induce them to avert evils from ſome, and ſhower them down upon others. The eldeſt ſon has always the office of peii, and he, no doubt, contrives to make it uſeful to himſelf.

The animal and vegetable tribes of Guiana preſent an exceedingly copious liſt, all the articles of which are well deſcribed by Mr. Bolingbroke. Many of them are remarkable for their ſingularity. Among the vegetable race, perhaps none are more curious than the Nibbees and the Troolies. "The nibbees are long creeping plants, without leaves or branches, of immenſe length, whilſt their circumference is ſeldom more than ſeventeen or eighteen inches, ſometimes not above three or four. In the interior

terior parts of the country they mount from the earth to the tops of the loftieſt trees, then deſcend to inſert themſelves in the earth, and then again mount to the neighbouring tree, connecting the trees in this manner in various directions. Sometimes they coil themſelves round the trees, and ſometimes inſert their tendrils into the bark, thus deſtroying them either by compreſſion or ſtarvation. The nibbees are made uſe of for faſtening the thatch of houſes, for which purpoſe they are ſplit into ſmall ligaments. The ſtalks are of different forms; ſome are round, others are angular, flat, or grooved.

Troolies are leaves of an enormous ſize. They are uſed to cover houſes, which they protect from the moſt violent rains, and laſt for many years. This leaf is about twenty or thirty feet in length, and two or three in breadth; it is ſupported by a ſtrong ſtalk, about three inches in circumference at its commencement. About twelve of theſe leaves, each ſupported by its ſtalk, grow from the roots. In the centre of theſe leaves a ſhort ſtem ſhoots up, upon which is a cluſter of light yellow flowers; theſe falling off are ſucceeded by large round nuts."

Having given a ſhort ſketch of Cayenne and Surinam, and a long extract from Sir Walter Raleigh's unfortunate voyage to this country, Mr. Bolingbroke cloſes his volume by a chapter of political reflections on the ſteps which Britain ought to take with reſpect to Guiana. He is of opinion that, at no diſtant time, the Caribbee iſlands will be completely worn out, and that Guiana will then become of the utmoſt importance. Under this idea, he boldly propoſes that, by conqueſt and by ceſſion, we ſhould occupy the whole country between the Orinoco and the Amazons; a territory advantageouſly ſituated, poſſeſſing many natural advantages, and of ſufficient extent to form an empire of no trifling magnitude. It is rather amuſing to ſee a mercantile man thus planning ſchemes of conqueſt equal to thoſe of an European potentate. He defends his project, too, with conſiderable ability, and knowledge of the ſubject. He does not, however, wiſh to enſlave, and in this, at leaſt, he has merit. "Trial by jury, and an elective conſtitution of the provincial adminiſtrations, are" ſays he, "the fundamental bleſſings which Britiſh conqueſt every where ſhould aſpire to bequeath." Since he wrote, a peace has put an end, for the preſent, to all ideas of obtaining Cayenne and New Cumana by conqueſt, and it is to be hoped that a long time will elapſe, before the repoſe of the world will be again diſturbed by the din of arms. In the event, however, of another conteſt, the poſſeſſion of Demerara, Eſſequibo and Berbice, will doubtleſs render it comparatively eaſy to execute any plan which the Britiſh government may form, for adding to our South American dominions the diſtricts which lie on the right bank of the Orinoco and the left of the Amazons. To Mr. Bolingbroke certainly belongs the merit, whatever it may be, of having firſt publicly ſuggeſted to his countrymen this gigantic ſcheme of colonial aggrandizement.

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Mr.

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